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REVOLUTIONS

IN

ENGLISH HISTORY.

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BY

ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D.

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VOL. II.

REVOLUTIONS IN RELIGION.

LONDON:
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1861.

[*The Author reserves the right of Translation.*]

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PREFACE.

IN this volume, as in the volume preceding it, my object is not simply to enumerate causes and to discourse about them, but to present them along with the facts in which they exist as living influences. It is my wish that no other book should be needed to enable the reader to realize the purpose for which the present book is written. But my narrative is necessarily constructed on a principle of selection. Facts have their place in it from their relation to change and progress; and those so related in the greatest degree, are made the most prominent.

In looking back on what I have written, I see that in the chapter on the reformed doctrine in England, before the meeting of the Reformation Parliament, I should have acknowledged my obligation to Merle D'Aubigné in pointing my attention to some facts connected with the life of Erasmus, with which I might not otherwise have become acquainted; and no writer can traverse the first half of the sixteenth century in our history in the time to come, without feeling indebted to the industry of Mr. Froude. All

the printed authorities, however, consulted by that gentleman, I have, I believe, myself examined; and in the degree which seemed necessary for my design, I have extended my investigations to the manuscripts in the Rolls Office. On some of the points in which Mr. Froude's judgment concerning the past differs from that of his predecessors, he appears to me to have warrant for the new ground he has taken; but on some others, and those the most material, I have not been able to see evidence as he has seen it. Mr. Froude, however, will know how to cede to a fellow-labourer in the same field the independence which he has himself claimed.

The present volume, it will be obvious, must be concerned with characters and events which have been the ground of much controversy. My own convictions as a Protestant, and as a friend of free institutions, are settled and strong. But in writing this work, it has been my earnest wish to write as an Englishman, and to commend myself, to the best of my ability, to sound English sense and English feeling, irrespective of sect or party. In the autumn of my life, Providence has given me comparative leisure, and in the present publication, I am endeavouring to write the kind of history of which I felt the want in my youth, and which has long been before my mind as the work with which I have hoped to occupy some of my riper years. The Stuart period will bring its

Revolutions in Government; and then come Revolutions in Social Power—embracing the progress of Toleration, the expansion of the Constitution, the development of our National Industry, the founding of our Colonial Empire, and the later growth of our Intellectual, Moral, and Religious Life.

ST. JOHN'S TERRACE,
North Gate, Regent's Park,
LONDON, Jan. 1861.

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BOOK VI.

NATIONALISTS AND ROMANISTS.

CHAPTER I.

HENRY VIII. AND WOLSEY.

IN a preceding volume my subject has been the admixtures of race in English history, and the changes produced by them. My aim has been to describe those races, to show how they were distributed on the soil of this country, and how they were at length welded together so as to become the great English people. Through more than twelve centuries the revolutions in our history came from the conquests and the settlements of new peoples. The men of the Celtic race, with their restless sensibility, their vivid imagination, and their soul of fire; the Saxon, with his graver foresight, his rooted bravery, and his sense of social right; and the Norman, with a strength like that of the old Roman, a strength to conquer and to rule,—all these had their work to do in making England what she was when the great revolutions in her history came to be Revolutions in Religion.

Origin of the English people.

Religion is a great want of man, as truly so as food and clothing. We speak of the fine arts as distinctive of a state of civilization. But the rudest savage has his sense of ornament. So we never fail to find religion, in some form, wherever we find humanity. The wants of our nature in regard to social life and religious life have the same spontaneous origin, and develop themselves according to the same laws. When a

Religion and history.

people once come under influences favourable to progress, it is natural that they should go on from bad to better, and from better to better still. It is so with religion—even with revealed religion. There are social influences by which even that may be deteriorated, and others by which it may be purified and elevated. Motives coming from our physical and moral nature contribute alike to make intelligence progressive; and the growth of intelligence tends, in its turn, to ensure a growth of cultivated feeling. So men come by degrees to have new convictions in regard to the just in social life, and to the true and pure in religious life, and are prepared to endure much, and to dare much, in defence of such convictions.

It is a narrow philosophy, a philosophy falsely so-called, which contents itself with holding up the ignorance, the prejudice, and the intolerance too often found in religious men as demonstrating that everything belonging to the history of religion must be contemptible or vicious. The folly and crime which belong to the history of civil government do not demonstrate that government itself is a folly and a crime. The evils of bad government may be great, but the evils of no government would be greater. Horrors have been perpetrated in the name of religion: and what horrors have not been perpetrated in the name of order and liberty? The susceptibilities of religious thought and feeling in man which have made errors connected with religion possible, are from the Creator. Kings and priests do not create them, could not eradicate them. They are inseparable from humanity; and the presumption is strong, that a capacity so distinctive of human nature, must be destined to be tributary to whatever is noblest in the history of the race. In man we have never to do with the perfect, but always with the more or less imperfect.

Religious Revolutions in England.

In the narrative before us we shall meet with many things which modern thought will account as religious folly or religious crime. But this struggle between

opposing convictions was a conflict in which the feeling of the combatants often rose high above the littleness and selfishness of ordinary life. In those days a stern antagonism to error was accounted by religious men as inseparable from a real conviction of truth. It may be perplexing to us that nations and churches should have to learn the lessons necessary to their growth by passing through long stages of misconception and misdeeds. But it is by such slow and unequal steps that the just and wise obtain their destined ascendancy in the history of mankind. The time had now come in which England was to learn her great lesson in religion, and we shall see in her course the common admixture of good and evil. Under a confused surface it will be easy to trace the presence of fervent moral and religious motive, striving towards a much higher standard, both in religion and morals, than had yet been reached. Politicians did their work; but religious men had a greater work to do, and it was done. Under influences which were but dimly apprehended at the time, it became the resolve of the Teutonic race in Europe, and especially of Englishmen, that their religion should no longer be something external and artificial, but something inward and real; and to men of this temper England owes her Protestantism, and her place in relation to Protestant Christendom during the latter half of the sixteenth century. The history of England from the accession of the house of Tudor to the Revolution of 1688, is the history of a people committed to the work of self-renovation; and the fixedness of purpose, and the ultimate success, with which this object was prosecuted, were such as might well lead us to regard them as a people who were guided and sustained in their great enterprise by an Eternal Providence. The present chapter will embrace a general view of English history from the accession of Henry VIII. to the fall of Wolsey.

Death of Henry VII. 1509.

Henry VII. died in the fifty-third year of his age, and in the twenty-second of his reign. His funeral

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was a grand ceremony, bespeaking the wealth both of the king and of the kingdom. Its pageantries were more elaborate and costly than anything of the kind that had been known in our history. Six hundred torches lined the streets through which the procession passed after nightfall. When the body was lowered into its resting-place in Westminster Abbey, the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Steward, the Lord Chamberlain, and the Comptroller of the king's household, all broke their staves, and cast them into the vault. Whereupon, Garter King-at-arms cried with a loud voice, 'Long 'live king Henry VIII., king of England, France, 'and Ireland.' Our authority adds: 'Wonder it were 'to write of the lamentation that was made for this 'prince among his servants, and others of the wiser 'sort; and the joy that was made for his death by 'such as had been troubled by the rigour of his law. 'Yet the toward hope which in all points appeared in 'the young king, did comfort the heavy hearts of those 'who had lost so wise a prince, and also did put out 'of the minds of such as were relieved by the said 'king's death all their old grudge and rancour.'*

Early years of Henry VIII.

The deceased king promised on his deathbed an amnesty to all offenders, except such as were under the charge of treason, murder, or felony; and ordered that money should be given to persons confined in certain prisons for small debts, sufficient to release them. The young monarch strengthened the popular feeling in his favour by confirming the will of his predecessor in these particulars.† Everywhere, indeed, the accession of the new king was hailed with an impassioned loyalty. The first two years of this reign were years of peace. But the tastes and amusements of the king, which as a matter of course became those of the nobility and the people, were in a high degree warlike. Mock encounters with the sword, the battle-

* Hall's *Chronicle*, 555–557.

† Herbert's *Life and Reign of Henry VIII.* 1–3.

axe, and other weapons, in which the monarch took his part, and was always declared to be victorious, called forth applause from the queen, the ladies, the foreign ambassadors, and from crowds of spectators. The history, indeed, of those young days of royalty consists almost entirely in the history of such spectacles, and of revels in the palace when the season was not favourable to such scenes in the open air. Henry's acquirements as a scholar, his manly presence, and his thorough English feeling, disposed his people to associate almost every virtue with qualities in which there was so much to admire. How far such an estimate of the character of this memorable person was well founded will appear as we proceed.

Marriage of prince Arthur.

So far back as the year 1496, prince Arthur, the eldest son of Henry VII., had been promised in marriage to Catherine, the fourth daughter of Ferdinand, king of Castile and Aragon. The prince at that time was not more than twelve years of age. When he had entered on his fifteenth year, it was decided that the marriage should take place. The princess landed at Plymouth. The ceremony was performed in St. Paul's. Great was the holiday-making in court and city on the occasion. The prince was amiable, intelligent, and beloved; but his health began to fail soon after his marriage, and he died at his residence, in Ludlow castle, when he had not been more than four months a husband.

1501. Nov. 14.

1502. April 2.

Henry betrothed to Catherine.

It was expected that Catherine would now return to Spain. But the importance of placing a check on the power of France, which had led to this marriage, was still felt. It was accordingly proposed that the widowed princess should be betrothed to Henry, and so still be the wife of the heir-apparent to the English throne. For this purpose it would be necessary to obtain a dispensation from the pope, marriage with the wife of a deceased brother being marriage within the prohibited degrees. But the militant pontiff, Julius II., had political interests at this juncture in

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common with Spain, and was prepared to make almost any sacrifice to secure the good offices of England. The required dispensation was accordingly granted, and Henry and Catherine were betrothed. But this measure had been opposed, both on religious and political grounds, by Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, and considerable uneasiness was felt in relation to it. The king himself became dissatisfied with it, fearing that a doubtful marriage, entailing a doubtful succession, might lead to a renewal of the miseries that had been attendant on the late civil wars. Influenced by this feeling, the king determined to relieve himself from the responsibility he had incurred, and on the day when the prince became of age, he required him to declare, in the presence of Fox, bishop of Winchester, and of many of the nobility, that he would not proceed in the said marriage, but intended, 'in full form of law, to void it, and break it.' Henry made this declaration 'fairly and of his own accord,' and his father upon his deathbed besought him to act upon it. But the councillors of the young king knew the nation to be exceedingly desirous of retaining their commercial relations with Spain and the Low Countries; and were not unmindful, probably, that Catherine had brought 200,000 ducats with her as her jointure. In conformity with their advice, Henry became the husband of Catherine of Aragon.*

1505. June 28.

Character of Catherine.

The character of this ill-fated princess contrasted too strongly with that of her second husband to afford any large promise of happiness. In the love of literature, the king and queen possessed a taste in common; and there were times when Henry seemed to regard the piety of Catherine with a feeling of reverence. Her religion, however, was of a kind that would have qualified her for the head of a convent, better than for the head of a court. She had entered the third order

* Herbert's *Life of Henry VIII.* 24, 116, 117. Burnet's *Hist. Ref.* i. 62–65. Hardwick, *State Papers*, i. 1–20. Rymer, xiii. 81–89.

of St. Francis, and always wore the habit of that order under her queenly vestments. Saturday and Sunday were her fast-days, and on the vigils of the Virgin she took only bread and water. In the middle of the night she rose to repeat her prayers, and by five in the morning she left her chamber dressed for the day. Six hours every morning were spent in church, her knees bent for long intervals on the bare floor. Twice a week all her feelings and thoughts were unbosomed to her confessor. When dinner was over, two hours were given to reading the lives of the saints. On these occasions her maids were with her, to be edified by her reading, her counsel, and her example. What time remained was occupied with reading or prayer, until the hour for supper, which was always a simple repast. So the day ended. Henry was a man of religious conviction and feeling; but a wide gulf separated between the queen's temperament and his own on that subject. In many other respects the divergence between them was great.*

The Council of State.

The wise and pious dowager-countess of Richmond, who had been the great educator of Henry VII., lived long enough to influence the course of Henry VIII. on his accession to the throne.† In accordance with her advice, the men who had been found trustworthy by the late king were retained as servants of the crown by his successor. Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury, was in the council as Lord-chancellor; Fox, bishop of Winchester, as Secretary, and Lord Privy Seal; Thomas Howard, lord Surrey, as Lord Treasurer; George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, as Lord Steward; Sir Charles Somerset as Lord Chamberlain; Sir Thomas Lovel as Master of the Wards, and Constable of the Tower. It is observable that all these

* It is Sanders who gives us the above account of the queen's piety, meaning it to be to her honour.—*De Schismate Anglicano*, 5, 6.

† See a letter from Henry VII. to this lady, full of reverence and affection, in Ellis, 1st Series, vol. i. 43–46.

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persons were either churchmen or military men. It was a misfortune that there was no sound constitutional lawyer among them. It had been the policy of Henry VII. to make but a limited use of parliaments. The nobility had become few and suspected; and the commons, standing alone, were not strong enough to make themselves formidable. Hence, the ministers of the crown, from the accession of Henry VII. to the middle of the reign of Henry VIII., seem to have little thought about those constitutional rights which had been won by Englishmen in past time. The people, as we shall see, retained feelings and traditions on this subject which seem to have almost died out among their rulers. Such was the political atmosphere in which Henry VIII. found himself on his accession. As a rule, the council were careful to be agreed upon their measures before submitting them to the king. Henry left affairs considerably in their hands; but from the first, he was much more attentive to his kingly duties than has been commonly supposed; and during the greater part of his life he was most assiduous in that respect, and rarely so guided by the judgment of others as to relinquish his own. State papers, published and unpublished, place this fact beyond dispute.

Henry VII.—his instruments in extorting money—their punishment.

Almost the first business that devolved on the council was of a nature to test their wisdom and fidelity. The late king had been too much possessed with the idea that to diminish the wealth of the great men, and to increase the wealth of the crown, tended eminently to the safety of the state. In pursuance of this policy, he had issued a commission to ascertain how far certain claims of the crown relating to feudal tenures had been neglected of late years. It was known beforehand, that in consequence of the irregularities of all sorts which had been introduced and perpetuated by the civil wars, the men of property who might be convicted of neglect in such matters were very many. It was possible, accordingly, to exact large sums, in the way of fines and confiscations, under

such pretences. The men who especially undertook to work this commission, were two barons of the exchequer, named Empson and Dudley—the former a man of low origin, who did the bidding of the latter, and who employed a number of subordinates to do his own bidding. By adopting the most inquisitorial methods of inquiry, and by means of packed or intimidated juries, money was obtained to an enormous extent. But, as will be supposed, it was at the cost of filling the country with loud complaints. The king had good reason to believe that the cry thus raised against the rapacity of his officers was not without foundation; and one of the penitent acts of his last hours, was to require that compensation should be made by the government to all persons who could show that the proceedings of the commissioners towards them had been unjust or harsh. Proclamation was made to this effect, and the result was such an outburst of disclosure and denunciation that Empson and Dudley were immediately put under arrest. Empson pleaded that he had simply executed laws which his accusers had never attempted to repeal, and that for 'the whole frame of his proceeding' he had the warrant of the king. It was insisted, however, that he had abused the king's authority, and had strained even bad laws so as to have made them worse. For awhile the two delinquents were lodged in the Tower. Subsequently they were charged with treason. The charge was based on very doubtful evidence; but it served its purpose. Juries convicted them. Both were beheaded. Some of their instruments were placed in the pillory, and all died of the treatment to which they were exposed. Empson and Dudley may have been bad men, chargeable not only with injustice, but with cruelty; but the law, loose as it was in those times, was manifestly strained when it was made to convict them of treason. The most material circumstance in the indictment against them was, that they were accused of having written,

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Dudley to nine persons, and Empson to seventeen, urging them to come armed to London, in the event of the king's death, and the names of the persons were given. On this fact, the charge was founded, of an intention 'to destroy the king, and to depose, remove, 'and deprive him of his royal authority.'* But it had become expedient that the popular indignation should be appeased by the death of these offenders, and in this instance, as in many more during this reign, what could not be legally proved, was accomplished by means of inventions or appearances which were made to pass for such proof.

Continental politics—state of Italy.

In continental politics, on the accession of Henry VIII., Spain and France were the great competitors for power, and Italy was the country towards which their ambitious schemes were especially directed. Italy was the residence of the supreme pontiff, who was supposed to sway the spiritual forces of Christendom; and influence in that quarter was of great importance on that ground. Italy, moreover, while separated from Spain and France by seas or mountains, was near enough to be accessible to both, and was always sufficiently isolated, and weakened by internal dissension, to become an easy prey to such formidable neighbours. In addition, it was accounted a great honour to rule where the masters of the old world had ruled, and France and Spain alike felt, that if one were only absent, the other would naturally rise to that eminence. In this strife, the two powers spared no pains to strengthen themselves by alliances,

* MS. *Rolls Office, Baga de Secretis*, pouch iv. Henry VII. is said to have died leaving more than a million and a half in his coffers (Herbert's *Henry VIII.* 2–4); but Empson and Dudley do not appear to have been wealthy. Dudley is said to have been worth 500*l.* in 'lands and tenements,' and 5000*l.* and upwards in 'goods and chattels.' Empson, the upstart, had been eager to vest his money in land, but he can hardly be said to have been rich (ibid.). The parliament of 1510 limited and defined the authority of the crown in relation to the questions which had been thus raised.—*Parl. Hist.* i. 475, 476.

and as the assistance of England, from its pecuniary resources, if not from its military power, was especially prized, this country was drawn considerably into the vortex of Italian politics. Henry was flattered by the notion, that if he could not act as a chief in this contest, he might hold the rank of umpire in relation to those who were such. In the meanwhile, the condition of the country whose cities and provinces were the prize sought by the belligerents, was most pitiable. Beautiful were many of those provinces, and rich were those cities in all that constituted the advanced culture of the age. Michael Angelo and Raphael, Dante and Ariosto, had contributed all that genius of the highest order could supply to give refinement and splendour to Italian life. Every street bespoke the national taste. Every palace exhibited that taste in higher development than had been witnessed since the days of Pericles. But the country of great poets and painters, of great sculptors and architects, was not the country of great patriots. The æsthetic susceptibilities were highly trained; the more homely and manly virtues, which alone make nations great, were despised. Sensuousness and selfishness fell there, as from the wand of an enchanter, upon all men. City was jealous of city, and man was jealous of man. All was isolation. The union which gives strength did not exist —was not possible. The usual effects followed. The country suffered from all comers—was at the mercy of all.

War in Italy. 1508. Dec.

The year before the accession of Henry VIII. the memorable league of Cambray had been formed. The great agent in calling this confederation into existence was the warlike pontiff Julius II. Its purpose was to humble the pride of Venice, which menaced the independence of the other states of Italy, not excepting those of the papal see. France, Austria, and Spain were parties to this compact, and each power stipulated for the portion of the Italian territory that should fall to it, as the result of the conjoint enterprise. The

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object of this undertaking was soon realized, and became the source of no little disquietude and suffering to the Italians for a long time to come. The Venetians sought the friendship of Julius, and the pontiff pleaded the intervention of England, and other considerations, as reasons for concluding a separate treaty with that republic. The consequence of this proceeding was a rupture between France and the papacy. The French arms soon became so successful as to promise to be ascendant everywhere south of the Alps. Julius succeeded in persuading Ferdinand of Spain, Maximilian of Germany, and the king of England, that this aggrandizement of France could not be to their interest, and secured all these powers as allies against Louis. Henry was flattered with being declared the 'Head of the Italian League' thus formed, and the title of 'Most Christian King' was to be taken from the crown of France and attached to the crown of England. In short, England was to renew her claim to the soil of France, and to enter on a new career of military glory in that country.*

1510. Feb. 12.

1511. Oct.

Failure of the English and of the French.

Ferdinand and Henry engaged to assail Guienne with their combined forces by sea and land. But the marquis of Dorset, who commanded the English, had only too much reason to suspect the good faith of the Spaniard. In fact, Ferdinand was much more intent upon securing Navarre for himself, than upon securing French territory for the king of England. The result was disastrous to our countrymen. Dorset and his soldiers returned home without facing an enemy. In a naval engagement with the French, though victory was not declared on either side, Henry's great ship, the Regent, was lost by fire, with many valuable lives. Henry was deeply mortified—hard to be appeased; but the sinister policy of his father-in-law soon became patent to every one, and the diversion which had been made proved favourable to the arms

* Herbert, 8. Hall, 525. 527.

of the confederates in Italy. As the autumn wore away, the last remnants of the French army were driven from the Italian soil. Julius did not long enjoy this much-coveted triumph. He died in the following February, and was succeeded by Leo X.*

War of 1513.

Having unsheathed the sword against France, it was not probable that Henry would allow his relations with that country to be settled on the basis of a campaign so little satisfactory as that of 1512. In the following spring an alliance was formed between France and Venice. Opposed to it was another league, to which Ferdinand, Maximilian, Leo X., and Henry, were all parties. In the former year, Ferdinand had played false that he might seize the province of Navarre. This year he pursued the same course, that he might retain his hold of that valuable acquisition. Henry vested the regency of England in queen Catherine. The English army marshalled on the French soil amounted to 15,000 men. The earl of Shrewsbury and lord Herbert had preceded the king, with their respective divisions of this force; and when his majesty landed with the last contingent, those commanders were engaged in the siege of Terouanne in Picardy. Maximilian paid a visit to the king of England near the walls of that city, with 4000 horse. Henry went out to meet the emperor, richly attired, and with a retinue of persons hardly less splendid in their apparel, and in the trappings of their steeds. But the rain fell heavily, and it was observed that the very plain suit of the emperor, and the ordinary costume of his attendants, happened to be much more in place on so foul a day than the display of the English. The emperor flattered the vanity of Henry, and consulted his own convenience, by accepting the payment of 100,000 crowns daily for his services, as the voluntary soldier of the English crown. So early does the interference of England in continental disputes

* Guicciardini, *Hist.* bk. x. xi. Herbert, 8–11.

come to be an interference based on her exchequer. Maximilian returned to his field of operations at Aire, and Henry resumed his place in the entrenchments before the besieged town.

Six weeks passed and the English army was still before Terouanne. The eager expectation of the English people had not been realized. Henry VIII. had done nothing to remind them of the glories of Henry V. The German auxiliaries became weary and disaffected. Their quarrels with the English came to blows, and cannon were discharged between them. It required the presence of Maximilian to restore order. The people in the besieged town, and the French army which hovered in the distance, were apprised of these occurrences. Meanwhile, the distress of the town became great, and the French in the field saw no prospect of being able to relieve it without hazarding an engagement. This was at length resolved upon.

Encounter at Terouanne—retreat of the French. Aug. 16.

On the morning of the sixteenth of August a detachment of French cavalry appeared on the neighbouring hills. The English army consisted almost wholly of infantry, the French now in sight wholly of cavalry. The small body of cavalry at the disposal of the king of England moved in advance of the infantry, and the advanced cavalry of the French retreated slowly towards the army in their rear. But the English cavalry, though few, even in comparison with the force which was retiring before them, broke away from the infantry, and rushed upon the enemy with the old English cry of 'God and St. George!' The Frenchmen, after a spirited but short resistance, fled in the greatest disorder. The English followed. Both spurred their steeds as if for their lives, and the light-hearted Gauls gave the name of 'the Battle of the Spurs' to the encounter which came to such a termination. Had there been a general of adequate capacity in the English camp, this success would have been followed up, and the result might have been disastrous to France. Maximilian had an interest in

persuading Henry to resume the siege of Terouanne. The place was now taken and dismantled. Tournay, an inland town of no value, without a garrison, and with feeble means of defence, was also captured; and with this performance a campaign from which so much had been expected came to its close. Its only important result was to show, that if the military arrangements of Europe were to be materially disturbed, it would not be as the consequence of any military genius possessed by the present king of England. This was not a welcome discovery to Englishmen, but it was a fact pregnant with happy consequences. Louis died in the following year. His successor was Francis I.*

Henry VIII. proves, happily, not to be a military genius.

If the arms of England achieved little during the campaign of 1513 in France, something memorable was accomplished by them in that year nearer home. James IV. of Scotland, had married Henry's sister Margaret, but was suspected of being more disposed towards an alliance with France than with England, notwithstanding this family relationship. Henry, before leaving England, had sent envoys to Scotland, in the hope of ensuring the fidelity of his kinsman during his absence. James spoke of having none but the most friendly feelings towards the king of England, and of being very desirous to remain neutral in regard to this difference between him and the king of France. But when pressed to pledge himself to this line of policy in a satisfactory form, James urged excuses, and the distrust which had prompted this proposal was not removed.† It soon became known that James had entered into negotiations with Louis, and had signed a treaty which bound him to make war upon England, so soon as Henry should have become the invader of France. James alleged that Henry had detained jewels in his possession which had been bequeathed to Margaret by her father; that he had dealt with certain men of the name of Barton as

Disagreement with the Scots.

* Herbert, 15, 16. † Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 64–78. Herbert, 16.

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pirates, though sailing under the licence of the crown of Scotland; and that he had not taken proper measures to avenge the murder of Sir Robert Ker, the warden of the Scottish border. The point about the queen's jewels was an obscure matter, and hardly an affair to be settled by the sword;* the Bartons, if not licensed to act as pirates, had certainly become such;† and the case of Sir Robert Ker, accordingly, was the only circumstance that could be adduced with any show of reason as warranting so grave a proceeding as an appeal to arms. The man charged with that deed of violence had been outlawed. But that was not deemed enough. All men, however, knew sufficiently well, that the true cause of the threatened hostilities was to be found in those feelings between the two nations which had so often placed them in deadly antagonism to each other—feelings which had always been deriving strength in the mind of the Scotch from the idea that the weakness of England must be the safety of Scotland. On all the grievances alleged, Henry maintained that 'reasonable answer,' founded upon law and conscience,' had been made before the Scottish king and his council.

James IV. declares war against England.

James sent a herald to Henry, while before the walls of Terouanne, to renew the above complaints, and to call upon him to retire without delay from the soil of the king of France, threatening war in case of a refusal. Henry replied at once to this haughty summons, in a letter charged to the full with indignation and scorn. He denounced the course taken by James as perfidious and base, as only too much like what the conduct of the men from whom he had descended had always been towards England. But

* This alleged bequest is not found in Henry's will. Some promise of this nature had, perhaps, been at some time made.—See a letter from Margaret to Henry on this subject in Ellis's *Letters*, 1st series, i. 64. Margaret believed herself entitled to them, but she did not attach any great importance to the matter.—Ibid. 64–76.

† Hall, 525.

let him beware. Let him not presume that England must be weak because her king is absent. His covert proceedings had not been so covert as to have precluded suspicion. He would not find England unprepared to meet him. Let him take warning from the king of Navarre, who must needs be a partisan of Louis, and had ceased to be a king.*

Before this epistle could reach Scotland, James was in arms, and a hundred thousand men, who flocked to his standard on Burrow Moor, testified to the feeling in which the war had originated. Of this multitude many fell away. But the army with which James crossed the Tweed was the most formidable that Scotland had ever sent into England. Norham, Wark, Etal, and Ford, all places of strength along the English border, surrendered to the invader.

Preparations of the English—strategy of the two armies.

The earl of Surrey summoned the northern counties to the standard of their king. Some twenty-five thousand men, about half the number of the invading army, were promptly obedient to his call. Many of these men were not unacquainted with border warfare, and all were intent upon showing their estimate of the bad blood which had prompted an onslaught upon their country at such a moment. Surrey was not unknown to the king of Scotland. He had accompanied Margaret into that country at the time of her marriage, and was in great favour, it seems, on that occasion, with James.† He now sent a message to the king, challenging him to an engagement on the following Friday. James answered the message courteously, accepting the challenge; but removed immediately to a strong position on the side of the Flodden hill, one of the Cheviot range, which overlooked the vale of Tweed. In taking that ground

* Halliwell's *Letters of the Kings of England*, i. 216–219.

† Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 41. It was on the occasion of those nuptials that Dunbar of Seaton wrote his popular allegory entitled *The Thistle and the Rose*. The 'Rose' did not find this connexion a happy one at the beginning.—Ibid. 127–130.

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the king had a heavy marshy soil to his right, the circle of the Cheviot hills to his left, the only access to him being through a moderately open space below, and there he had planted his artillery. Surrey complained that, by so disposing of his army, the king, instead of accepting a challenge on equal terms, had done all he could to render an engagement of any kind impossible. James, however, deemed it sufficient to reply that he should wait for the promised attack of the English on the given day. Surrey was annoyed on finding himself so placed. To assail the enemy as thus lodged would be to fight under the most perilous disadvantages, while his declining to do so would be construed as a failure of his pledge. His brave son, the lord admiral, had the merit of rescuing him from this dilemma. He advised that the English army should march towards Scotland, and that, wheeling about at some distance, they should return along the hill side, and descend upon their enemies from the high ground in their rear. The march commenced. James became alarmed. He was led to fear that the object of this movement was to 'burn and 'forage the plentiful country called the Marche.'* In the direction the English were taking lay Bramston hill, an important position, of which it was supposed they would be eager to possess themselves. James resolved, if possible, to seize that eminence before them, and gave order that a large mass of camp stuff should be set on fire. The wind so drifted the smoke thus raised, that it rolled along the track between the two armies as they were moving in the same direction—the Scotch on the high ground and the English on the lower, concealing them from each other, though often no great distance apart. When the smoke cleared away, the advanced body of the English found themselves at the foot of Bramston hill, with the Scots, marshalled in four battalions, on the high

* Hall, 561.

ground above them. The lord admiral, who commanded this advanced division, knew that the force at his disposal could not be expected to keep its ground against the odds opposed to it. He took his *Agnus dei* from his neck, and sent it by a swift messenger to his father, urging him to come to his side with the battalion at his command as speedily as possible. It happened that this could be soon done; and at the foot of Bramston hill the English army was arranged in order of battle, forming a line from west to east, with their backs towards the north—thus placing themselves as a living wall between Scotland and the Scotchmen. The English were still at disadvantage as to position. They were certainly not much more than half the number of their enemies; and from the hurry of their coming together, and of their march, they had now been two days without food. But the two countries had come face to face, and had their work to do.

Battle of Flodden. 1513. Sept. 8.

The Scots begin to descend from the hill. They do so without noise. Presently the artillery on both sides begin to play. But the discharge of the Scotch does no damage. The master-gunner of the English, on the contrary, sweeps away the master-gunner of the enemy, and all who are serving with him, and then sends a destructive fire into the midst of the battalion commanded by the king. The artillery arm of the Scotch being thus broken, the four battalions advance towards the English lines, and everywhere the fight becomes a fight hand to hand. The face of the English is towards the south. Seen from their rear, their right wing is on the extreme west, and is commanded by Sir Edmund Howard, the second son of the earl of Surrey. The next division, stretching eastward, is under the command of the earl's eldest son, the lord admiral. The next battalion in the same direction, forming the main body of the army, is led by the earl himself; and the left wing, in the extreme east, is entrusted to Sir Edward Stanley.

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The charge from the Scots upon the right wing, by a host of spearmen, some ten thousand strong, is so overwhelming, that the English ranks, after awhile, are seen to yield. Their leader, Sir Edmund Howard, is three times beaten to the ground. But Heron, a border chieftain, with a rude band of followers, comes to his aid. 'Never was lord's son 'nearer death than you have been,' cries Heron; 'but, 'though my own wounds are not slight, while I can 'stand I will be at your side.' Heron rallies his men, and prolongs resistance, until lord Dacre, with a reserve of fifteen hundred horse, comes to his aid, and then the face of the field near the right wing is changed. The Scots opposed to the second division, under the command of the lord admiral, are led by the earls of Errol, Huntley, and Crawford, and are not less than seven thousand in number. Deadly is the strife in that quarter. The men meet in silence. Little is heard save the stroke of their weapons, or the cry from the wounded. All are intent upon the death-blows they can deal. Hundreds fall; the living stride over the bodies of the dead and dying in their strife. But, one by one, the earls and the great men among the Scots are struck down, until resistance becomes faint, and flight ensues. Then the loud shout is raised by the victors. While affairs are in this course with the vanguard and the west wing, the battalion under Surrey is opposed to the king himself with the flower of his army, thousands of whom are clothed in mail, which long resists the arrows and weapons of the English. The courage of the king, and of his devoted adherents, is great, steady, such as seems to promise success. Surrey does all that man can do, with his brave Englishmen, against such odds and disadvantage. But the Scots are gaining upon him. They have fought their way nearer and nearer towards the royal standard. It is not known that the success of the English in the other parts of the field has been such as to allow of their coming to the aid of this division.

But at this crisis Sir Edward Stanley is seen descending the hill lately occupied by the Scots, and is about to fall upon the rear of the king's force. In their advance towards the left wing the Scots have been signally galled by the English archers. Stanley has availed himself of their confusion to throw them into rout, and has chased the division commanded by the earls of Argyle and Lennox from the field, and over the opposite hill. He is now returning from the pursuit, and lord Dacre, with his reserve of horse, and the lord admiral, are ready to join him. And now the day is won! The king of Scotland, on foot with his followers, falls under the weapons of his assailants. His nobles, and the ecclesiastics in his train, are strewed everywhere about him. The Scots are all in flight. The English have not cavalry to pursue the fugitives, and they are exhausted with hunger and fatigue. But a chase there is, and the moment of discomfiture brings death like a flood upon the vanquished. Twelve thousand Scotsmen lie on that field. The loss in killed to the English is not a tenth of that number. This difference must not be attributed to any difference in courage between the two nations. It must be traced, in part to inequalities in military skill, and in part to those accidents which often do so much to determine the issue of such encounters. The Scotch camp was found to be well stored with provisions; and through that memorable September night the English slept on the field which their steady bravery, and their experience in war, had made to be a great landmark in British history. The battle commenced soon after four o'clock in the afternoon, and extended itself at once to all parts of the field. In little more than an hour it was over. Scotland, happily for both countries, is not to take ground against England in such force in the time to come.*

* Hall, 557–563. Galt's *Life of Wolsey*, app. 333 et seq. Pinkerton's *Scotland*, app. 95–104. Herbert, 18. These authorities are

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Louis secures a pacification—marries the princess Mary.

The Scots now sued for peace. Henry answered in his manner, that they might have either peace or war, as should be most agreeable to them. Louis, in the meanwhile, if not successful in the field, became successful in diplomacy. During the ensuing winter he convinced Henry that neither Ferdinand nor Maximilian was to be trusted as a confederate. He made his use of the pacific preferences of the new pontiff, Leo X.; and he so far prevailed on the powers lately in arms to accept terms, that, before the close of the year, he became the husband of the princess Mary, sister to the king of England. The princess was young and beautiful; Louis was old and infirm, and died a few months after the nuptials. It is one of the misfortunes of royalty, that in marriage, reasons of state commonly take precedence of all other reasons. Mary was subsequently wedded to the duke of Suffolk, an accomplished nobleman, who had been the object of her affection before she had given her hand to the French king.*

Queen Margaret, and affairs in Scotland.

Scotland, though by no means disposed to prosecute its war with England, did not soon become tranquil. Margaret, in pursuance of the will of the late king, became regent, in favour of her son, then in the second year of his age. Six months after the death of her husband she gave birth to a second son. Only three months later, she married the earl of Angus, a young nobleman too much wanting in the power of self-government to govern others. This ill-advised step gave strength to the French faction in the Scottish

not all strictly agreed in their descriptions either of the numbers included in the two armies, or of their movements, but the above account may, I think, be relied upon. Besides the death of the king, the Scots had to mourn the loss of an archbishop, two bishops, two abbots, twelve earls, thirteen barons, and of a large number of gentlemen. 60,000 horses, and nineteen pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors. Queen Catherine wisely spoke of the victory as more important to the future of England than any possible amount of achievement in France.—Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 88.

* Rymer, xiii. 409, 413–432. Herbert, 19–22.

court, who now made no secret of their disposition to place the regency in other hands. They succeeded in introducing the duke of Albany to assume that office. The duke was son to a brother of James III., but had been so long in France, that his property, language, and tastes were all French. This was in the spring of 1515. In the summer of the following year Henry prevailed on Francis to recall the duke, as a subject of the French crown, to residence in his proper country.*

Francis I. in Italy—new settlement.

Before conforming in this matter to the wishes of the king of England, Francis had shown that his influence in the affairs of Europe was not likely to be of a very pacific description. In the summer of 1515, an army was collected in France, which, it was given out, would march against the Swiss. But this army Francis conducted suddenly, and by an unexpected route, into the plains of Lombardy. He there defeated the imperialists, and took possession of Milan. Henry joined with the emperor Maximilian in opposing this aggressive policy on the part of France. But the exchequer of the emperor, though considerably replenished by Henry, did not prove equal to the demand of his mercenaries; and the only hope of success rested, it was said, on the possibility of inducing England to assist with men as well as with money.†

Sept. 13.

Oct.

Henry invited to become emperor of Germany.

To secure this object, a startling overture was made to Henry by Maximilian. The latter declared that Europe would not long submit to see Milan in the hands of Germans or Frenchmen. Would the king of England assume the sovereignty of Lombardy? In that case, the emperor professed himself willing to combine his forces with those of England, to march with Henry from Treves to Milan, to proceed from Milan to Rome, and there, in the presence of the

1516.

* Pinkerton, *Hist.* ii. bk. xii.

† *State Papers*, vi. 33–40. Herbert, 25.

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pope, to abdicate the imperial dignity in his favour, with all the required formalities. Henry's advisers cautioned him against being dazzled by this strange proposal. Before much thought could be bestowed upon it, Francis succeeded, by skilful concessions, and by large pecuniary considerations, in bringing all the powers that might be expected to look with jealousy on his success, to acquiesce in it. So closed a seven years' war in Italy, leaving the relations of the belligerents to each other, in the end, very much what they had been at the beginning. In support of this new settlement, Francis urged the necessity of peace and unity among the states of Christendom, that their common strength might be directed against the Turks, who were ravaging Hungary, and were menacing them all with a common ruin. This plea was reasonable enough, only all parties must have seen that it might have been urged before France had made her recent acquisitions, with quite as much propriety as afterwards.*

1518.

Wolsey.

In all these proceedings the king of England was greatly influenced by one mind in his council—the mind which, in a short time, had taken precedence of every other in the conducting of such affairs. In the town of Ipswich, in the year 1470, the wife of a butcher, well to do in his calling, gave birth to a son, who was found, as he grew towards manhood, to be possessed of capacity much above the common order.† At an early age the youth was sent to Oxford, where he became distinguished, not so much by the extent of his acqui-

* Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 134. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, bk. ii. c. 4. Rymer, xiii. 57–621. Herbert, 25, 26.

† Some of Wolsey's admirers have been inclined to doubt the current belief as to his father's calling. But that was the common belief in his lifetime, and on all men's lips; and if it could have been shown to be incorrect, it would not have been left to the men of a later time to deny it with such a total want of authority for so doing. Wolsey is so described by Hall, Skelton, Polydore, and by Luther. Hall says, 'the butcher's son' was the name commonly applied to him by the populace.

sitions, as by the versatility of his talents. He obtained a fellowship in Magdalen college, and became tutor of the school connected with that foundation. But he seems to have reached the thirtieth year of his age with his path in life undetermined. In his thirty-first year he must have taken orders, as he then becomes known as Thomas Wolsey, rector of Lymington, in Somersetshire, a living given him by the marquis of Dorset, whose son he had educated at the university. It was said, that the manners of Wolsey as a country rector, were so little clerical, as to have subjected him to a kind of punishment rarely inflicted except upon brawlers and vagabonds.* We know that afterwards he was for a short time one of archbishop Wareham's domestic chaplains; that he filled the same office in the household of Sir John Nefans, treasurer of Calais; and that, through the influence of that gentleman, he was advanced to be one of the king's chaplains. The king living at that time was Henry VII. In this position Wolsey endeavoured to acquire friends, and to make it evident that he had some capacity for business. Fox, the venerable bishop of Winchester, and Lovel, the chancellor of the exchequer, became disposed to serve him. Through their recommendation he was entrusted with a mission of some importance from the king, to the emperor Maximilian who was then in Flanders.

His mission to Flanders.

Henry was a cautious man in all his doings. He was careful to see Wolsey before deputing him to this errand. The interview was satisfactory, and the new envoy received the requisite papers and instructions. That forenoon passed, and the next day. But on the following morning, as the king was on his way to prayers, he saw Wolsey, and was about to rebuke him for not being on his journey to the Netherlands, when,

* The story is, that one Sir Amyas Pawlet, a magistrate, sent him to the stocks for being drunk and disorderly at a fair. Such an event seems improbable, yet its improbability seems to say it could hardly have been an invention. Sir John Harrington appears to be the earliest known authority for the report.

to his surprise, Wolsey dropped at his feet, and holding forth a packet, said that he had been and returned, and begged his majesty to accept the answer. One material point in the message had been overlooked, to the king's great regret; but Wolsey had detected the omission, had ventured to supply it, and so the answers were in all respects satisfactory. The reward of this achievement was the deanery of Lincoln.* Henry VII. died in the following year. Wolsey was then thirty-eight years of age. Henry VIII. was nearly twenty years younger.

His promotions.

Wolsey was well known to the young king. Within six months from his accession Henry gave him the forfeited residence of Empson—a noble mansion, which stood about where St. Bride's church now stands, in Fleet-street, having gardens and orchards reaching down to the Thames. By that time, also, the rising churchman had become almoner to his majesty, and a member of the council. The next year, another rectory, and a prebendal stall in Windsor, were conferred upon him. In the year following, another stall and another deanery passed into his hands. In 1513, a third deanery, with the office of registrar of the Order of the Garter, fell to him. His next advancement, little more than twelve months later, was to the archiepiscopal see of York. Subsequently, he retained more than one bishopric in his hands, wholly for personal reasons. His last ecclesiastical promotion was to the dignity of cardinal, with the authority of papal legate for all England. This princely rank raised him above all the nobility of the realm, civil and ecclesiastical. It should be remembered, too, that all these acquisitions were realized in little more than five years from the accession of the present king. During those years, moreover, no man was so much occupied in the diplomatic and civil affairs of the

* *The Life of Cardinal Wolsey*, by George Cavendish; edited by S. W. Singer, 2nd ed. 66–78.

country, or in regulating even its military proceedings, as this extraordinary ecclesiastical pluralist.*

His policy as a courtier and favourite.

We see no reason to doubt the truth of the reports which have reached us concerning the manner in which Wolsey acquired his ascendancy over the mind of the king. On this point, all is in keeping with that adroit run to Flanders and back again, of which mention has been made. Henry VII. had designed prince Henry for the see of Canterbury, and the early studies of the prince received a tinge from that circumstance which never ceased to influence his tastes. Wolsey knew how to address himself to such tastes as no layman could. It was in his power also to make himself acceptable as an instrument of much value in matters of business; either in assisting his sovereign when inclined to give his attention to affairs, or by enabling him to dispense with such occupation when so disposed. In the court spectacles and pastimes, with which the king was much occupied during the intervals of study or of business, Wolsey could make himself conveniently serviceable and agreeable. In his intercourse with the king he could be grave when gravity was in place; or gay—gay as the gayest, when the royal humour ran that way. In the more artistic amusements of the court, whether private or public, no man catered for the royal gratification with the assiduity and success of Wolsey.†

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* Cavendish. Fiddes. Turner's *Hist. Eng.* bk. i. c. 7.

† Such in substance is the account given by Polydore Vergil. (*Hist.* 633.) But Wolsey had a quarrel with Polydore, had sent him to prison for six months on account of his alleged misconduct as a papal collector, and this sarcastic description, as it is called, has been attributed to Polydore's resentment. But Cavendish, one of Wolsey's household, undertook, in his *Life* of the cardinal, to refute the slanders which had been sent abroad by 'the madness of the rude commonalty,' concerning his old master. His account, however, as to the above particulars, is not more in Wolsey's favour than that given by Polydore (81–83). Nor is there any reason to think that Cavendish adopted this description from Polydore. Cavendish no doubt wrote from what he had witnessed, or had fair means of knowing. In fact, both writers describe what was generally credited,

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So did this memorable person rise to his place in English history. In the greatness of the king of England, and in the greatness of England, Wolsey learnt to see his own greatness. His loyalty and his patriotism never ceased to be allied to the personal. Nor was it enough that he should have grown to such eminence, and should often seem to hold the balance between the great powers of Europe. He aspired, as is well known, to become the spiritual head of Christendom, and never ceased to aim at that object so long as there was the slightest ground to hope that it might be obtained. To describe the intrigues, the expenditure, and the double-dealing to which the cardinal resorted in furtherance of this scheme, would require a large space. Henry, from policy or persuasion, encouraged these high thoughts in his favourite minister, though much was done in relation to this object of which the king had no knowledge.*

Aspires to the Papacy.

His case on the death of Leo X.

In the election of a pope it was necessary that two-thirds of the cardinals assembled should agree in their suffrage. But the cardinals who were prepared to obey the influence of Francis I. on the one hand, and the imperialists, as they were called, who were understood to be pledged to the interest of Charles V. on the other, were so numerous when taken together,

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and must, we think, have been in the main true. We know enough of the manner in which Henry threw himself upon his favourites, and of the manner in which his favourites were obliged to become the slaves of his humour, to make this entire description highly probable. The first edition of Polydore's *History* was published on the Continent in 1534. Before that time, the pious and honest John Tyndale, who had a deep interest in knowing whatever might be known in regard to Wolsey, thus writes of him: 'He came unto the king and waited upon him, and was no man so obsequious and serviceable, and in all games and sports the first and next at hand; and as a captain to courage others, and a gay finder out of new pastimes to obtain favour with all. He spied out the nature and disposition of the king's playfellows, and all that were great, and whom he spied meet for his purpose, he flattered, and made faithful with great promises.'—*Practice of Prelates*, 307, 308.

* See Cavendish, Hall, Burnet, Herbert, passim. Fiddes, bk. ii. c. 22, 24. Turner, bk. i. c. 8.

and so nearly equal when divided, that the choice of a successor to the chair of St. Peter was hardly possible, except as these two factions might be brought to some measure of compromise. The bitter rivalry between Francis and Charles, was faithfully reflected in their respective adherents in the conclave; and Wolsey's success, unfortunately, was dependent on his being able to make friends from both sides. Hence much of the duplicity which marked his foreign policy, especially at particular intervals.

Leo X. died in 1521. But his health had been failing for some time, and Wolsey's hope of becoming his successor can be traced to 1519, if not to an earlier period. The French cardinals, and the imperialist cardinals, resolved to uphold their respective interests. During fourteen days they remained closeted together, facing each other in angry debate. Wolsey had his friends among the disputants, but he had no real chance of success. In the end, the choice fell, contrary to all expectation, on the ecclesiastic—a stranger to Rome and to its vices—who became known as Adrian IV.* The new pope had been tutor and minister to Charles V. This election, accordingly, was a triumph of the imperialists, though, from its circumstances, and from the character of the man, the resentment of the defeated party was not of long continuance.

His case on the death of Adrian.

Two years of ceaseless effort to improve a state of affairs which had become too bad to admit of mending, brought the pious Adrian to his grave. The

* John Clerk, sending his report of these proceedings to Wolsey from Rome, says, 'On my faith, were it not for the king's persuasions, I should stand greatly in doubt whether your grace would accept it [the papacy], if it were offered you. The thing is in such disorder, ruin, and decay, and shall be every day more and more, except God help and Christian princes set their hands. It should be too long to write unto your grace of the reported chiding, brawling, and scolding between these cardinals, and of their great schism, dissension, their malicious, unfaithful, and uncharitable demeanour one of them against the other, which every day increased while they were in conclave.'—Ellis, *Orig. Let.* 3rd Series, i. 304–316.

history of the next election was even more scandalous than the last. Wolsey was now very earnest in his suit. He spared nothing in the way of correspondence, intrigue, or money. The old fight between the two factions was resumed. It is evident that Wolsey, throughout this business, had no real friend either in Francis or in Charles. The checks imposed on the ambition of those princes by England were formidable enough already, and promised to be much more so, if an Englishman, and a favourite of the king of England, should ascend the papal throne. No aggressive policy would be possible to either, if opposed by Henry, and by an able pontiff in league with him. Of late, the papacy had become as much a military as an ecclesiastical power; and in this renewed battle of the cardinals, accordingly, we see a conflict intended to determine, not merely who should be pope, but what power should be ascendant in the politics of Europe. The cardinals, in this instance, were occupied through no less than fifty-nine days with their various debates and schemes. In the end, the imperialists were again successful. The cardinal de Medici, who spoke of the French as his 'capital enemies,' became pope as Clement VII.* Five years later, when Clement became unwell, Wolsey still looked with hope towards the triple crown, and was again in action.†

But this whole affair was a mistake. For a considerable interval Wolsey's bias in all matters of foreign policy was greatly influenced by his expectations of assistance when the papal throne should next become vacant. The vacancy came, he found himself deceived, and he then became intent on being avenged upon those who had deceived him. His quarrel with Charles came from this source. Rome was his Moscow. His campaign in that direction brought evils upon him which were too great to be borne. He was crushed by them.

* *State Papers*, vi. 175–184, 190, 195–201.

† Burnet, i. App. 53.

His pensions from foreign princes.

The revenue of the cardinal from all sources was such as almost to defy conjecture. His income from the offices which were combined in his person as a churchman must have been without precedent in English history. Added to this wealth, were the emoluments derived from his office as chancellor, and from his other civil functions. Beyond the princely means thus assured to him, were the large gifts, and fixed annuities, which passed into his hands from the foreign princes whose affairs came under his influence. We do not know the extent to which he descended to fill his coffers by such means, but we know more than enough on this point. So early as 1515 the duke of Milan pledged himself to pay the English minister 10,000 ducats a year. In 1517 Charles V. bestowed on his 'dear and special friend' a pension of 3000 livres annually. Soon afterwards Charles promised his friend the bishopric of Badajos, together with 5000 ducats a year from a second bishopric in Castile, and 2000 from a third in Valentia. Francis I., not long after his accession, engaged to pay Wolsey no less a sum than 12,000*l.* annually. In 1522 Charles promised the cardinal a further pension of 9000 ducats in gold. Subsequently, an additional annuity of 2500 ducats was promised from the same quarter; and when Clement VII. and the republic of Venice were in league against Charles, the gain of Wolsey from that source was to be a yearly pension amounting to 10,000 ducats.

It has been said that the acceptance of such gratuities is not in itself evidence of official corruption. We marvel greatly that any honourable man should see these proceedings in any other light. In nearly all the connexions above mentioned the province of Wolsey was that of a magistrate. He was the administrator of international law. In nearly all the instances named, the moneys granted were granted to him in that capacity, and with a reference, avowed or understood, to services rendered in the past or expected in the future. The first grant made by

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the French king was made with a view to the surrender of Tournay, and Tournay was surrendered. In the subsequent proceedings of this nature, on the part of Francis on the one side and of Charles on the other, the objects in view were similar. It is true a pension of 9000 crowns in gold, promised by Charles in 1522, was promised expressly as an indemnity, inasmuch as Wolsey's services to Charles had caused the temporary loss of his Tournay pension from Francis. But the original grant had been a bribe, and the promise of the duke of Milan, and that of Clement and the Venetians, were both manifestly open to that charge.*

Foreign relations of England resumed.

We have seen what the foreign relations of England were to the year 1518. On the 12th of January, in the year following, Maximilian died. The choice of his successor, according to the laws of the empire, rested with seven electors, who could exercise their suffrage in favour of any candidate according to their pleasure. We have seen that Maximilian proposed to resign his crown in favour of Henry.† Charles and Francis now became competitors for that prize. Both affected to think that the vacant throne could hardly be an attraction to the king of England, and both applied to him for support. The correspondence on this subject was so conducted, that both kings were led to calculate on Henry's influence, while, in fact, he was not disposed to assist either, and at the eleventh hour he became a candidate himself. The result of this policy was such as might have been expected. The election fell upon Charles, and both Charles and Francis felt that there had been covert practice on the part of Henry and Wolsey. The cardinal legate was no doubt the chief delinquent. His

* Rymer, xiii. 370, 525, 610, 710, 725, 769, 770; xiv. 110. Fiddes, bk. ii. c. 12, 14. Turner, bk. i. c. 8. Ellis's *Orig. Let.* 3rd Series, ii. 93–98. These letters show that the cardinal looked well after his pensions, and that often the payment was not obtained without difficulty. Herbert, 30, 31.

† Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 134.

eye was on the papal chair; his object was to secure influence from both candidates; the result was, as we have seen, that he received no real assistance from either.*

Meeting between Francis and Henry.

In the next year Francis devised a grand meeting between himself and his brother of England, which was fixed to take place on a spot between Guisnes and Ardres, in France. Charles looked with distrust on this proceeding, and contrived to pay a visit to the English monarch a week before his intended interview with Francis. The visit of the emperor was confiding and unostentatious. The French interview was marked, in its earlier stages at least, by suspicion, and was showy and gorgeous to the last degree. The French people were then, as they have always been, the people in Europe the most fond of spectacle and gaiety; and, of all nations, the English were the most in danger of taking the French as models. The meeting between Guisnes and Ardres lasted many days, and many thousand ladies and gentlemen were present to witness the jousts, and pastimes of all descriptions, which took place there, many of them being remarkable alike for their extravagant fooling and their great cost.†

1520. May 25.

Policy of Henry in relation to France and Spain.

This feeling on the part of Charles and Francis in relation to England, betrayed their deep distrust of each other. On both sides there was only too much reason for this want of confidence. The love borne by those princes to their subjects, weighed little against the feeling of jealousy with which they regarded each other, or against their common passion for territorial aggrandizement. To promote such objects, none of the arts or insincerities of diplomacy were spared on either side. Henry, too, as we have said, was disposed to think that it became the great-

* *State Papers*, i. 2–8. Turner, *Hist. Eng.* bk. i. c. 8. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 146–158.

† Hall, 600–620.

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ness of England to make herself felt in the affairs of those potentates, each of whom aspired to give law to Europe; and Wolsey found a large field in which to gratify his love of pomp and power by meddling with all the departments of their policy.

New rupture between Francis and Charles.

In the pacification of 1518 it had been agreed between the three sovereigns, that if one of their number should renew hostilities against the other, the third should take part against the aggressor.* But, unhappily, by 1521, Charles and Francis had become intent on war. Pretences, as usual, were soon found. Complaints in some small and doubtful matters had been mutually urged, when Francis proceeded to demand the surrender of the province of Navarre, or that an equivalent, said to have been promised in lieu of it, should be furnished.† The reader has seen the manner in which that province had been seized by Ferdinand, and will hardly be surprised to find the question concerning it assuming this shape. Charles was not disposed to comply with the demand thus made upon him. Whereupon, Francis sent the young king of Navarre, at the head of fourteen thousand men, to take possession of the disputed territory. Charles, it was alleged, had not only forfeited his word, but had at the same time assembled a large force in Franche Comté, with the manifest intention of invading France. The natural course of the English cabinet in this case was to mediate in favour of peace. Francis seemed strongly inclined to war. But circumstances arose to render his prospects of success less satisfactory. An attempt of his army to penetrate into Castile sufficed to allay some popular discontents in Spain, and to rouse the patriotism of the people. The effect was, that Navarre was lost as speedily as it had been won. At the same time, it became known that Leo X. had allied himself with Charles, and had given the kingdom of Naples to that

* Herbert, 43. † M. du Bellay, 101–104.

monarch—a prize on which the ambition of Francis was known to have been fixed. In the end, both parties professed to submit their case to arbitration. But it was evidently to be an arbitration in name only, inasmuch as neither side would consent to be bound by any decision which did not cede its own rights according to its own estimate of them.*

Wolsey goes to Calais as umpire—insincerity of the English intervention.

Wolsey, however, passed over to Calais, and appeared there in great pomp to act as arbitrator. While Francis assented to this much, from deference to Henry, and to gratify his minister, it was not without reason that he suspected treachery on the part of both. It is now clear, from letters still existing in manuscript, and not examined until recently, that Wolsey and Henry, while declaring themselves concerned to do justice to the king of France, were in secret communication with the emperor, and committed fully to his policy.† It was by Wolsey's suggestion that six

* *State Papers*, i. 12–17, vi. 70–82.

† The following extract is from one of Wolsey's letters to Henry, *before* his departure for Calais: 'It may please your grace to understand I have received by the hands of the emperor's ambassador, letters from his master, written with his own hand, for my repair to your town of Calais; which letters I send unto your grace herewith, by the tenour whereof the same may perceive how desirous the said emperor is of my speedy acceleration thitherward, and *how greatly he is inclined to the straiter conjunction between you and him.* Over this, by such communication as I have had by the French ambassador Delabaty, I do continually perceive the French king to be glad and well-minded towards an abstinence of war for a season; wherewith the emperor as yet will in no wise condescend. Nevertheless, I shall not fail by all politic means and persuasions continually to solicit the Emperor to be agreeable to the said abstinence till such time as it be seen what effect shall come of this diet at Calais, and *the said straiter conjunction be concluded.*'— *State Papers*, i. 20, 21. In a letter written by Pace to Wolsey, at Henry's dictation, the meaning of this 'straiter conjunction' is made clear. 'Please it your grace, the king hath concluded, according to your advice and counsel, to put in readiness five or six thousand archers, the same to be ready to do service as shall appertain, at such time as your grace shall have *concluded his affairs with the emperor, according to such communications, devices, and debatements, as hath been had betwixt you both on that behalf.* Over and above this, the king signifyeth unto your grace one of his own secret devices, and desireth to hear your grace's opinion thereon

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thousand English archers were to be put in readiness to act with the imperialists; and we now know that the cardinal was prepared, in the manner of the mailed ecclesiastics of the Middle Age, to lead this force himself into the field.* Henry shared fully in the martial ardour of his minister, and allowed himself to be drawn into the duplicities which have marked the policy of Wolsey at this juncture. While the pretended arbitration was in process at Calais, Charles was at Bruges. Wolsey insisted on its being necessary that he should see the emperor in person, and for this purpose he removed to the latter city. The emperor received the cardinal with all the ceremony that would have been due to his sovereign. After thirteen days of conference and amusement at Bruges, a secret treaty was matured, which was to give Navarre, Lombardy, and something more to Charles, and the crown of France to Henry. The real purpose of the proposed arbitration had been to gain time. Happily for his own affairs, while Calais furnished its talkers about peace, Francis had relaxed nothing in his preparation

Grand reception given to Wolsey by Charles.

1521. Aug.

with diligence. His highness thinks that at such time as all things shall be concluded betwixt the emperor and him, according to his mind, and *a resolution taken to invade France*, then it shall be necessary for them both to provide for the *destruction of the French king's navy*; and his grace would that, at time convenient, this matter might *secretly be broken to the said emperor*, and treated in such wise that this enterprise *might suddenly be made against the French king*. And the king taketh this for high and great enterprise, if it may thus by wisdom and good policy be brought to pass.'—Ibid. 23. Care was taken that Henry and Wolsey should be fully indemnified for all their losses in the shape of annual payments from Francis, as the consequence of going to war with him; and the best forecast was exercised that these matters should be kept secret so long as not to endanger the last quarterly remittance that might be obtained from the French treasury!—See much on this subject in *State Papers*, i. 23–58. Dr. Lingard makes no mention of this secret prejudgment of the case on the part of Henry and Wolsey, before the latter had set his foot in 'your town' of Calais, and leaves the reader to infer that the compact at Bruges was purely on account of the failure of negotiations at Calais.—*Hist. Eng.* vi. 80–82. But this pretty affair was the work of a cardinal.

* See *State Papers*, i. 31–36.

for war. He had sent his generals into Champagne, Picardy, Guienne, and Milan, and stood prepared himself to meet the emperor. During the same interval his enemies had been no less active.*

At the close of the campaign of 1521 the French found themselves expelled from Milan. Elsewhere the balance of advantage and disadvantage was more equal. All that the policy of England would do to aid the imperialists, by obtruding new expostulations and new proposals upon their enemies, was done. Nothing could be more pitiable than the course into which England was dragged at this juncture by Wolsey and the king. But in the spring of 1522 the drift of the secret treaty at Bruges the year before was no longer a secret. Francis, on being told that Henry had decided to take part against him, replied with calmness and dignity, that he trusted he should be able to meet even that exigency, but that henceforth there was no living prince on whose word he should ever depend.†

Progress of the war—De la Pole and Bourbon.

The result of the campaign of 1522 was on the whole so little satisfactory, that the parties chiefly concerned would probably have been disposed towards peace, had not some new elements of irritation come into play. When England declared herself hostile to France, Francis did not hesitate to become the patron of the exile De la Pole, a pretender to the English throne by his descent from the house of York. Of this person the English government had been so far jealous that spies were kept upon his track. On the

* M. du Bellay, 113–118. The English envoy, in a letter dated August 2, writes that Francis had said to him, 'The emperor hath been at Ghent, said he was born there, and trusted they would help him, for he would leave the king of France in his shirt.'—*MS.* Calig. D. 84–87, 93. Hall, 627. *State Papers*, i. 23–58; vi. 70–85.

† *State Papers*, i. 98–112. It will be remembered that in January, 1522, Adrian had been raised to the papal chair. That event cooled the ardour of Wolsey in the cause of the imperialists. But matters had now gone too far to allow of any speedy change of policy.

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Defection of the duke of Bourbon.

other hand, the duke of Bourbon, the most wealthy and influential subject of the French crown, had a quarrel with Francis, and tendered his services to Charles and Henry, should they persist in their determination to humble the pride of that monarch. Bourbon pledged himself to sustain the pretensions of Henry to the crown of France. Great importance was attached to his defection, and by the month of August the parties were all agreed upon the diplomatic and military arrangements which were to deliver Francis and the French into the hands of the invaders. The English were to be in France by the 25th of August, and the kingdom was to be entered by large forces, from different points, at the same time. Up to this period the French cabinet was so far in ignorance of these projects, that Francis was about to pass into Italy, in the hope of enlarging his territory in that quarter. But at the given time the chiefs opposed to him were all at their given places—except one. At the eleventh hour the mind of Bourbon had wavered. He did not quit his home until it became necessary he should do so as a fugitive and in disguise. He had then to avoid all the beaten paths of the country, armed men being everywhere in search of him. Weeks were thus consumed. Neither friend nor foe knew where to find the duke. So all the parts of the carefully-wrought scheme fell into disorder.

Failure of the great scheme of the allies.

The man from whom so much had been expected had thus marred everything. His own friends did not rise. The Germans kept in waiting for him now became mutinous for the want of pay. The English and the Flemings were left to act irregularly and fruitlessly. Bourbon, indeed, when he made his appearance, would still have accomplished something but, after his recent failure, men distrusted his judgment and firmness, and were slow to commit themselves to his guidance.*

* *Mem.* Du Bellay, 204–279. *State Papers*, i. 119–147; v. 134–141.

Accident, it was said, not the want of a wise adjustment of means to ends, had caused the failure of the campaign of 1523. It was followed, accordingly, by another in 1524. In Italy, the duke of Bourbon fully retrieved his reputation. By a series of skilful enterprises, he succeeded in compelling the French to retreat in great disorder from the soil of that country. Charles, Henry, and Wolsey now urged him to devise another scheme for the invasion of France. He did so: but in that responsible undertaking he had to depend mainly on assistance from England, and that assistance never came. The language of Wolsey in substance was: 'My master aspires to the crown of 'France; make such progress in the invasion of that 'country as to assure him that you can place its ter- 'ritory, or some considerable portion of it, at his dis- 'posal, and you may then expect large assistance from 'him in men and money, but not till then.'* Pace, the English envoy, in pressing a bolder and a more confiding policy on the cardinal, went so far in one instance as to say, that if another course were not taken, he should impute to that minister the loss of the crown of France. Such words were new to the cardinal. He never forgave them. His resentment brought the unfortunate functionary to poverty and lunacy.† Not a few men of the time were convinced, that in 1523, and in 1524, Wolsey did not wish to see the power of France further restricted—a policy on the side of which many sound reasons might have been urged: but the cardinal does not appear to have been influenced by those reasons.‡ Bourbon invaded the French territory, willing to believe that the show of co-operation, and ere long the reality, would be extended towards him from England. But he was miserably deceived. England and Spain proved alike

Campaign of 1524.

* *State Papers*, vi. 288–293, 309, 313–325.
† Foxe, iv. 598, 599. Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd Series, ii. 151.
‡ Tyndale's *Practice of Prelates*. Foxe, iv. 598.

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treacherous. He was left to retrace his steps as he best could; and so ended the dreams which were to have given the crown of France to the Defender of the Faith.*

The battle of Pavia.

But Italy was still in arms against France. The 24th of February, 1525, brought with it the memorable battle of Pavia. In that battle many distinguished nobles, and some eight thousand men, perished under the weapons of the victorious imperialists. Francis himself, and the young king of Navarre, were among the captives; and the pretender, De la Pole, who escaped from the field, was subsequently robbed and murdered.† Charles owed this turn in his affairs to the genius and energy of Bourbon.

Charles does not favour the policy of Henry and Wolsey.

The king of England and his minister showed no compassion to the fallen. They urged that the invasion of France should be immediately renewed. Most elaborate were the arguments used, and the measures taken, to induce Charles and the allies to combine for the utter extinction of the royal line of France, and to secure to the English monarch the realization of what was described as his ancient and just claim to the crown of that kingdom. With an English dynasty on the throne of France, it was urged, Europe might have rest, and the head of the church, and the church herself, might be secure and prosperous; but by no other policy could those ends be accomplished. The English ambassadors were instructed to plead for nothing less than this in the first instance. Should this grand scheme of spoliation be deemed impracticable, a gradation of schemes followed, which were to be urged in succession, according to circumstances.‡ But, unfortunately, the success of these projects depended on the concurrence

* *State Papers*, vi. 325–333, 354–364.

† Du Bellay, 117. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 257–267. Hall, 693. Guicciardini.

‡ *State Papers*, vi. 412–437.

and assistance of the emperor; and Charles, as we have said, was in reality no more disposed to see Henry master of Paris, than to see Wolsey master in Rome. He was not, therefore, to be seduced by such representations. He had other views concerning the best method of giving tranquillity to Europe and stability to the church. Could he have hoped for such results from the policy described, the difficulties in the way of prosecuting it were great. France soon made it manifest that her existence as a nation was a fact independent of the fate of her king. The invasion of that country, with any prospect of subduing it, would still be a very costly undertaking; and Charles and Henry had both so taxed their subjects in support of their war projects, that their people had become weary, discontented, all but rebellious.*

Rival schemes of Henry and Charles.

In the course of the summer of 1525 it became evident that Spain was intent on making such arrangements with France as should be best for herself, and that England would be left to take the same course. The pope, in the meanwhile, was most urgent in his persuasions on the side of peace. Henry was by no means satisfied with this aspect of affairs. Charles was bound by treaty to a personal invasion of France, but he had failed of his promise. England had expended vast sums in support of the emperor's wars, and to this hour without the least advantage in return. On these grounds, and others, Henry decided to make peace with France; and he did so without waiting to consult Charles on the subject. Added to all such grounds of discontent, in the case of Wolsey, was the remembrance of the manner in which Charles had failed him when he was a candidate for the papal chair. And Wolsey was not so cautious in the expression of his feeling as his sovereign. The whole confederacy that had been formed against France became distasteful to him. In his talk he learnt to

Wolsey's alienation from Charles.

* Hall, 695–697. Fiddes, 322 et seq.

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speak of Bourbon as a traitor; and of Charles as a liar, whose most solemn words deserved no regard. Charles was apprised that the cardinal so spoke of him. In less than four months after the battle of Pavia we find the emperor stating to the English ambassador at Madrid, that his confidence in Wolsey for the future would be founded upon his deeds, not at all upon his words.* Two months later Henry is made to find reasons for concluding a treaty with France without waiting to obtain the concurrence of his nephew of Spain, though bound by treaty so to have done; and Wolsey then writes to the English ambassadors, informing them of the altered feeling of Henry towards France, and in a letter to the pope he takes to himself the entire credit of the change.†

Release of Francis—urged by Wolsey to violate his pledges.

No sooner was Francis released than Wolsey began to exercise his ingenuities to the utmost to persuade

* See the joint letter of the three ambassadors in Spain, bishop Tunstall, Sir Richard Wingfield, and Master Sampson, to Wolsey, in Ellis's *Letters*, 3rd Series, ii. 12 et seq. 'We delivered your grace's letters in the best manner we could. The which his majesty read, and afterwards said there were some words in the said letters very good concerning his affairs. Howbeit, he could not but marvel at your grace's different demeanour towards him divers times. . . . . His majesty said that your grace had named him a liar, observing no manner of faith or promise; my lady Margaret a ribald; Don Fernando, his brother, a child, and so governed; the duke of Bourbon, a creature. This, sir, with other words his majesty spake, by the which we perceived that he hath at divers times heard grievous reports of your grace, and esteemeth the same demeanour very strange.'

Dr. Lingard speaks of the assertion first made by the imperialists, and since taken for granted by historians, that the alliance between Henry and France and the divorce of queen Catherine were suggested by Wolsey, in revenge for his disappointment in regard to the papacy, as a mere assumption; and the historian adds: 'For eighteen months after that disappointment no traces of disaffection appear in his despatches, but the most eager desire to promote the common cause of the allies.'—vi. 106, 2nd ed. Wolsey had many reasons for wishing well to the cause of the allies; but the letter from which the above extract is taken was sent in less than eighteen months after that disappointment, and if all had been amity between Wolsey and Charles before, how came such a letter to be written then?

† *State Papers*, i. 165–168; vi. 422–476. Rymer, 113.

him that it became him to repudiate the conditions on which he had been restored to liberty. The fullest and most minute instructions were sent to the English ambassadors, Sir Thomas Cheney and Dr. Tayler, prescribing the covert modes in which they were to proceed with this delicate business.* This object secured, Francis was to be urged to join with the Italian states, and with the pope, in opposing the dangerous ascendancy to which Charles had attained. Francis did not mean to be bound by the conditions which Charles had extorted from him, but he did not go readily into this scheme. He was, however, brought over to it. He had re-entered his dominions about the middle of March, and ten weeks later, the 'Holy League of 'Italy,' as it was called, was formed. Clement had come to be no less zealous than Wolsey on the side of this new movement. He looked with much apprehension to the unchecked ascendancy of the imperialists in Italy. Charles, indeed, described the pope as the author of this war.†

1526. May 22. The Holy League of Italy.

But, while giving all secret encouragement to this 'Holy League,' the English cabinet professed itself neutral, and continued to use the language of friendship in addressing themselves to the emperor and to his ambassadors. Francis declared that he should never have committed himself to the league had he not been urged to it so strongly by Henry; and the Italians said their great hope from the first had been, that the king of England would place himself at the head of their confederation. Wolsey had found excuses

England affects neutrality.

* See these instructions in Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 93–100, Oxford ed. *State Papers*, i. 158, 159.

† Hall, 712–714. Charles proposed going to Rome to be crowned. 'Pope Clement VII., a man of great wit and vice, and of little virtue or learning, much doubted in himself what damage might come to him if the emperor had Naples, Sicily, and the duchy of Milan, and also were crowned emperor. Wherefore he sent to the Venetians, the Florentines, and to Francis Sforza of Milan, and they consulted how they might banish him and his out of all Italy.'—Ibid.

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for disappointing these expectations, and had been pursuing this course, stimulating against Charles all that could be so influenced, for more than twelve months, when an English minister in Madrid thus writes to him: 'According to your commission, I showed to 'the emperor that your grace, abashed and somewhat 'abused, had given me command, on your behalf, to 'say that your grace is entirely devout towards his 'majesty, above and over all other princes, next to 'the king your sovereign lord, and always hath 'studied, and yet doth, to entertain the old amity 'between the two houses of England and Burgundy. 'That your grace, prostrate and most humble, on your 'knees, desireth his majesty at this time to show such 'demonstrations towards the king's highness, that his 'said highness may well perceive that his majesty 'both loveth him and trusteth him—forsomuch as 'no worldly thing could be to your grace more joyful 'than to see the continuance of sincere and perfect 'conjunction between the king's highness and his 'majesty as ever hath been.'* The reader will look well to the language of this extract, in connexion with the circumstances mentioned, and draw his own conclusion.†

The war in Italy.

While the diplomatists were indulging in insincerities of this description—for Charles and Francis were little better than the cardinal in this respect—the war in Italy was carried on, and with the usual fluctuations. By degrees the Duke of Bourbon found himself at the head of a large body of Spanish and German mercenaries, who, from want of pay, had become

* *MS.* Vesp. C. iv. 47.

† In one of his letters to Henry, Wolsey describes the Italians of 1526 as complaining heavily that they should not have committed themselves to the league, but from his persuasion and in the hope of his assistance—and to which Wolsey informs the king he had replied by stating, that the king of England was bound by treaty not to be a party to hostility against Charles in any way, except under such circumstances as did not then exist.' —*State Papers*, i. 165–168.

disorderly and desperate. In fact, the only choice left to them was to supply their wants from the country they traversed or to starve. Even the freest pillage failed to save them from almost the last stage of famine. Nothing but the assurance that the spoil of some rich city was to follow as a compensation for such suffering kept them together. It was in the end decided that Rome itself should be the city assailed. The pope had been the prime mover in bringing on the war; upon him and his, therefore, it was said, let the heaviest penalty descend.

Rome besieged and sacked. 1527.

Clement flattered himself that the attack might be resisted, at least for a few days. In that case, famine would do its work among the besiegers, and help might be expected. The storming commenced early on the morning of Easter Sunday, amidst a thick fog, which prevented besiegers or besieged from seeing more than two yards before them. At the same time, the assailants, being without artillery, had no means of entrance except by scaling the walls. Bourbon, who well knew the difficulty of the enterprise, to encourage his men, placed himself in front of the danger. Soon a shot from an arquebuss entered his body, and he fell to the ground a dying man. Even at such a moment his military self-possession did not fail him—'Throw 'a cloak about me—let no man know it,' were the last orders from his lips. The siege was still prosecuted. Onset followed onset, and a thousand of the besiegers had perished, but Rome was not taken. Two hours had thus passed, when an aperture was discovered in the wall, which had once served as a window to an apartment within. It was all but concealed by the accumulation of soil near it. Excavation was commenced, and an entrance was secured. The besiegers rushed in. The astonished defenders of the walls, on finding the enemy in their rear, were seized with a panic. All was confusion. The pope, and many of the citizens, fled to the castle of St. Angelo. The whole city beyond the walls of that fortress fell into

the hands of the enraged soldiery. The scene was one of boundless licence. Pillage, lust, and bloodshed were without restraint.*

Rome, as the residence of the head of the Church, should have been the great peacemaker, and the great pattern of all Christian virtues. But during the last half-century, the Roman pontiffs, in their capacity as temporal princes, had been among the foremost in taking to the sword; and Rome itself had been characterized beyond any other city by its treacheries, its sensualities, and its crimes. It now reaped as it had sown. It was, indeed, a memorable sign of the times, when an army, acting under the name of the successor of Charlemagne, and bearing the title of the 'Most 'Catholic' king, brought such a flood of retribution and scorn on the seat of the papacy. Many of the soldiers under Bourbon were Lutherans, and this signal desecration of sacred things has been attributed mainly to the fanaticism of that portion of the spoliators. But the charge was not likely to be true; and we know, from sources that cannot be suspected of partiality, that the Spanish Catholics were much less restrained in their excesses than the German Lutherans.† No

* F. Guicciardini, *Hist.* bk. xviii. Four thousand of the Romans perished in defending the place, or subsequently. 'It was reported that the plunder in money, gold, silver plate, and jewels, amounted to above a million of ducats, but what was raised by ransoms made a much greater sum.'—Ibid. Charles gave no sanction to the deeds of this banditti, but he profited largely by what they had done.

† The testimony of Luigi Guicciardini is not that of a Protestant, and is explicit. Rome, as described by him, was 'a corrupt city, full of abominable vices, and with manners wholly unlike those of its famed antiquity:' —and of Bourbon's men he writes: 'I know that I am about to say what many will perhaps hardly believe; it is that the Lutheran and German nation, though commonly supposed to be more cruel, and more hostile to Italian blood than the Spanish, yet *questa volta*; in this affair, showed itself to be in its nature more benign, less covetous, and more tractable, than the Spanish or the Italian. Many and many Germans checked the impetuosity and military fury of the others; they put their prisoners to less torment; were satisfied with less money, and used much more humanity and discretion to the gentler sex.'

doubt Romanism in Rome had done much to make some men Lutherans, but it had done much to make infidels of multitudes who still professed themselves Catholics.

Scotland.

While the foreign relations of England were assuming this complexion, what was the influence of these events on the relations between England and Scotland? We have seen that in 1515 the duke of Albany became a conspicuous person in the affairs of that country. In 1522, when another war had commenced between Francis and Henry, Albany had become regent, Margaret's eldest son being in his minority. The duke leagued with France, and the Scottish borders were again menaced with war. Albany collected some eighty thousand men, and possessed more than forty pieces of brass cannon. The resources of England had of course been directed towards France. Money wherewith to oppose this second foe there was none; and in the history of war, a scarcity of money means a scarcity of men. But lord Dacre, the warden of the West Marches, put on a bold front. He reminded the enemy of what had happened at Flodden field; boasted of the multitudes that were flocking to his standard; and so alarmed the duke, that he descended to solicit a truce for one month, that communication might be made to Henry. The result was, that the Scots were dispersed by the fear of an army which had never been assembled.

These events belong to the autumn of 1522. In the spring of the following year, Albany, who had been absent from Scotland during the winter, landed with 5000 men. This force was to serve as the nucleus of an army for the invasion of England. The parliament favoured this project; and by the autumn the duke had mustered 60,000 men. The earl of Surrey, the hero of Flodden, had spread an utter desolation along the Scottish border, but looked with some dismay from the few armed men about him to the myriads opposed to him. He called on the cabinet to

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send all the young men who were idling about the court to their duties in the field. He at the same time commended his family to the protection of those who should survive him, and was prepared for the worst, if the worst should come. Happily, the men of the northern counties came nobly to his aid. To his own amazement he soon found that he could march fifty thousand men against the enemy. He came upon the Scots while engaged in the siege of Wark castle, towards evening. Albany was not inclined to face such a foe. During the night the siege of that place was raised, and the Scots hastened homewards in much disorder. The English horsemen would gladly have followed the retreating foe, but the commission of Surrey was to defend the English border, not to invade Scotland; and that work was done. The men north of the Tweed had now placed their last trust in Albany. Margaret attempted to resume the government of the country. Henry encouraged her husband, the earl of Angus, to take upon him the office of regent, and during nearly twenty years from this time the two nations ceased from hostilities.*

Attempts to raise money for the prosecution of these wars.

We have seen that the soldiers engaged in the wars of Europe in the early part of the sixteenth century, were to a large extent mercenaries, and that the influence of England in relation to those contentions was mainly the influence of her exchequer. Hence the foreign policy of Henry and Wolsey, as involving large expenditure, connected itself naturally with modes of raising money, and with questions relating to our constitutional history.

Modes of raising money under Richard III. and Henry VII.

Before the accession of Henry VIII. the English constitution was so far settled, that no law could be enacted or abrogated, and no new tax could be im-

* Pinkerton, ii. bk. xii. xiii. Hall, 664–666. The duke of Albany was a vain and shallow person. The English saw in his career a fitting punishment of the Scotch fondness for Frenchmen.—Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 240, 241.

posed, without the consent of parliament. The forced loans, under the name of 'benevolences,' to which Edward IV. had resorted, were condemned in a statute under Richard III. as illegal. But while the nation as such, was thus careful to protect the fruits of its industry, it did not extend the same protection to individuals, when exposed, on other grounds, to the displeasure of the government. The officers of Henry VII., and the king himself, committed many grievous oppressions against private persons. But so sensitive were the people at large on all money questions directly affecting them, that even the grants made by parliament were more than once openly repudiated, and the feeling against the attempts made to raise money by way of loan was, as will be supposed, still stronger, especially among the more wealthy classes. Archbishop Morton, in dealing with the discontent of those classes, was insolent enough to say, that such of them as lived expensively gave sufficient evidence of having money to spare, while those who lived more frugally might be reasonably suspected of hoarding. In either case, a moderate loan should not be taken as a hardship. This was spoken of at the time as 'Morton's fork,' which left the malcontent subject no way of escape. It was not, however, from such sources that the avaricious king acquired the larger portion of his wealth—that came rather from fines and forfeitures, exacted under the colour of law. It should be added, that our money-loving and comfort-loving ancestors of those times, while so zealous to uphold the authority of parliament in relation to taxation, were not so sensible as they should have been to the importance of upholding the legislative power of that assembly. It is true, nothing became law without consent of parliament, but parliament did not adequately protect its own laws against straining and misinterpretation; and the next evil to living under bad laws, is to be left to the mercy of bad interpreters of law. Parliament took care, however, on the accession of the new dynasty in

the person of Henry VII., to rest the authority of the crown on 'the consent of the lords, at the request of 'the commons,' passing by the question of hereditary right. One other good deed was done by that parliament. It passed a law which declared that no man should be adjudged a traitor for obeying a king who was such in fact, though it should afterwards be ruled that he was not such by right. The principle of this enactment promised to be of great value, and it was often appealed to in later periods of our history, though not always successfully.

1509. The great business of the first parliament under Henry VIII. consisted in the proceedings against the delinquents Empson and Dudley. Three years later Henry convened his second parliament. The purpose of its meeting was, that the two houses might concur in a declaration of war against France, and that the requisite supplies might be voted. The war was popular, and a subsidy and a poll-tax were granted. In 1514, the third parliament in this reign was assembled. It had not been deemed expedient to enforce the poll-tax on the humbler classes. The king was in want of money. Some sumptuary laws, and others concerning trade, were passed. English wool was not to be exported, and English cloth was to be produced free from certain faults and deceptions which had much impeded the sale of that article. Tillage land was not to be turned into pasture; and new regulations were imposed concerning wages. But the most significant fact in the history of this parliament was, that as the session advanced, many of the members withdrew, and it was observed that those who remained, consisted very much of persons who combined together to oppose or carry particular measures, and who were described, on that account, as factious persons. The members who exposed themselves to this charge must have been men who felt their parliamentary influence to be of some value. The provision made against this alleged evil was, that any

member leaving his duties without permission from the Speaker and the house, was to lose his wages.*

Wolsey's attempts to raise money in 1522.

It will be remembered that in the spring of 1522 Wolsey's pretended arbitration between Charles and Francis had come to an end, and that Henry had committed himself to a new war with France. The earl of Surrey was to conduct a powerful army into that kingdom. But the means were wanting. Henry VII., by avoiding wars, and by adding to his wealth from all available sources, had succeeded in rendering himself almost independent of parliaments. Henry VIII. and Wolsey were not much disposed to consult the humour of such assemblies. But in their case, there were habits of expense, both at home and abroad, which were not compatible with independence of the public purse. What Wolsey could do to suppress the constitution of his country in regard to taxation he did. In the present instance, the course taken by him was to convene the mayor and aldermen of London, and to inform them that a commission had been appointed for the whole kingdom, to levy a rate on all property above the value of 100*l.*, for the prosecution of the war. 'The king,' said the cardinal, 'would 'have met you in person, had not urgent business 'elsewhere prevented. But his majesty confides in 'your readiness to show the affection of your 'loving 'hearts' towards him, by granting him a tenth on 'your lands and moveables; and as to the 'spiritu-'altie,'' said his grace, 'they 'shall and will' pay a 'fourth part.' This the cardinal described as 'the 'least reasonable thing' the citizens could do. But the citizens did not so judge. They complained that only two months since they had lent the king 20,000*l.*, and that in war time the poor merchant generally found money scarce and uncertain. Still more loud was their complaint when told that they should be put upon oath as to their means. 'The credit of the

* Herbert, 23. *Parl. Hist.* i. 477–483.

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'merchant,' they answered, 'is his capital—the per-'jury will be enormous.' At length, it was left to each man to send in his own return in writing, which was not to be made public. It was promised that the money so lent should be repaid from the first subsidy granted in parliament. But the lenders had little faith in the word of the borrowers, and great, we are told, was 'the mourning of the common people' on being thus burdened. The clergy claimed that the assessment in their case should be made by clerical commissioners—which was granted. On the basis of the returns thus obtained, Wolsey determined the extent of the military force that should be raised by the men of the maritime counties, on the plea of guarding the coast against invasion.*

Parliament of 1523.

No trouble, however, in getting money sufficed to make Henry or Wolsey careful in spending it. The next year the want of money was the great difficulty. But the feeling called forth by the recent attempts to replenish the exchequer by loans had been such as to show that a continuance of that policy might become dangerous. In 1523, accordingly, Henry assembled his fifth parliament. Seven years had then intervened since his fourth had been dissolved. The new parliament met in the Blackfriars. The summons which brought the two houses together stated that the object of their meeting would be to promote the interest of the commonwealth by amending old laws and enacting new ones—not a word was said about money or the war.

Wolsey's money bill.

But when the commons assembled, Wolsey at once laid before them the grounds of the war with France; and stated that not less than 800,000*l.* would be required to prosecute it successfully. His proposal was, that a property-tax to that amount should be imposed. When the house was left to itself, Sir Thomas More, who, through the influence of Wolsey had been chosen

* Hall, 645, 646. Herbert, 50.

Speaker, took up the case as presented by the cardinal, and urged that the sum named should be voted.

Resisted by the commons—reception given to Wolsey.

But the commons alleged that the coin of the kingdom was not sufficient to meet such a demand; that an exaction so enormous was wholly without precedent, and would be ruinous to the country. Some days had been occupied with such protests, when Wolsey claimed to be admitted to the house with a message from the king. The majority were in doubt as to the fitness of allowing the cardinal to present himself before them for such a purpose, especially with such a train as usually attended him. More reminded them that his grace had lately charged them with a light use of their tongues in the business of that house, and urged that his eminence should be received, with 'his maces, his pillars, his pole-axes, his cross, his hat, 'and the great seal too,' if such should be his pleasure. Thus attended, the cardinal entered the house, said much against the king of France, much about the necessities of their sovereign, and much, too, about their own style of living, as showing that there was nothing in the king's demand that might not be readily complied with. The cardinal waited for some reply, but, to his amazement, the house was silent. He called on some members by name to answer. Still no voice was heard. At length, the Speaker, falling on his knees, excused the silence of the members, 'abashed,' as he said, 'at the sight of so noble a personage, who 'was able to amaze the wisest and most learned men 'in the realm. But with many probable arguments 'he endeavoured to show the cardinal that his manner 'of coming thither was neither expedient, nor agreeable 'to the ancient liberties of that house; and, in con-'clusion, told him, that, except all the members present 'would put their several thoughts into his head, he 'alone was unable, in so weighty a matter, to give his 'grace a sufficient answer.'*

More's speech to the cardinal.

* *Life of More*, 51.

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Wolsey left much displeased. But the court influence was exerted to give an obedient complexion to the proceedings of this parliament. The knights, and such members as were of the king's household, censured the parsimony of the burgesses. After much debating, a considerable, but still a moderated grant was made, which was to be paid by instalments, at intervals extending over the next four years.*

Resistance of the clergy —general discontent.

This discussion the commons carried on through sixteen days. The still heavier demand made on the clergy, was so stubbornly resisted, that the vote required from them was not obtained until altercation in relation to it had been protracted over four months. Great was the discontent thus spread through the country, and the popular disaffection fell with special force on Wolsey. Another seven years were now to pass before England was to see her next parliament.

Parliament dissolved.

Attempt to raise money for the invasion of France in 1525.

We have seen that when Francis became a captive in the hands of Charles, Henry persuaded himself that the crown of France had come within his grasp. But if that object was to be gained, he well knew that large funds would be indispensable. His last attempt to raise money by the votes of a parliament had been so little agreeable, that both the king and his minister were indisposed to return to that course. It was resolved, accordingly, to solicit another loan. The advantage of this mode of proceeding was supposed to be, that resistance, if made, must be made by individuals, not by bodies of persons, and least of all by a body so formidable as the House of Commons.

Resisted by the country.

But this reasoning was in the main fallacious. After an illusion which had lasted through many generations, the English nation had come to suspect that any war to conquer France would most probably end in disappointment, and that as regarded the interests of their own country, even success in such an undertaking might be more disastrous than failure. It is certain

* Hall, 655–657.

that all classes were resolved not to submit to a diminution of their substance for such a purpose. The proposal was to raise a sum from the property of the realm at the rate of one fourth from the clergy and one sixth from the laity. But the clergy were resolute and unanimous in affirming that it did not become a king of England to ask for any man's goods except by order of law; that this attempt to raise money by commission was not according to law; and that the cardinal, and all persons upholding him in this course of proceeding, were enemies to the king and the commonwealth.* 'How all men took it,' says a chronicler of the time, 'was a great marvel. The poor cursed, 'the rich opposed, the light wits railed, and all heaped 'their imprecations on the cardinal and his adherents, 'declaring, that if men should give their goods by 'commission, then were it *worse than the taxes of France*, 'and so England should be BOND and NOT FREE.'†

High-handed policy of Wolsey—but unsuccessful.

Some of the commissioners finding it impossible to obtain so heavy a rate, ventured to write to the cardinal inquiring if they might not accept half the required amount from some who were disposed to contribute to that extent. Wolsey replied in high displeasure. He admonished the timid functionaries, as they valued their estates and their heads, to execute their commission to the full. The discontent, however, thus called forth, tended so much towards rebellion, that Henry deemed it prudent to write to the city of London, and elsewhere, stating that he had been in ignorance of what was doing, and that he required no further contribution from his subjects than they were able and willing to make. Wolsey made this communication to the corporation of London; but in so doing was pleased to assume, that the sixth which had been claimed from the citizens had been promised by them; that the contribution had thus become an honest debt; and added, that, nevertheless,

* Hall, 696. † Hall, 696.

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seeing their sense of hardship to be such, he had, upon his knees, prevailed on the king to remit his just claim, and to trust wholly to their liberality. But the citizens had made no such promise; the minister had made no such intercession in their favour; and the mayor and aldermen, who knew what the history of the matter had been, retired 'sore grudging at the 'lying of the cardinal.'*

Some of the city authorities now attempted to raise voluntary contributions in the different wards. But they had undertaken a thankless office. Nothing better than 'evil words' could be obtained. Wolsey, finding these agencies fail, censured the persons who had taken this service upon them, reminding them that it was not to them that his majesty had entrusted his commission, and stating that he should himself see the citizens one by one, and ask a benevolence of them in the king's name. One of the city council was bold enough to say that such a mode of proceeding would be a novelty, in many ways injurious, and contrary to law; and added, that a statute in the first year of Richard III. had declared any attempt to raise money by way of benevolence to be inconsistent with the known rights of Englishmen. Wolsey answered, 'Sir, 'I marvel that you speak of Richard III., who was an 'usurper, and a murderer of his own nephews. Of so 'evil a man, how could the acts be good? Make no 'such allegations, his acts be not honourable.' But the councilman rejoined, that the act mentioned was not to be taken as the act of the king merely, but as that 'of the whole realm, which is the parliament.' Coaxing now followed scolding. In a subsequent meeting of the city magnates a few were disposed to be compliant, but the majority denounced them as faithless to their office and their country, and threatened them with 'banishment out of the common council.'

Resistance in the counties.

In the counties, some would not allow the commis-

* Hall, 698.

sioners to sit, others would only meet them in multitudes in the open air; and in Suffolk, more than 4000 clothiers and others, whom the threatened scheme of taxation had thrown out of employ, appeared in arms. It required all the address of the duke of Suffolk, and of the lord treasurer, the duke of Norfolk, to restrain these tendencies to disorder.

Henry disowns the policy of Wolsey—the cardinal's defence.

At length Henry convened his council, and wished to know how a course of proceeding so wanting in consideration had originated. Wolsey pleaded that what he had done had been done with the concurrence of his colleagues in the government, and from a loyal wish to supply the manifest necessities of his majesty's exchequer. For himself, he was willing to bear any measure of blame which his zeal in the king's service might have brought upon him; and with regard to the principle of what had been done, the king of England had been merely encouraged to do as the king of Egypt had done long since by the advice of Joseph! But the king is said to have been 'sore moved that 'his subjects should have been thus stirred.' Letters were now sent to all the commissioners requiring them to abstain from their office; and in those documents an attempt was made to take the blame of all this trouble from the shoulders of the cardinal. But not the slightest credit was attached to such representations.

The last act in this drama was an attempt on the part of the cardinal to bring the citizens to confess publicly, that they were 'the king's, body and goods, 'at his will and pleasure.' This confession he would have had them make, that all Frenchmen might thereby see their devotion to the will of their sovereign. In other words, such were Wolsey's profound ideas of political science, that he held a king to be great in the measure in which his subjects were submissive, and if Englishmen would only consent to express themselves as abjectly as Frenchmen, then it would be seen that the king of England was as great a king

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as the king of France. We scarcely need say, that the men who saw so clearly through the general policy of the cardinal, were not men to be caught in such a snare.

Conclusion from these attempts to raise money.

From this narrative two things are clear. It is manifest that the English people under Henry VIII. were by no means so insensible to the rights conferred on them by the English constitution as they have been sometimes said to have been. And it is no less clear, that there was not a vestige of difference, in regard to civil liberty, between Englishmen and Frenchmen, which Wolsey would not readily have sacrificed to the schemes of a selfish ambition.*

State trials.

But the zeal of the people to guard themselves against illegal taxation in this reign, was much in advance of the zeal of parliament to protect the liberty of the subject. Unhappily, the patriotism of those assemblies in this form was rarely visible. Henry VII. prosecuted the young earl of Warwick, and the great Yorkist nobleman, the earl of Suffolk, on charges of treason. It is probable that both were in some degree open to that charge. But both had reason to expect that the sentence procured against them would not be executed. Warwick seems to have confessed under this impression. But his blood was immediately shed.† Suffolk had fled in some fit of displeasure to the Netherlands, and had been delivered

Fate of the earl of Warwick.

Earl of Suffolk.

* Hall, 694–700. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 220–223; 3rd Series, i. 359–376. Herbert, 66, 67.

† This unfortunate youth had been kept so close a prisoner in the Tower, from his tender age, that, according to Hall, when thus impeached, he 'did not know a goose from a capon.' His whole offence appears to have been in consenting to an attempt to escape with his fellow-prisoner, Perkin Warbeck. The proceeding against him appears to have been felt at the time as harsh and cruel. 'The fame after his death sprang abroad, that Ferdinand of Spain would never make full conclusion of matrimony to be had between Prince Arthur and the lady Catherine his daughter, nor send her into England, as long as this earl lived. For he imagined that so long as any earl of Warwick lived, England would never be cleansed of civil war.'—Hall, 490, 491.

to the English monarch by the governor of that country with the condition that his life should be spared. Henry was mindful of the letter of his promise; but in his will, instructed his successor to see that the sentence against the earl was carried into effect; and Henry VIII., some years after his accession, and apparently without any new ground for such a proceeding, sent the imprisoned nobleman to the block.*

Sir W. Stanley.

The case of Sir William Stanley, who was beheaded under Henry VII., furnishes another instance of the manner in which the crown in those days often thrust its resentments into the place of the law in the case of state offenders. The conduct of Stanley, moreover, is illustrative of the unsettled loyalty, so observable in the upper ranks in England during the fifteenth century. Stanley had saved the life of Henry at Bosworth; and, as the man who decided the fortunes of that day, he had placed the crown of England on the brow of the new king on the field of battle. As in the case of the Percys, of the great Warwick, and of the duke of Buckingham, in past reigns, this eminence of service in a subject was not found compatible with the reverence due to a sovereign. The remembrance of such deeds generated large expectation—such expectation as could hardly fail to end in discontent and treason. Stanley had been imprudent enough to awaken suspicion of his fidelity by talking lightly about the lawfulness of unsheathing the sword in support of an undoubted descendant of the house of York. Henry, though there was some limit to his bounty, had heaped wealth and honour on Stanley, and the ingratitude which his secret disaffection betrayed was interpreted by a natural feeling of resentment, and cost him his life. It is not certain that he had done or devised anything really treasonable.†

Duke of Buckingham.

The only proceeding of this nature, during the

* Hallam, i. 35, 36.

† Hall, 468–470. Bacon's *Henry VII.*

BOOK VI. CHAP. I.

ascendancy of Wolsey, was in the case of the duke of Buckingham. The father of this duke, it will be remembered, perished by order of Richard III. The son appears to have inherited the restlessness and discontent of the parent. The present duke was too vain of his rank, and too aspiring, to take his place submissively in the train of Wolsey. The quarrel between these persons became bitter, and the cardinal well knew how to bring the king over to the side of his vindictive policy. Unfortunately, Buckingham, though a man of eloquent speech and popular manners, was no match for such an antagonist. He was not merely ambitious, he was weak and passionate in pursuit of his objects. An obscure monk near his residence affected to have revelations from heaven, and secretly predicted the elevation of the duke to the English throne. Credulity in this form was a feature of the age. In the mind of Buckingham such predictions found a soil only too ready to receive them. He does not appear to have meditated anything hostile to the personal rights of the king; but he appears to have indulged the illusion, that should Henry die without issue, he might possibly himself become the next sovereign. He disclosed his thoughts on this subject in conversations with two of his confidential servants, and to one or two friends beside; and he was accused of courting popularity, with the intention of using it to treasonable purposes, should the imagined crisis arrive. But this seems to have been the extent of his folly. Had Henry died without offspring, Buckingham might have pleaded a certain pedigree of which he boasted, and might have attempted to enforce his claim by the sword. The king, however, had not so died, and nothing of that nature had been done.* But after the fate of the poor earl of Warwick, it must have been

1522. May.

* *MS.* Rolls Office, *Baga de Secretis*, pouch iv., bundle v. The charge in the indictment throughout is of what he meditated, 'if anything except good should happen to the king.'—Ibid.

evident, that the law of treason was construed with such latitude, as to leave few men whom it might be the pleasure of the government to accuse the chance of escape. In the case of Buckingham, Wolsey appears to have been a chief actor; for the people it is said, lamented the fate of the duke, and 'libelled the 'cardinal for it, calling him *Carnificis filium*, the son 'of a butcher.'*

Wolsey's colleges—suppression of some lesser monasteries

In 1525, the cardinal had matured his plans for founding two colleges, one in Oxford, the other in Ipswich. Through his influence with the king, a great number of livings were assigned to the Oxford foundation. To such an appropriation of church property little exception was likely to be taken. But it was otherwise when Wolsey obtained powers, both from the king and from the pope, to suppress some of the lesser monasteries, and to transfer their revenues to his new establishment. It was alleged, and not perhaps untruly, that the monasteries selected were of a class which had greatly deteriorated; that they did not carry out the will of their founders; and that they had, in fact, become worse than useless; while the new appropriation of their funds, it was urged, could hardly be called an alienation, inasmuch as the design of the proposed colleges was to further the interests of sacred learning. But plausible as this reasoning may have been, it did not suffice to prevent loud complaint. The sufferers, thrown for the most part homeless upon society, went everywhere denouncing these proceedings as sacrilege. The enemies of the cardinal were generally disposed to take up the same language: and many dispassionate men looked with alarm on what

* Hall, 623 et seq. Stow, 510 et seq. *State Trials*, i. 287 et seq. There is a letter among the *Cotton. MSS.* which shows that Henry Stafford, son and heir to the duke of Buckingham, was kept out of property designed for him by the king, through the bad feeling of Wolsey. In 1529, and from this cause, Stafford had been thrown, for the last four years, with a wife and seven children, on the charities of a monastery. The letter may be seen in Ellis, 2nd Series, ii. 22-25.

BOOK VI. CHAP. I.

was done, as upon a measure which included a precedent that might be some day extended, not only to the remaining wealth of the religious orders, but to the goods of the church in other forms. Some slight provision was made for the heads of the condemned houses, but no such consideration was shown towards the needy men who were not heads. 'So the cardinal 'endowed his college, which he began so sumptuously, 'and the scholars were so proud, that every person 'judged the end would not be good.'* It required, however, a much graver error than this innovation in support of his colleges to bring Wolsey to his fall.

War with Spain—league with Francis and Clement.

The covert adhesion of Henry and Wolsey to the Italian league of May, 1526, was perpetuated, with as much concealment as possible, to the close of 1527. Not until January, 1528, did Henry declare war against the emperor. This war was not popular. The people of England regarded the subjects of the emperor as their natural allies, their foreign traffic being almost wholly with them, especially by means of the great marts of the Netherlands. Fifteen thousand Flemings were said to be resident in London for the purposes of trade. France, at the same time, was regarded with an hereditary jealousy. The old Cressy and Agincourt feeling, though much abated, had not passed away. But the king and his minister had valid reasons for being dissatisfied with the conduct of Charles, and for joining with Clement in his attempt to redress the balance of power between France and Spain, which the battle of Pavia had done so much to disturb. Above all, by committing himself thus to the side of Clement and his Italian league, Henry was willing to believe that he could hardly fail of securing the services of his holiness in a matter which now began to occupy much of his thoughts—viz., his divorce from queen Catherine. Wolsey was strongly in favour of this anti-Spanish

* Hall, 694. Fiddes, bk. i. c. 25; iii. 1–3. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. App. Nos. 28, 29.

policy. He ventured his all upon it. He braved the popular disaffection in defending it. From this time nothing but success, where success was to the last degree improbable, could possibly secure to him a continuance of power.

Origin of the divorce controversy.

To no question in English history has the heat of party feeling contributed a larger measure of contradiction than to this question concerning the divorce of Henry VIII. from Catherine of Aragon. The Romanist version is very simple, and may be stated in few words. Henry's guilty passion for Anne Boleyn was not to be gratified except on condition of making her his wife. So strong did this passion become, that, in the end, no opposition to it was to be tolerated. To this feeling, and this feeling alone, we owe the project of a divorce, Henry's second marriage, and the great ecclesiastical changes which followed. But this is a one-sided representation, and by no means satisfactory. There were sagacious Catholics in those days who could not accept such statements as reasonable—who, in fact, looked upon them as absurd. Two papal legates, who had examined the case in England, on writing to the pope, describe it as nothing less than madness to imagine that the king of England should do as he was doing merely on the ground of preferring one woman to another. The manners of the queen, they admit, may have been rigid and gloomy;* but no man, they affirm, could believe the king 'to be of so 'weak a disposition as to allow himself to be led by 'mere sensual attraction to dissolve a relationship in 'which the flower of his age had been passed without 'a blemish [persancte], and in which he had borne 'himself, through the present change, so reverendly 'and honourably.'†

Three material points relating to this controversy.

There are three points included in this case which deserve the attention of the reader: First, the suspicion,

* 'Duris moribus aut injocunda consuetudine.'

† Burnet, i. *Collections*, No. xxiv.

as diffused at this time touching the validity of the marriage between Henry and Catherine, did not originate with the king; secondly, the man who, according to the best evidence, had been the first to suggest the doubt which now began to be felt on this subject, was Wolsey; and, thirdly, the notion of a second marriage had been entertained, and proceedings had taken place in relation to it, before the name of Anne Boleyn is mentioned. Some eighteen months before that time, while Anne was in Paris, and unknown in the English court, Henry, according to contemporary writers, was contemplating a divorce, and began to look towards Margaret, the accomplished duchess of Alençon, sister of Francis I., as his future queen. In this stage of the affair nothing was said about the marriage between Henry and Catherine as having been from the beginning unlawful. Other grounds were alleged.* But Margaret was one of those ladies who adorned the times of the Reformation by their ardent love of letters, and by their deep religious principle. According to the language attributed to her, she could not consent to ascend the throne of England at the cost of breaking the heart of the woman who would be displaced by her so doing. Margaret soon afterwards married the king of Navarre.†

In the spring of 1527 negotiations were in process for a marriage of the princess Mary, either with Francis or with his son, the duke of Orleans. In the course of the deliberations on that subject, the bishop of Tarbes, on the part of France, suggested that probably,

* Hall, writing in June, 1527, speaks of the rumour as common, that the king should marry the duchess of Alençon, sister to the French king, and states that the viscount Rochfort had procured a picture of the said lady. But he is in error in supposing that the alleged unlawfulness of the king's marriage had been urged in support of that project. What had taken place in respect to the duchess belongs to the preceding year, and happened before that point was mooted.—*Chron.* 728.

† Le Grand, *Hist.* liv. i. 46. Polydore Vergil, *Hist.* liv. xxvii. 82, 83.

from the nature of the marriage between Henry and Catherine, the legitimacy of Mary might some day be questioned. Was it lawful for a man to marry his brother's widow? This, it is alleged, was the first mention of distrust on this ground, and the bishop is supposed to have spoken to this effect under the prompting of Wolsey. It is certain that Henry always declared that the scruples now felt on this point had not originated with himself, but had been called into existence by the opinions of learned men. Wolsey also affirmed, on all expedient occasions, that he had himself been the first to raise difficulty in this form, and to urge that there should be a second marriage.

Within two months from the time of the deliberations above mentioned, the cardinal made his well-known visit to France, and the common talk was, that the purpose of his embassy was not limited to the contemplated treaty between the two countries, but was intended to secure a new wife for the king. Wolsey made communications with this view to the princess Renée, the daughter of the late king, Louis XII. No great progress would seem to have been made in this delicate business. In the meanwhile, Henry appears to have felt that it did not comport with the respect which a king of England owed to himself to hazard overtures of this nature with the probability of failure; and the attractions of Anne Boleyn may be supposed to have helped his majesty towards this conclusion.

Opinions of the time concerning the divorce.

There could, indeed, have been little hope of success in 'the king's matter,' as the divorce question came to be called, if the ground of that case had consisted solely in Henry's preference of Anne Boleyn to Catherine, or had there been room to suspect that a feeling of that nature was the main reason for what was to be done. We have seen that the marriage of Henry with Catherine was regarded from the first as of doubtful expediency and legality, and that Henry had renounced the contract, under his father's direction, when he became of age. The pope, indeed, had

granted a dispensation. But the prohibition of such marriages was said to rest on the authority of scripture, and was it to be supposed that even the power of the pope could be extended to a rescinding of what had been thus determined? This was the question which the case had raised.

We have seen that rarely have two persons come together whose qualities in common were so few, and so little likely to ensure happiness in married life. As years passed away the health of the queen declined. Her seasons of pregnancy ended prematurely, or her children died soon after they were born. When these experiences had told upon her constitution in a way to be especially felt by her husband, and there was no hope of her being again a mother, Mary, a sickly child, was the only surviving offspring from this union. The temper and manners of Catherine, naturally cold and ungenial, became much more so under these circumstances.

Henry's supposed motives in seeking a divorce.

But during nearly twenty years the fidelity of Henry to his obligations as a husband was such as few kings have evinced. He had a natural son, who died early, but lived long enough to be created duke of Richmond, and to rise to official rank. We have no proof of a second connexion of that nature in his history. To write about the 'amours' and 'mistresses' of Henry VIII., as though he had been a man wont to form connexions of that nature, is to insinuate the injurious, in the absence of proof.* Henry, as we shall see, has faults enough to bear; the case against him is only weakened by being mixed up with exaggeration and falsehood. From natural causes Catherine had ceased to be his wife. He was a man so far conscientious in such matters, that he did not feel at liberty to indulge

* Lingard, vi. 151. It has been said that Mary Boleyn had been a mistress to the king before he avowed his passion for her younger sister. But the assertion does not rest on any good authority. We have no doubt of its untruth. See the question discussed by Mr. Froude, iv. App.

in miscellaneous amours. From these causes it was natural that the thought of another matrimonial connexion should be agreeable to him, and a feeling of this nature had probably greater influence upon him than he would have been willing to confess even to himself.* When, moreover, we have to deal with religious scruples, it behoves us to guard against judging of the times of Henry VIII. by our own. The theological indifference and scepticism so familiar to us had small place in the feeling of Englishmen at that time. Henry believed as the sound Catholics of his day believed, and what he avowed as religious conviction was, we have reason to think, substantially a real conviction. His scruples may have been exaggerated in favour of his inclinations, but we can suppose them to have been in a measure sincere scruples. We can believe, also, that he saw, or thought he saw, the frown of Heaven on his union with Catherine, in the sad fate that had come upon the issue of that marriage. And if it is possible to conceive of Henry's avowed distrust concerning the religious aspect of his marriage as not wholly insincere, it is quite easy to understand how he should have felt a real anxiety in regard to the succession, should he die leaving the princess Mary as his only child.

Henry knew that throughout his reign the question concerning his successor had never ceased to be agitated. Buckingham lost his head as the price of his imprudent talk on that subject. Suffolk and Norfolk knew better how to govern their utterances, but their thoughts went in the direction of the throne hardly less freely than those of Buckingham.† When doubts

* Herbert, 100. For several years Henry had abstained from connubial society with his queen. From the spring of 1526 she was known to be incurably diseased.—Burnet, i. 68; App. 18–34.

† 'First of all there was the duke of Buckingham, who had a rental of 30,000 ducats, and was extremely popular; and it is thought that, were the king to die without heirs male, he might easily obtain the crown. The duke of Norfolk, whose rental amounts to 12,000 ducats, has likewise some hopes of the crown, and is very intimate with the cardinal. The

came to be entertained concerning the validity of Catherine's marriage, the claims of the princess Mary were no longer beyond challenge. The accession, moreover, of a female sovereign, would have been a novelty in English history which might well be regarded with some misgiving under any circumstances, and especially in such circumstances. Supposing the claims of Mary to be set aside, or disputed, the next lineal descendant must have come from Scotland, through Margaret, and a Scottish claimant might always calculate on assistance from France, and would be sure to be opposed in England.

Underneath all these elements of unsettledness were the embers of the old York and Lancaster antagonism. Henry VII. was so far from looking on that feud as certainly at an end, that he inflicted a judicial murder on the young earl of Warwick in the hope of guarding against mischief from that source. But the best blood of the Yorkists was still in the veins of the high-minded countess of Salisbury, and beat as passionately as ever in Reginald de la Pole. Happily for us, the law of succession to the throne is now so defined, and fenced about, as to leave small room for difference of opinion on that subject. But it had not been thus in any period of English history before the reign of Henry VIII., and the recent wars of the Roses had brought all grounds of claim—the hereditary claim, the parliamentary claim, and the claim of the strongest—alike into dispute.

It may be that no portion of this plea, nor the whole of it together, should have been deemed sufficient to warrant a king in discarding one wife and taking another. But it is one thing to suppose Henry to have taken this course from purely sensual and selfish con-

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duke of Suffolk has a rental of 12,000, and his wife is the king's sister. He also hath great hopes of the crown, in right of his wife.'—*Four Years at the Court of Henry VIII.* (1519.) *Despatches of Sebastian Giustinian*, ii. 315, 316.

siderations, and another to regard him as having so done, in part at least, from scruples of conscience, and in the hope of saving a great nation from the horrors of a civil war. We have no doubt that all these motives had their influence upon him, though the least generous were probably the most powerful.

Wolsey wrote to Clement while in France, and subsequently from England, deploring the humiliations which had been imposed on his holiness and on the cardinals by men acting in the name of the emperor. The king my master, he writes, has been brought by my instrumentality to be one with you in heart and soul in your troubles, and no sacrifice will be deemed too great by us that may be of service to you in this exigency. But, in adopting this course, pledging ourselves at all hazards to befriend and aid you, we have confided in your readiness to exercise the high spiritual power vested in you according to the wishes of the king, and so as to save the English nation from the perils which lie at present in its path.*

Henry decides to marry Anne Boleyn.

On his return to England, however, Wolsey found, to his great dismay, that Henry had determined to marry Anne Boleyn. He at once saw that such a step would call forth jealousy among the great families; that his efforts to bind England and France together by raising a French princess to the English throne, would be frustrated; and that in the new queen and her family he should probably find a rival power too great to be under his control. On his knees the cardinal entreated his master to abandon a scheme so fraught with danger. But he entreated in vain.† Wolsey then did, what many such men have done in such circumstances—he resolved to float with the wave which he found it impossible to resist. The thing contemplated was to be done and he would be himself the man to do it.

* *State Papers*, vii. 18, 19; viii. 18–21. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i, App. Nos. xxiii. xxiv.

† Cavendish, 203, 204.

BOOK VI. CHAP. I. 1527.

So early as the month of June, Catherine had come to know something of the king's scruples, and of his intention to obtain the opinions of divines.* In August, the emperor had been made aware of these circumstances, and was informed that Henry had decided on seeking a divorce. Attempts were made to pacify both these parties, by assuring them that nothing was intended beyond a satisfactory settlement of the question. Inasmuch as the doubt had been raised, it was indispensable that it should be examined and set at rest.† During the summer of this year the language of Henry on this exciting topic was comparatively calm, and seemed to be honest. He more than once said, the dispensation in favour of my marriage was valid or it was not; if valid, it shall not be mine to depart from it.‡ But, as the autumn advanced, the influence of Anne Boleyn became ascendant, and a change of feeling was perceptible.

Both parties look to Clement.

Henry knew that great effort would be made by Charles and Catherine to secure the friendly offices of Clement; and, in his turn, he spared no effort to counteract their influence in that quarter. Early in September, Dr. Knight was sent to Italy on this business.§ But the pope was then a prisoner in the hands of the imperialists, and so remained until the month of December. On the third day of that month

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* *State Papers*, i. 194–196. Herbert, 102.

† In a despatch, dated Abbeville, 1st August, Wolsey says the rumour about a divorce is not true, but he wishes the English ambassador to ascertain how Charles would be likely to take such a proceeding if it were true.—*State Papers*, vii. 594–596. Only two days before, he had written to Henry, saying, that he expected the pope would be found willing to grant all that could be wished in his 'grace's affair.'—*State Papers*, i. 231.

‡ Herbert, 99, 100. *State Papers*, vii. 117.

§ *State Papers*, vii. 1–4. So early as the 11th of August, Wolsey learnt that the lady Margaret of Flanders was not ignorant of the king's 'matter,' and inferring from this fact that the emperor is not less informed, he says that he has 'devised certain expeditions to Rome.'—Letter to Henry: *State Papers*, i. 254. See also 213, 220, 277.

Clement submitted to the hard terms imposed on him by Charles; and a few days later, having secretly written to the allies, urging them to come to his assistance, he fled in disguise to Orvieto, a place about fifty miles from Rome.* Even at Orvieto he was still, in fact, a prisoner. But the envoys from England now had free access to him. They found him willing to concede almost anything, if the French would only so far advance as to give him a fair prospect of safety from the resentment of the emperor.

Wolsey now matured his plans in favour of the king's matter.† He alleged that the law of revelation and the law of nature were alike against marriage with the wife of a deceased brother, and that the dispensation obtained from Julius II. had been obtained on the ground of false representations.‡ The cardinal prepared four documents which the pope was required to sign. The first declared the existing marriage void, if that with Arthur had been consummated; the second commissioned Wolsey to examine and decide concerning that fact in England; the third granted Henry a dispensation to marry again; the fourth bound his holiness against annulling any one of the above instruments under any circumstances.§ Before these documents were submitted to Clement at Orvieto, the pontiff had bound himself to Charles in Rome not to do anything in relation to the contemplated divorce without his knowledge. Nevertheless, his holiness was now induced to sign all these instruments; but with the understanding that his having so done should be a secret until the check given to the imperialists by the allies should be such as to allow of his acknowledging the act without danger.‖

Four documents signed by the pope.

Wolsey was delighted with this measure of success.

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* Herbert, 87. *State Papers*, vi. 13–22.

† Burnet, *Hist.* 82–85; App. 18–34. Fiddes, App. 186–195.

‡ Burnet, *Hist.* 82. § Herbert, 100.

‖ Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* vol. i. App. 18–42.

BOOK VI. CHAP. I.

Wolsey, impatient of delay, seeks new powers.

But the progress of the allies was slow. He became impatient of delay. In less than two months from the time when the four instruments were signed, he sent his own secretary, Dr. Stephen Gardiner, and Dr. Fox, of Cambridge, two highly competent persons, into Italy, to solicit that the cause should be examined and decided in England, and that arrangements should be made for that purpose without delay. These persons left England on the 10th of February, and reached Orvieto on the 20th of March.

1528.

Clement pleads want of learning —his vacillation.

Clement, in his conferences with these ambassadors, always said that he was not lawyer enough to decide on such a case from his own knowledge; that, in delivering any judgment upon it he must be guided by men more learned on such questions than himself. Much has been said about the 'conscience' and the 'constancy' of the pontiff during this memorable discussion.* But, in truth, the conscientiousness of Clement, from first to last, was near akin to his constancy, and the latter always left him at liberty to take sides with the party whose fortunes at the moment happened to afford him the best prospect of security against political inconvenience. His feeling was in favour of the English cabinet. If he could only have persuaded himself that the course to which he was inclined might be taken with impunity, notwithstanding the menace of the imperialists, the issue would have been speedily reached. He often said, that so far as his own judgment was concerned, he could be content to accept the declared conviction of Henry and Wolsey as his final authority. But the language of Clement in the history of this business was always that of a dual man. His natural man was on the side of the divorce, as being on many grounds desirable, especially as promising to save England from those civil contentions in the sixteenth century which had so exhausted its strength and resources in

* Lingard, vi. 196.

the century preceding.* But his official man was always entangled amidst a mesh of difficulties by the casuistry of the imperialists in the consistory, and by their power in the field.

The appointment of the proposed commission to hear the case in England could hardly be refused. The powers with which the two legates constituting that commission should be entrusted were the great difficulty. The claim of the English ambassadors had been, that the authority of the commissioners should be final. But the pope's advisers were not in favour of that course. After much discussion, it was proposed that the pope should sign a 'decretal,' which should bind him not to revoke the commission, and to confirm its judgment should that be in favour of the divorce—the document so pledging his holiness, to be for a convenient season a secret document between Henry and the pontiff. On no ground was this memorable instrument to be made public, unless the pope should himself violate the pledge there given. The document was duly signed, but it was never allowed to pass out of the hands of the papal agents.

The papal authority as disclosed in these proceedings—strong language of the English envoys.

It will be obvious that the effect of this piece of history on the future influence of the papacy was likely to be anything but favourable. It is certain that the real function of the pontiff, and the true nature of the system supposed to be represented in his person, were from this time a somewhat perplexing

* The ambassadors urged 'what danger it was to the realm to have this matter hang in suspense. His holiness confessed the same, beginning to reckon what divers titles might be pretended by the king of Scots, and others; and granted, that without an heir male, with provision to be made by consent of the states for the succession, the realm were like to come to dissolution.'—Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. 143. 'If Mons. de Lautrec, the French commander, were come, the pope thinks that he might with good colour say that he was required by your ambassadors here, and by M. de Lautrec, to whom, being here with great force, and the cause *being a matter of justice*, he could not say nay; and this might be for the pope, as he thinks, a sufficient excuse towards the emperor.'—*State Papers*, vii. 36.

affair to Henry, and to many beside. The language of the ambassadors became such, at times, as they had never dreamed of using. In addressing his holiness, they argued that the pope could settle this question or he could not. If he could not, what became of the spiritual function with which he was supposed to be exclusively invested; and if he could do what was required from him, but dared not do it because awed by secular power, who could reverence an authority which might at any time be thus checked and misdirected? When pressed with reasoning of this nature the pontiff exhibited a sad picture of bewilderment and helplessness. He said and unsaid: he sighed, wept, sobbed, rose from his seat and paced the room, throwing his hands abroad, so that the envoys were constrained to desist from their appeals, and to stand looking in silent amazement on the spectacle before them.

The commission is appointed —Campeggio to act with Wolsey.

At length, the proposed commission was agreed to, and the cardinal Campeggio was deputed to act with Wolsey, and the pope now signed the promised secret 'decretal.' But care was taken, as we have intimated, that it should not pass into improper hands. It was committed to the safe keeping of Campeggio. It was not to be entrusted to the hands of Henry or of Wolsey. It might be read to them, but they were to have no further knowledge of it. Campeggio was a diplomatist of the true Italian stamp—reserved, subtle, and intolerant, and his leanings hitherto had been those of an imperialist. When he accepted this commission the great anxiety of Clement was to gain time. Italy was still a battle-field between the imperialists and the French. Clement was watching the struggle with deep interest, to see on which side the scale was likely to turn. Delay seemed to give him his only hope.

Campeggio not to hasten.

Campeggio, accordingly, was not to hasten his journey. His infirm health, and some convenient accidents, allowed of his being readily obedient to this point in his instructions.

Months passed, and the expected legate failed to make his appearance. Nor did he reach England until the reverses which were to come on the French arms in Italy had commenced. The news had spread everywhere, that the army under De Lautrec, which found no foe in the open field, had wasted away on the unhealthy soil of Naples, and that the commander himself had perished. Nine months later another French army was completely destroyed in Lombardy. Clement was thus left to the mercy of the emperor. Procrastination in Rome was followed by procrastination in England. But with Clement, what had hitherto been caution became terror, as these disasters on the side of the allies followed one upon the other. His fair words to Henry and Wolsey ceased to be repeated. His timid measures were gradually disowned. It became easy to discern what the end would be.*

Fate of the army under Lautrec—ascendancy of the imperialists.

1528. Aug.

1529. June.

In the meanwhile, the agitation of this subject in England became daily more exciting. Great was the disappointment felt when it was ascertained that the legate who had been so long on his way, had come at last without the powers necessary to settle anything. He might receive evidence—he could deliver no judgment. He might persuade—he could do no more.

Campeggio's limited power.

One persuasion, addressed to Catherine, and no doubt at the suggestion of Wolsey, was, that she should bring this unhappy state of things to an end by a voluntary separation, and by giving herself to a religious life—a life, however, which should impose no restraint beyond the vow of chastity. By such a proceeding, no judgment would have been pronounced touching either the validity of her second marriage, or the claims of the princess Mary. But Catherine was not a woman to brook a rival, or to suffer wrong without fixing retribution, if possible, on the wrong-

Attempted compromise.

* See the extended documents on this subject in Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. App. Nos. xxiii.–xxv. and *State Papers*, vol. vii. passim.

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doer. Her answer betrayed the feeling by which she was influenced. She would consent to the proposed separation, and would take the vow of chastity, if the king would place himself under a similar obligation. The meaning of this retort was obvious. Henry descended so far as to inquire whether the pontiff might be expected to release him from such a vow should he consent for a season to be bound by it!

Henry's statement of his case to the citizens.

This controversy had not advanced thus far without becoming the occasion of much scandal among the people. We have seen how this war with Spain came to be so unpopular; and the meditated divorce of queen Catherine was regarded by many as a part of the same mischievous scheme of policy. Wolsey fell especially under the public censure, and Henry himself did not escape. Henry was vain of the loyalty of his subjects. He was not a little disturbed when the sharp speeches now made concerning him reached his ears. 'The common people,' it is said, 'especially women, 'and others who favoured the queen, talked largely, 'and said that the king would for his own pleasure 'have another wife.'* Henry, in the hope of removing this impression, assembled a large body of the nobility and others at his palace of Bridewell, and

Nov. 8.

there stated his case in his own words. In a recent conference, said the king, concerning the marriage of the princess Mary, the bishop of Tarbes expressed some doubt whether the birth of that lady could be accounted as legitimate, the marriage between myself and Catherine being the marriage of a man with his brother's wife, which is said to be contrary to the divine law. Since that time many learned divines have been consulted, and their opinions for much the greater part have been found to be against the validity of any such marriage. These opinions, said Henry, have disquieted my conscience, and this conscientious difficulty, and my great anxiety about

* Hall, 574.

the succession, and not any want of esteem or affection for the queen, have constrained me to entertain the thought of a divorce, and of another marriage. Such was the substance of the king's statement. Many, it is said, sympathized with him. Many trembled to think of the probable issue of such a question, now that it had been thus publicly broached. All were thoughtful.*

Catherine and the legates.

This meeting between the king and his subjects, was soon followed by a meeting, in the same place between Catherine and the legates, Campeggio and Wolsey. The legates informed the queen that the mission entrusted to them was to examine the grounds on which the marriage between herself and the king had been questioned. Catherine paused for awhile, and then, in the presence of her ladies said in answer: 'Alas! my lords, is it now a question whether I 'be the king's wife or no—when I have been mar- 1528. Oct. 27. 'ried to him almost twenty years, and in the mean 'season never question was made before? Divers 'prelates yet alive, and lords also, and privy coun- 'cillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our 'marriage lawful and honest, and now to say it is 'detestable and abominable is, I think, a great 'marvel; and especially when I consider what a 'prince the king's father was, and also the love and 'natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, 'bore to me, I think that neither of our fathers were 'so uncircumspect, so unwise, or of so small imagina- 'tion, as not to see what might follow of our mar- 'riage. And especially the king my father sent to 'the court of Rome, and there, after long suit and 'with great cost and charge, obtained a licence and 'dispensation, that I, being the one brother's wife, 'and peradventure carnally known, might, without 'scruple of conscience, lawfully marry with the other 'brother, which licence I have to show. These things

* Hall, 752, 755.

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Her attack on Wolsey.

'make me to say, and surely to believe, that our 'marriage was lawful, good, and godly. But for all 'this trouble I have to thank you my lord cardinal 'of York, and you alone; and this because I have 'wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and 'have abhorred your voluptuous and lecherous living, 'and shown little regard to your presumptuous power 'and tyranny. It is of malice that you have kindled 'this fire, and especially because my nephew the 'emperor, whom I know you to hate worse than a 'scorpion, would not satisfy your ambition in using 'force to make you pope. You have therefore said 'more than once, that you would trouble him and his 'friends, and you have kept him true promise. For 'you only has he to thank for all his wars and 'vexations; and as for me, his poor aunt and kins-'woman, what trouble you have put me to by this 'new-found doubt God knoweth, to whom I commit 'my cause according to the truth.'*

Wolsey does not seem to have been prepared for this outburst of lofty feeling. Judging from the accounts which have reached us, his defence must have been tame compared with the force of the assault made upon him. He appears, however, to have denied most explicitly having done anything towards originating any measure or discussion on this matter —a declaration strictly the contrary of assertions made by himself on many other occasions.

The legates open their commission.

Campeggio reached England in October, 1528. The meeting in the palace of Bridewell, above mentioned, was a month later, and six months intervened from that time before the formal opening of the process by the legates. The great hall of the Blackfriars, in London, was the place of meeting. The sort of court there instituted was marked by great pomp and solemnity. Catherine disowned its authority. But Henry left his case in the hands of the legates, and

1529. June.

* Hall, 755.

the business took its course. Witnesses were examined. Opinions were received. More than a month was thus occupied. But Campeggio declined to pronounce upon the case. He privately entreated the pope to recal him. In the end, he pleaded that the season of the year had arrived in which all unfinished suits, according to the Roman usage, were postponed to the next term, which would not commence until October. Several noblemen urged, in strong, and even menacing terms, that there should be an end to these delays, and that the case should be brought at once to a conclusion. But Campeggio was fertile in expedients. He insisted that the evidence was incomplete. New difficulties had arisen. Delay was unavoidable. In the meantime the pope must be consulted. Finding the proposed adjournment inevitable, the duke of Suffolk struck his clenched hand upon the table, and exclaimed with much warmth, 'Now I see the old saw is true, that no cardinal ever 'brought good to England,'—'and with that saying,' says our authority, 'all the temporal lords departed 'to the king, leaving the legates sitting, one looking 'at the other, sorely astonished because they saw the 'temporal lords depart in anger.'* In the words which accompanied the blow upon that table were the seeds of the change now at hand.†

The proceedings come to nothing.

Protest by the duke of Suffolk.

1529. June.

Clement now repented of the promise he had made in the decretal bull; revoked the commission he had given to the two cardinals; and, resuming the entire cause into his own hands, he declared that if the king of England persisted in his suit, it would be necessary that he should prosecute it in person in the papal court. Even Wolsey denounced this mixture of hollowness and insolence in most indignant terms.‡

The cause revoked to Rome.

1529. July 15.

* Hall, 757, 758.

† Cavendish makes Wolsey retort sharply on Suffolk for his saying about the cardinals; but Hall is a better authority, and from his language we must conclude that no reply was made.

‡ *State Papers*, vii. 193.

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What had led to this greatly altered policy on the part of the pontiff? The successes of the imperialists had prepared the way for the treaty of Barcelona, in which the pope had bound himself, some three weeks before, to be the docile ally of the emperor. Further—Catherine now asserted more strongly than ever, that Henry in his marriage could not have violated any law, inasmuch as though she was at that time a widow, she had never been a wife. This point she urged anew on the consideration of the pope. Evidence opposed to this assertion had been adduced, and Henry himself denied its truth—still it was a matter which served as a pretext for delay. But, above all, a new document was introduced, which purported to be a papal 'breve' of the same date with the licence for the marriage, and which was adapted to obviate difficulties that had been raised in the course of this discussion. Whence came this 'breve'? The original was in Spain—it might be sent to Rome, but not to England. The question of the divorce was thus made to narrow itself into a question about the authenticity of this new instrument; and that was a question which could only be settled in Rome. So the whole case was said to have reverted from the two commissioners to the pope. This new brief was no doubt a fabrication—known by Charles and Clement to have been such. But it accomplished its object. It sufficed to render all that had been done in London valueless. Henry was now made to understand, that if he would obtain his object, he must descend to plead his cause in a foreign court, and a court which had become the vassal of Spain.* When the question came to be, whether the king should submit to this, and even to this without the slightest probability of gaining his object—or that he should resolve to settle this long-agitated affair by means of the authorities within his own dominions, it was not diffi-

Grounds of this altered policy.

Henry's alternative.

* Herbert, 108–121.

cult to see the side of the alternative that would be chosen. In anticipation of some such issue, Henry had more than once declared, that in such case, the judgment of his own subjects should be his ultimate authority.

Feeling of the nation.

Strong language was now everywhere heard, from the highest and from the lowest. It had been no wish of the English people that there should be war with the emperor. Few things to them could have been more unwelcome. But as little had it been their wish to see the crown of England thus virtually a supplicant to the crown of Spain, and to an authority so notoriously weak, self-seeking, and pitiable as that exercised by the papal court. Such were the words which now came to the ear of Campeggio, that he told the pope he could not venture to repeat things so horrible. His holiness was left to imagine the worst as regarded the length to which this nation seemed prepared to go in its resentment.* Good men felt that the place which the name of Anne Boleyn had acquired in the history of this discussion was a circumstance to be regretted; but the question of the succession as now raised, had come to be much too weighty a matter to be laid aside, or to be longer impeded by any foreign pretender whatsoever.

Fall of Wolsey.

Henry resolved to assemble a parliament, and with that resolve came the fall of Wolsey. The cardinal dared not face such an assembly. In his prosperous days he had looked with suspicion on popular power in such forms. Such strength, and comparative independence, in the subject, were incompatible, in his view, with adequate authority on the part of the crown. He could readily foresee what would now come from such a concentration of the popular feeling. He had ruined the trade of the country, and filled it with disaffection, that he might humble the emperor, and ensure obedience from the papacy. But the emperor

* Burnet's *Collect.* p. 41.

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had triumphed, and the pope had presumed to add insolence to denial. Nor was the fact of manifest failure all the difficulty with which he had to contend. Before this sinister removal of the divorce cause from London to Rome, Wolsey had shown signs of distrust in regard to a material point in relation to it, much to the displeasure of the king. Certainly, the impression came to be, that he had not recently done all he might have done to further the object.* And when unsteadiness and failure in relation to this matter, came in the train of the many circumstances which had tended for so long a time to fill both court and country with disaffection towards him, it was no longer possible that he should avoid seeing the signs of the coming storm. It has been laid as a heavy charge upon Anne Boleyn, that she now became the enemy of the cardinal, though she had written to him in the most affectionate and grateful terms not long before. Anne Boleyn may have been at fault in this particular, but there had been time for change, and much more cause for it probably than has come to our knowledge.† Henry, no doubt, heard things from Anne, and from the nobles of his court, especially from Norfolk and

* While Campeggio and Wolsey were holding their court of inquiry on this subject, the latter was one day sent for by Henry to his palace at Bridewell; and on entering his barge to return by water from Blackfriars, 'the bishop of Carlisle, being with him in the barge, said to him (wiping the sweat from his face): 'Sir,' quoth he, 'it is a very hot day.' 'Yea,' quoth the cardinal; 'if ye had been as well chafed as I have been within this hour, ye would say it were very hot.' And as soon as he came home to his house at Westminster, he went incontinently to his naked bed.'—Cavendish, 225. If Wolsey really made the speech attributed to him by Cavendish at the breaking up of this court, justifying as it does the entire course taken by Campeggio, it is hardly surprising that the cardinal's earnestness in the cause came to be suspected.—Ibid. 233, 234. In fact, Wolsey appears to have had some reason for wishing that the pope should interpose to suspend proceedings, though he was by no means desirous to see him take the abrupt and extreme course adopted by him.—Herbert, 121.

† It is not until Campeggio and Wolsey have agreed to declare their commission at an end and a failure, that Henry says to Anne: 'Why, then, I perceive ye are not the cardinal's friend.'—Cavendish, 224.

Suffolk, which satisfied him that the man who had proved so useful to him through so long a period could be used no longer. But his course towards the falling minister was ungrateful, unjust, and, in the vacillations which characterized it, was both unmanly and cruel. Henry's feeling and conscience disposed him towards leniency, but he allowed both to be neutralized at intervals by other influences. Wolsey was charged with having violated the premunire statute, in his capacity as legate—an offence which entailed heavy penalties. His alleged delinquencies were set forth under forty-four heads. Against many of these charges he might have pleaded that they were not offences against law at all, or that they consisted of acts for which he had the licence and command of the king.* People wondered at the time that the cardinal did not take this ground of defence. Why he did not he afterwards explained to his faithful servant Cavendish. He knew that when the king had thus committed himself against him, nothing could be more galling to his irritable and violent temper than to find himself subject to such a recrimination. Wolsey judged, therefore, that he had less to fear from pleading guilty, than from pleading not guilty; and he no doubt judged correctly.† But, by this confession, his wealth and honours were all surrendered into the hands of his sovereign, and sad inroads were soon made upon them. As adversity came, it was at once manifest, that the greatness of Wolsey had never been a self-reliant greatness. The loss of royal favour left him, in all senses, miserably poor. We have all read how, in the time of his disgrace, he drooped or revived, from day to day, as the frown or the smile of

* Herbert, 124–129. The first name attached to this long series of accusations is that of Sir Thomas More, not greatly to his credit. Still less to his credit is the onslaught upon the fallen minister, his once potent friend, with which he opened the new parliament.—*Parl. Hist.* i. 491, 492.

† Cavendish, 248 et seq. Herbert.

the king was supposed to be directed towards him; how the interval marked by such alternations of feeling was followed by his arrest on the charge of treason, at the close of his pilgrimage through Yorkshire; and how this last stroke prostrated him in mind and body, so that he breathed his last in Leicester abbey, while on his way to meet the accusations which were to have been preferred against him.

Character of Wolsey.

Wolsey lived to find that he was a man with many enemies and few friends. Such an experience was the natural result of his character and history. He was too much of an innovator not to be suspected of some unsoundness by the majority of Catholics; and he was too truly a Catholic not to be an object of dislike to Protestants. Courtiers could hardly have been his friends, inasmuch as he accroached so many things to himself which they naturally thought would have been better bestowed if distributed among themselves; and the people were not likely to be well-affected towards him, inasmuch as he taxed them so heavily, made so light of their liberties, and showed so scornful an indifference to their feelings and prejudices. But unfavourable as this condition of parties may have been to the reputation of Wolsey with posterity, it would be an error to suppose that his memory has suffered greatly from these causes. His career was too public, and the means of information concerning him were too abundant, to allow of any general misapprehension in relation to him. It is no doubt true, that historians, in their estimates of such men, often run in one groove, contenting themselves with saying again what others have said before them. But it is no less true that a disposition towards reaction in such cases, is rarely found to halt at the right place. Exaggeration is its natural tendency. To take up the cause of men everywhere spoken against, may be generous—chivalrous; but the cause may be hopeless, and the seeming chivalry of such efforts may be a snare. The verdict of history in regard to Wolsey is,

we believe, substantially just. Pleas may be urged in mitigation of penalties, but nothing more can be admitted.

A man who could seek office and emolument as Wolsey sought them, may have been a man of a high order of ability in many ways, but he could never have been a man of elevated or refined feeling. Nor could he have been a man of the first rank in intelligence. With every step in his advancement he grew to be more haughty, irritable, and overbearing. With every increase of his wealth he became more ostentatious in his whole manner of life. All men, save the king, were made to feel that they had to take their place below this man in respect to rank and power. All men, save the king, were made to feel that he eclipsed them in splendour as much as in authority. A man capable of rising from such an origin to such an eminence, might have been expected to see that the enemies made by such a passion for display, and by a demeanour so arrogant, must be many, and that the enmity thus created might some day become dangerous—ruinous. So Wolsey must have seen, had his genius been really profound and far-reaching. But his wisdom never rose above the level of that worldly sort of wisdom which, speaking comparatively, is in its nature coarse and narrow. His greatness, for this reason, was at best but a vulgar greatness. He was not one of the rare men who have the honours of this world thrust upon them. He sought such things—sought them from first to last with an appetite that could never be satiated. His kindness to those dependents who were faithful to him, and his liberality towards persons of higher station who were prepared to further his objects, was a feudal quality which admitted of explanation without supposing the presence of any extraordinary virtue; and it should be added, that his remembrance of good offices was certainly not more conspicuous than the resentment with which he pursued all persons who

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had been so unfortunate as to incur his displeasure. His attempts to improve the common administration of justice among the people were praiseworthy; but Asiatic despots, and the ministers of such men, have often shown themselves zealous on the side of right in such relations. Even in his patronage of learning, which was unquestionably munificent, the cardinal evinced too much of the passion which always disposed him to over-rate the influence of secular pomp and splendour.

With regard to those civil liberties which good men in past generations had braved so much, and endured so much, to obtain, Wolsey seemed hardly to know of their existence, and clearly was a man much more inclined to extinguish than to perpetuate them. We have seen that he would have brought all Englishmen to feel, and to avow, that in body and goods they were the king's. It was so in France, and he would have had it to be so in England, that so it might be manifest that the king of England was as great a king as the king of France. His foreign policy was invariably a mistake. During the greater part of his career he did nothing but conform himself to the national prejudice which accounted Englishmen and Frenchmen as natural enemies, by encouraging the false, vain, and mischievous pretensions of the crown of England to the crown of France. By so doing, he contributed to give that ascendancy to Spain in the affairs of Europe which was not a little injurious in his own time, and which proved to be fraught with so much danger to the great interests of Christendom in the time to come. At last, war was declared against Spain, but it was not until the balance had been turned against France, and war with the emperor had come to be ruin to the English merchant. It was natural that England, from her position and her resources, should often act as a mediator between the rival powers of the continent; but, unhappily, Wolsey's policy was always liable to be affected by

personal and corrupt influences. His aim was not so much to ensure peace to Christendom, as to keep affairs in a constant state of fret and restlessness, so that there might always be occasion for English interference, and that England, by means of her exchequer, and her diplomatic meddlings, might acquire reputation as an arbiter of differences. It is not surprising that a policy so wanting in elevation should have been wanting in principle. Wolsey could dissemble, or lie, to any extent, when he imagined that the ends he had proposed to himself might be served by such means. It is to his honour, that zealous as he was in support of the papacy, he was much less disposed towards persecution than Sir Thomas More, or than the great majority of ecclesiastics in his day. Catherine charged him with leading a licentious life, and such a charge could hardly have come from such lips—and have been made as in the presence of the nation—on slight grounds. It is known that Wolsey left two natural children. But the graver accusations of this nature preferred against him are not proved.

The nearest parallel in history to the career of Wolsey is furnished in the life of Granvelle, the great minister of Philip II. in the Netherlands. The father of Granvelle had been an attorney in moderate practice. The son received a liberal education, became an ecclesiastic, and rose through a succession of promotions to the rank of cardinal, and to the highest office as a minister of state. In his manner of life he outshone all the nobles of the old families in the Netherlands, and took precedence of them all in the favour of the king, and in the management of affairs. Disaffection concentrated itself upon him, both from the nobles and the people. It was felt that Granvelle must cease to be minister, and he retired altogether from the scene in which he had been the foremost man. But here the parallel ends both as regards the minister and the monarch. Granvelle relinquished his high place without an act or a word which his enemies could say

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betrayed a want of courage or dignity; and in his retirement he made himself an attractive centre to the highest intelligence and culture of his time. Philip, too, in place of robbing his fallen minister, and breaking his heart, left him in possession of his large wealth, and ceased not to hold friendly correspondence with him.

Summary.

Such, then, was the general complexion of English history during the first twenty years of the reign of Henry VIII. There was no return of the civil strife of the last century, but men were not free from apprehension on that subject. Scotland was restless, and in league with her old allies the French; but her policy was frustrated, and her military disasters were salutary in their influence on both nations. The king and his minister were inclined to dispense as much as possible with the aid of parliaments; but that course could not be pursued more than partially. Attempts were made to raise money under the form of loans and benevolences at the king's pleasure. But the country had not lost its sense of freedom. The illegal proceedings were resisted, and the resistance was successful. The cabinet would have had the king to be as little bound by parliaments as Francis I. The people, and especially the citizens of London, would have made him as obedient to the laws of parliament as Edward III. The people are loyal—enthusiastically loyal; but they indulge in much freedom of speech concerning the conduct of the king, and the policy of his ministers, and their industrial power is in such vigorous life, that they become almost insurgent in their opposition to the measures of government when injurious to trade. At the same time, the martial ardour and proficiency of the country are well sustained, especially along the border counties. Military incursions on France yield little honour or advantage, and our foreign policy is rarely wise or efficient. But, on the whole, the temper of the country is a manly temper. The signs of its capacity for action,

and of its disposition towards action, are becoming more conspicuous every day, and seem to promise that England will play no mean part in the great struggle which new principles and new feelings must soon bring into existence over the greater part of Europe. Towards this result the recent exhibitions of papal weakness and duplicity could not fail to minister very materially. Much, too, was taking place during these first twenty years in the reign of Henry VIII., both among the people and in our seats of learning, which showed that the seed sown by our earlier ecclesiastical reformers had not perished; and which showed, no less clearly, that the great religious movement in Germany was destined to do no mean work in England, notwithstanding the royal treatises and royal proclamations opposed to it. This phase of English life will claim the attention of the reader in the next chapter.

CHAPTER II.

REFORM BEFORE THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT.

The Romanist account of the origin of the English Reformation fallacious.

WE have seen that in the estimation of Romanists, the English Reformation owed its origin to the passions and perfidy of Henry VIII. Its power also in after time, according to the same authority, was the result of causes hardly more reputable. But men who discourse in this manner do not discourse wisely. The great and the permanent in human affairs never come from simple causes, nor from causes which are purely evil. The conservative element in all social institutions will be found to consist in their real or supposed good; it does not lie wholly or mainly in their evil. The church of Rome herself, in her early days, became strong by means of her better tendencies, in defiance of many tendencies which were of an opposite description. Her form of Christianity, imperfect as it may have been, was a comparatively benign influence, and men treasured and transmitted it accordingly. Some concession of this nature, we presume, should be made in favour of English Protestantism. If it has become a power, this must have been because it has had its good reasons to rest upon, and its good work to do. It is true it was left to the bold hand of Henry VIII. to strike the blow which should sever us from the papacy. But it is also true that kings, however arbitrary, are not omnipotent. Their power is always a borrowed power. Sovereigns are strong only as their subjects are with them. Henry VIII. greatly valued the good opinion and the loyal feeling of his subjects. Nor was

he a prince wholly without circumspection or self-government. When he meditated separating England from Rome, he must have known, that rash as such a policy might seem, the feeling of the nation would be found prepared to sustain it. If the case so stood, it is clear, that to find the origin of this memorable revolution, we must go beyond the passions of the king. We must look carefully to the thought and temper of the times. The influence of Henry and of Anne Boleyn was great; but that influence came in the train of many other influences which were greater, and without which such personal inclinations could never have led to such results as are before us in history. The quiescence of the past had ceased. The conflict which was soon to be characteristic of the present had commenced. The principles which ultimately prevailed in the approaching struggle must have been the strongest.

Effect in England of the revival of letters.

Among the causes which contributed largely to the progress of the doctrines of the Reformation in England, we must reckon the great revival of letters and art. In the time of Henry VIII. this cause had become powerful enough to give a new impress to the history of Europe. What was taking place in this respect had ceased to be dependent on individual patronage—it had become in a great measure the action of society. Throughout the Middle Age there were always Englishmen who distinguished themselves in the schools of Italy. In Padua, Bologna, and elsewhere, their shields may still be seen on the walls set apart to such memorials of academic eminence. But the learning which now came from Italy came with a peculiar mission. It was cherished by many purely for its own sake. It awakened new tastes, and it gratified them. It did not make our forefathers infidels, after the manner of the Roman courtiers. Nor did it merely supply them, in the manner of their ancestors, with new weapons wherewith to defend the received ecclesiastical system. Its great work was to give them a better knowledge

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of the sacred scriptures, and by that means to deepen their religious feeling, so as to prepare them in due time for following in the wake of Protestant Germany. The effects of the religious and political teaching which had characterized the latter half of the fourteenth century were by no means extinct. Among leading men, and especially among the people, the traces of that teaching were still largely perceptible, and it did much to prepare not a few to hail that 'new learning,' the effects of which were to be so memorable. It should be remembered, however, that the great work of the fifteenth century was not so much to produce as to restore. Very few works then written are now read. But the works which were then cleansed from the dust, and freed in great part from the injuries which time had brought upon them, became the guide and stimulus of the creative power which was soon to be awakened by them. What classical men did for their classics, biblical men were to do for their Bibles. The one party created a new era in taste, the other was to create a new era in religious thought.

Learned men in England.

Among the distinguished foreigners in the literary gatherings of Florence towards the close of the fifteenth century, were several Englishmen. Selling, Grocyn, Linacre, Lilly, and Latimer are among the names mentioned. Selling was an ecclesiastic, and became known afterwards by his zeal in collecting manuscripts; Grocyn became professor of Greek in Oxford; and Linacre, who, in the judgment of Erasmus, was the best scholar in Italy, practised medicine. Sir Thomas More, begging a visit from dean Colet, says: 'Meanwhile, I pass my time with Grocyn, Linacre, and 'Lilly. The first, as you know, is sole master of my 'life in your absence; the second, the preceptor of my 'studies; the third, my dearest companion in all I 'undertake.'* These were all young men at the time

* Cayley's *Life of More*, i. 26.

of which we speak. Among the scholars then resident in Florence, through the munificent patronage of the Medici, were Politian and Chalcondyles. The meetings in the apartments of the Medici, when the welcome temperature of the Italian summer evening came on, consisted often of such spirits, who there contributed from the stores of their common knowledge to their common pleasure, and to their mutual growth in all things pertaining to the new culture.

Reign of Henry VII.

But such men must have felt that there was little hope for England while Henry VII. lived.* That monarch was truly our Louis XI. The shadow of his avarice was favourable to the growth of no good thing. Under a succession of such kings the old heart and temper of the English nation must have died out. His only notion of liberty was a notion of the licence proper to a king, and the value even of such licence was determined too much by the gain in money which it might be made to yield. The quietude of his reign was more the quietude of death than of sound health. Henry VII. had, no doubt, his work to do in that transition stage of our history. But with the accession of the next Henry society began to give new signs of life.

Early years of Henry VIII.

Henry VIII. had a real sympathy with learning, and a sincere respect for learned men. For such tastes he had been much indebted to his grandmother, the excellent countess of Richmond. What the good countess, and the good men whom she favoured, had commenced, More and Erasmus did much to nurture

* If the number of books printed in England to the year 1500, as compared with the number printed elsewhere, may be taken as evidence of our position in regard to literature, that position must have been a very low one. The books printed in Venice to that time are supposed to have been 2835; in Rome, 925; in Milan, 629; in Florence, 300; in Bologna, 298; in England, 141, of which 130 were printed in London, 7 in Oxford. In Paris the number was 796; in some eight or ten cities in Germany the number varied from 150 to above 500.—Hallam's *Hist. Lit.* i. 336.

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and strengthen. While duke of York, Henry, as we have seen, had been destined by his father to the see of Canterbury.

Erasmus and More.

Among the persons whom the countess of Richmond honoured with her confidence was Lord Mountjoy. It happened that Mountjoy, while in Paris, met Erasmus, then a young man, whose fame was in great part to come. Charmed with his learning and wit, and especially with his disposition to employ such powers in exposing the follies of the Schoolmen and the Mendicants, Mountjoy invited the rising scholar to England. Erasmus, fearing the plague, which then raged about him, gladly accepted the invitation. Soon
1497. after his arrival he dined with the lord mayor. Opposite him at table was a young man under twenty, who attracted his attention. He was of a slender make, light complexion, his one shoulder rising somewhat above the other. But there was geniality and gaiety in the play of his blue eyes, and of his features generally. His pleasant jests were many, and, to the surprise of Erasmus, he could be merry, not only in English or French, but in Latin or Greek. The trial of skill between the two strangers became a smart one. The Dutchman had not been wont to meet with his equal in such encounters; and having heard of a young English scholar named More, who was the only person he could suppose capable of such fencing as he now encountered, he at length exclaimed, 'Thou art either More or nobody'—whereupon More rejoined, and 'Thou art either Erasmus 'or the devil.' The two scholars became fast friends from that day.

Erasmus in Oxford.

But this was not the only occasion of surprise awaiting Erasmus in England. In Oxford, he made the acquaintance of John Colet, a man of family and wealth, of admirable presence, whose residence everywhere reflected his gentlemanly culture. Colet, we have seen, was a friend of More's, but somewhat older. His table was excellent, and open to all men of learning. Erasmus congratulated himself that he had

exchanged the stale eggs and sour wine of the scholars in Paris for more courtly fare in Oxford. But what was more grateful to him, at Colet's table he met accomplished scholars. Amongst them were Grocyn, Linacre, and Latimer, and Mr. Thomas Wolsey, then a bursar at Magdalen, afterwards cardinal. 'I cannot 'tell you,' says Erasmus, in writing to his friend Mountjoy, 'how much I am delighted with your 'England. I could be content to live in Scythia with 'such men.' Erasmus was as familiar with Cambridge as with Oxford. During this visit he became Margaret professor of divinity in the former university, and delivered lectures there on Greek. But he did not meet with the encouragement he had expected, and his services were not long-continued.

Erasmus and Henry VIII.

It was the manner of that age to regard the good estate of learning as very insecure if not sustained by the patronage of princes. It is all well, so far, said Erasmus to More, but where is your Octavius, your Mæcenas, your Medici? Go with me to Eltham, was the reply, and perhaps I can show you an answer to your question; and to Eltham they went. Eltham was the residence of lord and lady Mountjoy, who had the charge of the king's children. There Erasmus began his acquaintance with Henry duke of York, then in the tenth year of his age, and afterwards Henry VIII. He was delighted with the acquirements of the young prince, with his capacity, and his love of learning. On his return to the continent he spoke of England as the home of scholarly men, and as not without her Octavius. On the accession of prince Henry to the crown, Mountjoy wrote to Erasmus: 'Our Octavius is on the throne; come, be-'hold the new star; all things are changed.' Erasmus, indeed, had received letters from the young king, in creditable Latin, expressing the warmest affection towards him, and urging his return to England. He at length took leave of the pope, bid adieu to Italy, and found court and college in this country prepared to give him a cordial welcome.

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Progress of the new learning in Oxford.

Oxford now became the seat of one of those movements which have been so frequent in her history, and which have never failed to make themselves felt in the remotest provinces of the kingdom. Classical literature had come, to a considerable extent, into the place of scholastic literature, though few classical works were printed in this country, in whole or in part, until towards the close of this period. The sacred scriptures, not merely in the Vulgate, but in the Greek, became familiar to many. The taste for antiquity, and the theology of the New Testament, were alike unfavourable to a continuance of the dogmas and superstitions of the Middle Age. Men began to fling their sarcasms with a new freedom at the idleness, immorality, and insincerity of the clergy, especially of the religious orders.* For the present, indeed, such licence was not to be indulged on all occasions. Men in authority did not look on without distrust. But the new studies, which had awakened this new feeling, were a force not to be resisted. The king was not disposed to resist it. The cardinal knew that the attempt would be vain—worse than vain. His flatterers called upon him to be the Mæcenas, or the 'Ptolemy,' as the phrase was, of the movement; and his policy and his vanity concurred in suggesting that it became him to take that position. His patronage, accordingly, was never more imposing than when bestowed on learning or on learned men.

Rise of Sir Thomas More.

In a suit which arose between the pope and the king concerning a rich vessel which had entered Southampton, More had been chosen by Wolsey to plead the cause of his holiness. This he did in the

* The effect of printing was to reduce books to about a fifth of their former cost, and so early as 1486 we find an archbishop of Mentz instituting a censorship of the press, that his flock might not be misled by bad books. Erasmus had been sent when young to a monastery, and never seems to have lost sight of the hypocrisy he there witnessed, or of the restraints that were laid upon him.—Hallam, *Hist. Lit.* 348, 349. Jortin's *Erasmus*. Orthodox churchmen soon saw what printing was likely to do for them.

presence of the king, and with such skill and success, that Henry became desirous of seeing him at court, and of securing his services.* The cardinal was accordingly commissioned to draw the modest lawyer from the retirement he loved, and to introduce him to the courtier society which was not often to his taste. More was made Master of Requests, and within a month was knighted, and became a privy councillor. The king greatly prized the ability of the new statesman. He scarcely allows him to leave him, says Erasmus. If he needs help in serious matters, he has not a better adviser; if he would relax his mind, he knows not a more festive companion.† Henry often sent for More to confer with him in his closet on astronomy, geometry, divinity, and other subjects, and might sometimes be seen walking with him on the leads of the house, conversing about the distances and laws of the heavenly bodies. When More did not come often enough to the palace, Henry would go without state to Chelsea, and would take his place at the family board, contented with the humblest fare that might chance to be placed before him.‡ To many minds these appearances were full of promise for the future. 'Where,' said Erasmus, 'is the Athens, the 'Porch, or the Academy to compare with the court of 'England? The royal residence is not so much a 'palace as a seat of the Muses. The Golden Age 'returns. I congratulate the world.'

Erasmus and Luther.

The year in which More became a courtier, was that in which Luther signalized himself by his opposition to indulgences. Much blame was now cast upon Erasmus. His attacks on the clergy, it was said, had their natural issue in such disorders. He had laid the egg, Luther had only hatched it. His retort was—The egg laid by me was a hen's egg, that hatched by Luther has given a bird of another kind.

* Cayley's *Life of More*, i. 74, 75.
† *Epist. ad Hutten.* ‡ Roper's *Life of More. Utopia.*

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But his opponents did not accept his wit as a settlement of the question. Already his position lay at about an equal distance between the two great parties—the men opposed to all change, and the thorough reformers. More was the only man of the former class who could measure strength with him. The leanings of Colet, now dean of St. Paul's, were to the other side. Both, however, were his firm friends.

Colet's discourse on heresy.

In a sermon preached before the convocation, Colet said: 'We see strange and heretical ideas appear in 'our days. And no wonder. But you must know 'there is no heresy more dangerous to the church than 'the vicious lives of its priests. A reformation is 'needed, and that reformation must begin with the 'bishops, and be extended to the priests. The clergy 'once reformed, we shall proceed to the reformation 'of the people.' These were bold words.

The crowd of citizens who listened were delighted. They returned to their homes declaring Colet to be another St. Paul. But three prelates, one of whom was Fitz-James, bishop of London, denounced the dean to the archbishop of Canterbury. Wareham was not a metropolitan to take a harsh course towards such a man. He did what Colet had refused to do—he vindicated what had been said.

Greeks and Trojans at Oxford.

The lectures of Grocyn in Oxford on Greek attracted much attention, and called forth much opposition. His opponents took the name of Trojans, and boasted of having their Priam, and Hector, and Paris in the field. One of these gentlemen attacked the Greeks, as they were called, in the university pulpit. More addressed a Latin epistle to the university, expressing his regret that Oxford, always supposed to be in advance of Cambridge as a liberal instructor, should be losing her place, for the authorities of Cambridge, to their honour, were encouraging the study of Greek.*

* 'Notwithstanding the assertions of Antony Wood, there can be no doubt that Cambridge was, during the whole of this reign, at least on a

He further reminded these Trojans, that in this war they were opposed to their own chancellor, Wareham, to the cardinal, and to the king himself. Henry, indeed, enjoyed the contention between these parties, and was often pleased with the opportunity of letting a Greek loose upon a Trojan. But the whisper through all the confessionals was—'Beware of the Greeks, if you 'would not be a heretic.' The grammar school of St. Paul's, founded by the liberality of Colet, was especially denounced, as the horse of the perjured Sinon, from which every kind of mischief would come forth.*

Persecution of Erasmus.

But upon no man did the resentments of the old routine ecclesiastics of England fall so heavily as upon Erasmus. Standish, bishop of St. Asaph, especially embodied this feeling, and resolved to act upon it. The name, St. Asaph, was sometimes abbreviated as St. Ass; and Erasmus, after his manner, had spoken of Standish as being somewhat appropriately the bishop of a diocese with such a title. The bishop felt this bit of humour the more, inasmuch as it was no secret that his learning was not such as to bear a close scrutiny. The proceedings of Standish sufficed to show, that the time had come in which Erasmus must relinquish his footing in England, or retain it by braving something in its defence. But deep conviction on grave subjects, and the courage which such conviction imparts, did not belong to the character of Erasmus. He had a quick perception of moral distinctions and proprieties, and an exquisite sense of the ridiculous; but he wanted the conscientious thoroughness necessary to the really great man. In this view, compared with Luther, his mind was feeble and

level with the sister university, and, indeed, to speak plainly, above it.'—Hallam's *Introduct. Lit.* i. 469.

* Cayley's *More*, i. 80. Before the close of the period embraced in this chapter, Greek was commonly taught, not only in Oxford and Cambridge, but in the chief grammar schools. Lilly, Cox, Udal, and Nowell, who were at the head of such establishments, were all Grecians.

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fragile. Henceforward, the great man of letters gives place considerably in the public eye to the great man in the religious sense. We hear less of Erasmus and more of Luther. Nevertheless, Erasmus had still his great work to do, though a work to be done without noise. This was to retire to Basle, and there to labour, and to constrain others to labour, at the printing of his Greek Testament. That work was his great gift to the cause of Protestantism, but a gift which contributed to the progress of that memorable revolution in a degree not intended by its author.

The Greek Testament by Erasmus.

Erasmus tells us, that his labour in producing his Greek Testament was such that he should hardly be credited were he to relate it. He collected many manuscripts, and surrounded himself with the commentaries of the best of the fathers, that he might lack no aid in getting at the true meaning of a text. In Hebrew criticism he was assisted by Capito, still more by Œcolampadius. So many were the exceptionable renderings found in the Vulgate, that he collected and printed them.* What he saw of the probable result of his labours sustained him in the prosecution of them. If the ship of the church is to be saved from the tempest, it must be, he said, by the word which has come from the bosom of the Father, and which still lives in the gospels.† In vain will men seek to slake their thirst in human reservoirs, their waters are stagnant and fetid. Others may contribute marble, and ivory, and gold towards raising a spiritual temple in desolated Christendom, it belonged to him, a poor and insignificant person, to offer a stone that should be laid at the foundation. Nor was this all. Not only would he that men should be free to read the gospel in Greek, he would have all men read it in their own tongue. It might be expedient that the secrets of kings should be concealed, but the mysteries of Christ should be published. 'The Holy Scriptures

* Eras. *Ep.* p. 329. † Ibid. p. 1843.

'translated into all languages should be read, not only 'by the Scotch and Irish, but even by Turks and 'Saracens. The husbandman should sing them as 'he holds the handle of his plough; the weaver repeat 'them as he plies his shuttle; and the wearied traveller, 'halting on his journey, refresh him under some shady 'tree by these goodly narratives.'*

Its reception.

The affection with which thoughtful and earnest men received the Greek Testament realized the most sanguine hopes of Erasmus. The book was sought after with intense interest, and retained as a priceless treasure. But much followed which Erasmus had not foreseen. The religious orders, and not a few among the clergy, took alarm. The feeling seemed to spread as an infection. The confessionals were all tuned to one note. If this new book should be allowed a free circulation, the land would be overrun with heresy—not one stone would be left upon another in church or state!

The storm.

Erasmus was amazed at this storm. It is clear that had he foreseen it, he would hardly have chosen a course of action so inconvenient. But the work was done; and now he could only aver that he had done it believing it to be a good work, that it would be acceptable to the Lord, and for the good of his church.† But such professions availed him little. He had been so presumptuous as to suppose that he could amend the Vulgate. He would be accounted more holy than St. Jerome. He would set aside a version consecrated by the common consent of the church, and inspired by the Holy Ghost. He had dared to erase the word penance, substituting repentance in its stead. In short, the whole book was the work of an heresiarch —of an antichrist. So did these men rave.

Zeal of archbishop Lee.

The generalissimo in this anti-biblical crusade was Edward Lee, archbishop of York. Lee had been on friendly terms with Erasmus while Erasmus was in

* Paraclesis ad lectorem pium.

† *Ep.* p. 911.

29922.

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England. The archbishop was not a scholar in the judgment of scholars; nor was he a religious man in the judgment of men who were thoughtful on that subject. He had now made the discovery that from Erasmus no good thing could come. His Greek Testament was said to be full of errors of the most frightful and mischievous description. Every possible effort was made to diffuse this impression. Good dinners were given, letters were written, agents were employed, criticisms were privately printed, all that could be done was done to sink the reputation of Erasmus, and to raise that of his most orthodox opponent upon its ruins. Erasmus knew all this. 'Why,' said he, 'be so modest as to print only for private 'circulation? Why not publish on the subject? Who 'can tell but that the holy fathers, in appointing you 'the Aristarchus of letters, may be willing to give you 'a birch to keep the world in order?'*

The Trojan preaches before the king.

One of the archbishop's alarmists was called to preach before the king. His majesty was known to have been the friend of Erasmus, and was suspected of being inclined toward the new learning. To put an end to such influences in that quarter would be a great work. But the preacher on this occasion was not equal to the task he had assumed. He declaimed, indeed, with great fluency against the Greek and its patrons, but in such style that Henry was seen to be more disposed to smile than to frown. When the service was over, the talk ran high against the preacher. 'Bring the priest to me,' said the king, and, turning to More, he added, 'you shall defend the cause of the 'Greeks, and I will listen.' But there was no disputation. The call of the king had filled the preacher with almost breathless dismay. He fell upon his knees, and, clasping his hands, exclaimed he knew not

* Eras. *Ep.* 593, 742, 746. From the parts which the several conspirators took upon themselves in this scheme, and their deadly purpose, Erasmus designated the affair as *Lee's Tragedy*.—Ibid. 913.

by what spirit he had been impelled. 'By the spirit 'of folly, be sure of it,' said Henry, 'and not by the 'spirit of Christ. Have you ever read Erasmus?' 'No, sire,' was the answer. 'Away with you, then,' said the king; 'are you not a pretty blockhead?' 'And yet,' said the culprit, 'I remember reading some-'thing about Moria' (Erasmus, in praise of *Folly*). 'With that subject,' said an attendant, 'he ought to 'be very familiar.' Still trembling, but hoping to abate the severity of his doom, the delinquent said, 'I 'am not against the Greek altogether, seeing that it 'comes from the Hebrew!' With the loud laugh thus raised the curtain fell on this pleasant comedy.*

The Obscurants.

In Oxford, the 'Obscurants,' as these opposers of the new light were sometimes called, were better represented. But the cause was a bad one, and no representation of it could make it otherwise. To allege that the Greek Testament ought not to be read, was to say that it ought not to have been written, and that the utterances of which it is the record ought not to have been made. To the people these communications were made then, why should they not be made to them now? To this reasoning the Obscurants had nothing to oppose that could bear the slightest examination. Their only successful weapon consisted in vague declamations about all sorts of known or unknown evils which it was said must come from such reading. But in college and convent, in the homes of the wealthy, and of the middle and humbler classes, there was light enough to cause debates on this subject to become frequent and earnest.

How converts were made.

One instance may suffice to show the manner in which this leaven was diffused. In Trinity College, Cambridge, there was a young man engaged in the study of the canon law, remarkable for his seriousness, his modesty, and his conscientiousness. His priest was to his soul what his physician was to his body.*

* Eras. *Ep.* 347, 914.

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He often took his place, pale and anxious, at the feet of his confessor. But the prescriptions given did not reach his case. Masses, vigils, indulgences, and free contributions in money, all were tried, but the patient only seemed to grow worse. At times, the thought would arise—'Am I in the right path? May not the 'priest be in error, or be a self-seeker in all he does?' But the suspicion was instantly rejected as a suggestion from the enemy. One day the troubled scholar heard two friends talking of a new book. The book was the Greek Testament by Erasmus, with an elegant Latin translation. The scholar was pleased with the sound of the Latin, and would fain have taken up the volume and have examined it. But he knew that the authorities of the university had condemned all such books, and especially that book, as tending to nothing but heresy. He abstained; but his desire to look into that volume grew stronger. He stole into the house in Cambridge where the book was secretly sold. Having obtained a copy, he returned to his room to read it, and the first text that arrested his attention read, 'This is a faithful saying, and worthy of all 'acceptation, that Christ Jesus came into the world 'to save sinners, of whom I am chief.' This was to the spirit-worn student as the voice of an oracle. He pondered it, and derived from it what the priestly impositions to which he had so long submitted had failed to give him, peace of conscience and enlargement of heart. Henceforth he sits at the feet of his Lord, and of his inspired messengers. His religious life becomes not only happier, but deeper. This young scholar was Thomas Bilney, one of the earliest and holiest martyrs of the English Reformation.*

Bilney.

The people desire the Scriptures in English

The reader will have seen that the arguments used to show that scholars should be allowed to read the Scriptures in Greek, were such as might be used with

* *Thom. Bilnæus* Tonstallo Episcopo. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ubi supra.

equal fitness to show that the people at large should be allowed to read them in English. The 'Obscurants' were alive to this fact. It was, indeed, the great secret of the zeal evinced by the more sagacious among them on this subject. But were the people of England desirous of such a privilege? Were they prepared to read the Scriptures in English if made accessible to them? The histories of England most read among us give no answer to this question. But the records of the time furnish large evidence in relation to it. They disclose to us the early germinating of those great principles which were to rise from the popular mind to minds of a higher order, and to issue, in their time, in the English Reformation.

The episcopal registries in England in the early years of the sixteenth century, contain many entries concerning persons who were examined as accused, or suspected, of holding heretical opinions. We select a single record of this description, and restrict ourselves to entries in a single year, viz., the register of Longland, bishop of Lincoln, relating to proceedings in the county of Buckingham in 1521.

Wycliffites—measures against them.

The course taken in these examinations, was to require the accused parties to bind themselves by oath to answer all questions that should be put to them. To refuse the oath was to be accounted heretical; and to take it was, in most instances, to be perjured, or to become a self-convicted heretic. Nor was this all—the victims were made in this manner to answer questions so as not only to convict themselves, but to convict others. The consequence was, that husbands gave evidence against their wives, and wives against their husbands, children against their parents, and parents against their children. All the bonds of neighbourhood, of friendship, and of nature itself, were thus outraged in the name of religion. From the mercilessness with which questions were urged, the evidence of some one timid and conscientious sufferer was sometimes made to embrace scores of persons, and must have sent

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suspicion and alarm over a whole district.* From the disclosures made, it appears that the men and women holding the prohibited opinions were distinguished in the common language of the time as 'known,'—that is, as suspected, or marked persons. In innumerable ways, the peculiarities of persons of this description would be sure to betray them. It was their manner to meet together in lesser or greater numbers for the purpose of religious reading and conference. Printed books were hardly known among them. But they had succeeded in secreting a great number of manuscript books. Those found in possession of one person of this class are said to have been worth a hundred marks, not less than 200*l.* of our money. Those possessed by others were in several instances of considerable value. They consisted chiefly of portions of Wycliffe's New Testament in English. Some possessed mere fragments of that precious volume; some a whole gospel; some the four gospels; one treasured up an epistle, another several, or the whole. Wycliffe's *Wicket*, and some of his shorter expositions appear to have been especially familiar to them; and a book of a similar description, intitled the *Shepherd's Calendar*. Associations were formed to hear these books read. They passed also in loan from family to family, and from one to another. Their cost, as well as the danger of possessing them, disposed many to commit large portions of them to memory, and what they had so learnt was often recited at length for the instruction and comfort of others.

The opinions embraced by these people were those which had descended to them from the times of

* It is important, on account of much that will claim the attention of the reader elsewhere, that the exact features of these prosecutions should be marked—accused parties who dared not perjure themselves, were compelled to reveal their thoughts; the thoughts so revealed were accounted crimes; and the crimes so brought to light were punished with every grade of punishment down to death at the stake.

Wycliffe. They did not believe in transubstantiation. They denied to pope, prelate, or priest the authority to absolve from sin, affirming that power to belong to the Saviour alone. They spoke of confession to a priest, and of the doctrine of purgatory, as inventions of the clergy. They condemned the worship of images and relics. They denounced pilgrimages to holy places as vain and demoralizing; and they urged on all who were believers in these doctrines to marry only among themselves. In respect to these opinions, they were found to be nearly all of one mind.*

The numbers who were thus arraigned in Buckinghamshire alone, and in this one year, we cannot count. Several scores are mentioned by name. Others appear to have been disposed of more summarily. The penalties inflicted were various. Some were made to do public and degrading penance. Others were burnt in the cheek, so as to be made to carry the brand of heresy in the sight of every one to their grave. Others were treated as convicts, and sent to the different religious houses, to be retained there at pleasure in the condition of bondsmen. Of such as were adjudged 'relapsed,'—that is, as heretics after abjuration, six were condemned to the stake. In the case of one of these, named John Scrivener, as in the case of one Tylesworthy, in the same county, some years before, the hand compelled to apply the

* In 1511, a great number of persons in Kent were found to have embraced the above doctrines; several were burnt. One man, who was examined by archbishop Wareham and by bishop Fisher, was so tortured by fire, to force him to recant, that his feet were 'burnt to the bones.'—Foxe, iv. 181, 182. Many abjured, and those who had so done were accepted as witnesses against others. One woman, sixty years of age, was burnt on evidence which had been extorted from her own husband, and from two of her own sons. It is painful to see that to such proceedings, not only Wareham, but Tonstal, afterwards bishop of London, and even such a man as dean Colet, were parties. But heresy was accounted soul-murder, and these people were accounted heretics.—Ibid. v. 647–652.

torch to the faggot was that of the daughter of the victim!*

Now we have no reason to suppose that the new opinions were more prevalent in Buckinghamshire than in the other counties of England. Certain it is, that the bishop of Lincoln and his coadjutors had come to believe that nothing short of the severest measures would suffice to deter a multitude of persons from casting off all subjection to the sort of teaching which the church had recognized. Nothing would seem to have been further from the thoughts of the ruling clergy than the suspicion that the opinions avowed by these people were in fact rational and scriptural, and might possibly become the opinions of the most enlightened minds in this great nation. No doubt, if we could have gone to the homes, or to the secret gatherings of these peasants and artisans, shopkeepers and traders, we should have found among them persons who might be justly described as ignorant, narrow-minded, and fanatical. But all would not be of that character; and, with all their faults, it is among this people that we find Lutheranism in England before Luther, and the germs of a real Protestantism long before the protest which originated that name had been made. From such men the

* See the contents of the Register as given in Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* The following letter from the bishop of Lincoln to the abbot of Evesham will show the feeling with which the convict class of sufferers were distributed: 'My loving brother, I recommend me hastily to you; and whereas I have, according to the law, put the bearer, R. T., to perpetual penance within your monastery of Evesham, there to live as a penitent, and not otherwise, I pray you, and nevertheless *according to the law command you* to receive him, and see you order him there accordingly to his injunctions, which he will show you if ye require the same. As for his lodging, he will bring it with him (he will sleep on the ground). And his meat and drink he may have such as ye give him of your alms. And if he can so order himself by his labour within your house in your business, whereby he may deserve his meat and drink, so may you order him, as ye see convenient to his deserts, so that he pass not the precinct of your monastery. And thus fare you heartily well. From my place,' &c.—Foxe.

'wise and prudent' in cabinets and senates, were in time to learn their lesson.

Scheme for printing the New Testament in English.

The day had now come in which resolute effort would be made to give the pious Englishman an English version of the scriptures by the aid of the printing-press. About nine miles from Bristol, on the road which in stage-coach days led from that city to Gloucester, there is a curve where the wheels of the traveller turn northward, crossing ere long a high ground, open as sheep-walk, and patched with furze and heather. The slope from the left of that road, as it crosses that open land, descends into one of the most fertile sections of the vale of Gloucester. The landscape is full of English beauty, undulated and richly wooded, with spire and turret seen here and there above, or between, the wooded level, and made bright still, as in centuries past, by many a rising or setting sun. Through the midst of that valley the broad red waters of the Severn are seen to flow on towards the estuary of the Wye, curving from that point into the Bristol Channel. That noble river, some miles in width, separates the high lands of Monmouthshire, the country of Caractacus and his Silures, from the ancient home of other British tribes on this side its banks. The district is rich in traces of the past, in the remains of Roman encampments, Roman villas, and Norman castles. So abundant were its religious establishments, that the expression, 'as sure 'as God is in Gloucestershire,' came to be a common expression to denote certainty.

On the edge of the valley, and about a mile from the road of which we have spoken, the small town of Sodbury is visible. Near that town, in the time of Henry VIII., stood an old hall, which, like many structures of its class in that day, was spacious in its dimensions, but irregularly built, decorated with ancient evergreens, and overshadowed in its approaches by the more ancient elm, and oak, and yew-tree. The owner of this mansion was Sir John Walsh, an accomplished

gentleman, who had acquired reputation and royal favour in the jousts and entertainments of the court. His lady was one of those true English women, who, to the accomplishments proper to their sex, and the virtues of the good superintendent of household matters, have added the feeling which has given them an interest in questions concerning the honour of their country and of religion. Behind the hall, at the end of the yew-tree walk, was the small church of St. Adeline, where Sir John and his dependents formed nearly the whole congregation.

The knight was hospitable. Men of position in the neighbourhood, especially the more wealthy ecclesiastics, were often found at his table. But among the inmates of the hall was a priest, who preached in the little church on Sunday, and acquitted himself as tutor to the young Walshes during the week. This man, then about thirty-six years of age, was a close student, earnestly religious, very familiar with his Greek Testament, and much out of mood with the prevailing ideas and usages in regard to religion. Judging from what is now known of him, his head and features were such as bespoke capacity, seriousness, and firmness, with enough of a relish for humour to prompt him at times to subject a question to the test of ridicule. We speak now of the first half-dozen years after 1520, during which time great stir was made both by prince and prelate to put down heresy, and to keep out Lutheranism.

The ecclesiastics who visited Sir John, talked at table on such matters, and often in a style neither very intelligent nor very tolerant. But the tutor priest never failed to convert such discoursings into discussions. In these debates, it was his manner to take his Greek Testament from his side pocket, and, opening it on the table, to place his finger on passage after passage as his proofs. As will be supposed, this fencing was not always calmly conducted. The blood sometimes grew hot on both sides. In one instance,

when the authority of the law of God in the scriptures was insisted on, a priest was bold enough to say, 'We 'could do better without God's law than without the 'pope's law;' to which the tutor rejoined, 'I defy the 'pope, and all his laws; and, if God spare my life, ere 'many years, I will cause the boy who driveth the 'plough to know more of scripture than you do.'

Of course, the man who so spoke soon became a 'known' man. The priests used the confessional, and even frequented the benches of the ale-house, for the purpose of filling the neighbourhood with the rumour of heresy as harboured at the hall. The reputed heretic, however, continued to preach in village and town when permitted. In Bristol, he preached in the open air, upon the college green, then called St. Austin's green. But everywhere he was tracked, and the cry of heresy followed. The preacher deplored his inability to deal single-handed with an enemy whose name was legion. By one expedient only could he hope to become enough like Briareus to meet such odds, and that would be by translating the New Testament into the spoken language of his country, and by printing it for general circulation. The English Testament might do for the people what the Greek Testament had done for himself. He decided, accordingly, to leave Sodbury, and to seek the quiet of another home for the prosecution of his object. Already he had been summoned before the chancellor of the diocese, and escaped only through the absence of the witnesses who had been expected to appear against him.*

William Tyndale.

In this narrative we give the life of William Tyndale, up to the time of his committing himself to his great work—the translating and printing of the

* Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* Anderson's *Annals of the Eng. Bib.* Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises: Biographical Notice,* xv.–xxix. 394–396. *Expositions: Answer to Sir Thomas More.* Parker Society. Foxe, v. 114–130.

New Testament in English. The tutor at the hall had not forfeited the friendship of Sir John, or of Lady Walsh, by his supposed heresies. The worthy knight gave him introductions to influential persons, both lay and clerical, in London. By this means Tyndale obtained ready access to the pulpits of the metropolis, especially to St. Dunstan's, in Fleet-street, where his doctrine, though deduced for himself from scripture, was on many points substantially the doctrine attributed at that time to Luther. Tonstal, the bishop of London, was a zealous student of Greek. Tyndale sent him a translation of Isocrates; and, encouraged by the patronage which Sir John's letters had secured for him, he aspired to the office of chaplain to the bishop. But Tonstal's love of Greek had been more literary than theological. It had not made him a reformer—far from it. The bishop had probably the means of knowing, that the opinions of the suitor were too much of the sort which he had shown himself more disposed to persecute than to encourage. It is certain that Tyndale retired from the presence of Tonstal so far affected by the cold courtesy of his manner, as to determine from that time to look no more to episcopal influence for the furtherance of his object.*

Tyndale's preaching had made him friends among the laity of the metropolis. One of these, a rich merchant named Humphrey Monmouth, having heard of his failure with the bishop, generously said, 'Come 'and live with me, and under my roof you can employ 'yourself as you please.' Monmouth was a citizen of high reputation, a man of an eminently Christian spirit, and his house and table were open to all men who were known to be desirous of seeing the mind of the people brought under a purer religious influence. We are not surprised, accordingly, to find such men

* Tyndale's *Doctrinal Treatises*, 395, 396. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* ubi supra.

as Hugh Latimer among the guests who availed themselves of his hospitality.

In the house of Humphrey Monmouth, Tyndale was joined by the pious and learned John Frith, eminent as a mathematician of King's College, Cambridge. The two Christian scholars there laboured together, translating chapter after chapter of the New Testament from the Greek into the spoken English of their time. But Longland, whose zeal against heresy had produced so much excitement in Buckinghamshire, wrote letters to Tonstal, to the cardinal, and to the king, assuring them that the favourers of Lutheranism in London were very many, and urging that strong measures should be taken against them. Nor did he urge in vain. Many persons were seized, and were severely dealt with. Their offence, however, rarely extended beyond their being known to have read some fragments of scripture in English. But, if that be so great a crime, said Tyndale, what will my sin be deemed in attempting to make the whole volume familiar to the people in their mother tongue? He began to fear, and not without reason, that the stake might put an end to his labour before his work was done. He determined, in consequence, to remove to Holland. Monmouth and his friends supplied him with money. After awhile, the exile removed from Hamburg to Cologne, where the facilities for printing were greater. Quental and Bryckmans, printers in that city, had premises in St. Paul's churchyard, London, for the deposit and sale of their books. Tyndale arranged with these persons for printing 3000 copies of his English Testament.*

It so happened, that at this juncture, Cochlæus, dean of Frankfort, one of the most bitter enemies of the reformers, came to Cologne. Cochlæus, too, had work for the printers above named, and it chanced, that in free table talk, words were dropped to the

* Anderson's *Annals of Eng. Bib.* *Biographical Notice of Tyndale.*

effect that Henry and the cardinal might be vigilant, but there was a scheme on foot which would place England on the side of the Lutherans. Cochlæus resolved if possible to detect this supposed conspiracy. In a subsequent interview with one of the printers, he induced the man to take wine freely, and by that means possessed himself of the secret. Three thousand copies of an English Testament were in the press. Fourscore quarto pages were worked off. English merchants had supplied the money, and would see that they were so imported as to be in circulation before the government should be aware of what was doing. The next step of the dean was to see one Herman Rincke, a member of the senate of Cologne, and to prevail on him to move that body so as to frustrate this undertaking. This was done, and officers were despatched to seize the property.*

But Tyndale, while he lived in secret, was careful to make himself acquainted with what the public were about. He had become aware of these proceedings. He succeeded in conveying the sheets from the printers' office to a vessel on the Rhine, and ascending the river, found a more secure asylum at Worms. There his work was accomplished. The quarto edition, indeed, does not appear to have been completed. But an octavo edition, which was much preferable in many respects, was put in the way of finding a place among the most treasured possessions of many a family in England. Cochlæus, irritated by his failure, wrote to Henry and to Wolsey, apprising them of what had happened, and entreating them to cause the ports of England to be guarded against the introduction of the 'baneful merchandise,' which would no doubt be covertly sent thither.†

Such precautions were taken, but with no great

* Cochlæus, *Opp.* 123–131. Anderson's *Annals.*

† Cochlæus, 126. The famous Dr. Eck, then on his way to England, undertook to exhort the English bishops in the same strain.—Ibid.

measure of success. It will be proper now to retrace our steps a little, and to observe the course pursued by the king and the government, in so far as their policy tended to bring on the coming change.

Progress of Lutheranism in England.

Wolsey, the reader has seen, was possessed with the notion that the tiara might some day rest on his brow. It is easy to see the course which such a man would be disposed to take towards the reformers. Great, in all places, was the talk about Luther and the Lutherans. The works of the Reformer were translated into English almost as soon as published, and found ready purchasers in this country.* The bull issued against him by Leo X. was sent to the king of England. Wolsey, as legate, transmitted it to the bishops. By their lordships, the works of the Saxon monk were pronounced heretical, and prohibited. Many of the Greek literature men, with Tonstal at their head, drew back from the precipice to which they imagined themselves approaching. The doctrine of Luther, said Wolsey, means contempt of the clergy, and as such must be fatal to all virtue. Tonstal had just returned from some very orthodox company in Germany, and said of Luther—The man is a very Proteus, an atheist; the destruction of to-day prepares for something worse to-morrow; nothing sacred will ere long be left—the *hell-dog*, and all who have affinity with him, must be crushed, if the church or the world is to retain any good thing. The bull of the pope was followed by a similar instrument from the cardinal. This was in 1521, and the Buckinghamshire inquisition of that year has shown that the voice of the pope and of his legate were not lifted up in vain.†

Luther's writings condemned, and publicly burnt.

On a Sunday in June when congregations would assemble in greatest numbers to hear high mass, the

* Libros Lutheranos quorum magnus jam numerus pervenerat in manus Anglorum.—Polyd. Verg. *Ang. Hist.* 664. Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* i. 21.

† Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. c. 2. Eras. *Ep.* 1158–1160.

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bull was read in all churches. All persons, it was said, who should be convicted of retaining any writing by Martin Luther, after an interval of fifteen days, would incur the penalty of the greater excommunication. The document, which set forth largely the perverse opinions attributed to the German Reformer, was then placed by a notary on the church door, or in the church porch. Crowds collected about it—one person generally reading the contents for the benefit of the rest. At St. Paul's cathedral an imposing ceremony took place. After a sermon by the bishop of Rochester, the cardinal himself committed the writings of Luther to the flames. But the people do not appear to have been edified by the spectacle. Their sarcasms about the power to destroy books being something different from the power to answer them, and about the folly of wise men who could expect to convince people by burning them, were no secret.*

Henry writes against Luther.

But the cardinal, as if aware that something beside burning books had become needful, now put no less a person than the king upon writing a treatise in defence of the assailed faith. Wolsey flattered himself, that the high reputation of the king of England in Rome, might probably contribute not a little to his own elevation in that connexion. Under this influence, Henry wrote to the archduke Palatine, urging that no pains should be spared to suppress the growing insubordination; that Luther and his books should be doomed to perish together, unless he should repent; at the same time pledging the aid of his own sword to bring about that consummation. Living in the midst of flatteries of all kinds, Henry was ready to believe that he could wield the pen in a royal fashion along with his sceptre. With the help, probably, of more learning than his own, he brought together the contents of a book in defence of the church, and sent it into the world in the spirit of a man who supposed

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. c. 2, pp. 55–60. Tynd. *Doctrin. Tr.* 221.

himself commissioned to supply a great want to his generation. Ordinary men could not move with too much caution in dealing with such an adversary as Luther; but to look on while the king was the assailant, was to see the Cerberus of heresy chased back to those lower regions whence he must have come. The book, when completed, was shown to Sir Thomas More. The wary lawyer suggested that the language concerning the absoluteness of the papal supremacy should be more guarded. It might be cited against the king inconveniently another day. But Henry would not consent to abate an expression, or to soften a word, on that point. The volume was sent to his holiness, through the English ambassador at Rome, with the promise that the sword of the king should be unsheathed to uphold the doctrine asserted in the treatise. The pope, fallen far below the high estate of his predecessors in past centuries, eager to obtain aid from any quarter, received the present with the most studied expressions of favour and admiration; commending especially, the readiness of the king to cut off the diseased members of the body of Christ by material means.

Henry is named Defender of the Faith.

What honourable title should be conferred on his majesty for services so eminent? Let the designation be—Protector of the Roman Church, said one. Let him be called Apostolic King, said another. But the title voted was, 'Defender of the Faith.' Henry's joy on receiving this mark of distinction is said to have been such as no event in his history had been known to produce. He took his place on the throne; the cardinal was on his right hand; the court was about him in its best bravery, and the letter of the pope was read publicly and aloud. This done, the sound of trumpets reverberated through the palace, and heralds proclaimed in Latin—*Henry, by the Grace of God, king of England and of France,* DEFENDER OF THE FAITH, *and lord of Ireland.* The sequel was a grand banquet.*

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. c. 2. Rymer, vi. 199. Fiddes's *Life of Wolsey*, 249.

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Luther replies.

Thousands of copies of the king's book were printed at the king's expense, and ten years' indulgence was awarded from the papal exchequer to every one who should read it. Luther read the treatise without dismay, and replied to it so as to show that the pen had not destroyed him, whatever the sword might do. The points discussed by the king, were the efficacy of the sacraments, and the authority of tradition. The essence of the controversy lay there, and great good was done by concentrating the strife upon that issue. If any teaching, said Luther, be opposed to holy scripture, whatever may be its origin — tradition, custom, kings, Thomists, Sophists, Satan, or even an angel from heaven — all from whom such teaching proceeds are accursed. Everything true, good, and enduring must come from the scripture; nothing opposed to it can stand.

We have seen that the year 1527 was signalized by the capture and plunder of Rome in the name of his Catholic majesty of Spain, and that the outrage perpetrated in the city was horrible. Wolsey never ceased to feel, that in the matter of the papacy, Charles had played him false, and deep was his resentment. The triumph of the emperor, accordingly, in the capital of Christendom, was no welcome news to the cardinal. But the alleged cause of his sorrow—a sorrow obtruded on the nation in penitential ceremonies, and in injunctions to fast and pray—was the scandal which had been thus brought upon the church, and upon the Christian name. Fasting, however, was little observed, even by the clergy; while the laity, it is said, showed 'their grudge against the spiritualtie,' by describing the pope as a 'ruffian,' as out of his place in meddling with temporal dominion, as having begun the mischief himself, and as being only rightly served.*

Persecution in 1527.

The people were the more disposed to express themselves in this manner, inasmuch as in the spring of this year the diocese of London had been much

* Hall's *Chron.* 727, 728.

agitated by a new search after heretics and heretical books. The Tonstal register shows that the persons brought before the ecclesiastical authorities at this time were made to take the usual oath, binding them to convict themselves, and to become informers against neighbours, friends, and relatives without exception. Some of these unhappy people hesitated so to bind themselves. One of them, William Pykas, steadily refused, and he was sent to the Lollards' tower, to be there 'thrust into the stocks for his manifest and 'manifold contumacy.' But the alternative—to swear or to burn—was a terrible one. Even the rack was sometimes threatened in such cases.* The oath was generally taken. Great numbers, especially in London and in Essex, were arrested and examined. The evidence brought against them was often that of their most trusted neighbours and nearest kindred. Mostly they were persons in humble life. But in this instance, as in the previous inquisition in Buckinghamshire, several ecclesiastics were implicated. Mention was made of Sir Sebastian Herries, curate of Kensington; and of Dr. Forman, rector of All-saints, in the city. The offences of the persons examined consisted in their holding various opinions in common with the Wycliffites and Lutherans; in their being wont to consort with persons known as holding such opinions; and in their retaining prohibited books, especially the New Testament in English. The Testament is said to be by 'William Hotchin and Friar Ray.' This means the printed version by Tyndale. So were the 'known' persons sought out, both men and women, in the diocese of London in 1527. The inquisition extended over the following year, and courts were held for the examination of suspected persons in Colchester, Walden, and other places.†

While the leaven of the new doctrine was thus affecting the common mind of the country, its educated

* Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* Dalaber's *Narrative.*

† Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. c. 8.

Progress of the reformed doctrine in Oxford.

mind was coming more and more under the same influence. Master Garrett, curate of All-saints, where Dr. Forman, before mentioned, was rector, had journeyed to Oxford in 1526 to sell prohibited books, and especially Tyndale's Testament. For these wares he found ready purchasers. Great vigilance was exercised by the authorities to detect and punish all attempts of this nature. But the readers of such books, and men who had adopted the new opinions, existed, more or less, in all the colleges and halls of the university, and were in constant communication with each other.*

Lutheranism in Cambridge.

But Cambridge was now to become conspicuous in the movement. We have seen the effect of a study of the Greek Testament on Bilney. He was a man of a delicate organization, and rather timid than courageous. But he was deeply conscientious, devout even to asceticism, and intensely solicitous to bring other minds under the religious influences which had given so much freedom to his own spirit. He possessed, withal, a ready and winning utterance, and was more skilled than many stronger and greater men in devising means to reach his object. His religious ideas came less from Luther than from Wycliffe, and less from either than from his own thoughtful reading of holy scripture. He did not take exception to transubstantiation, nor to some other points usually discarded by the class of men with whom his name is commonly associated. His great protest had respect to the lives of the clergy, and to the superstitions and errors especially at variance with the scriptural doctrine concerning forgiveness of sin, and real holiness of life. Through his influence many Cambridge men came to be accounted converted men, and among

* Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* Dalaber's *Narrative.*—This narrative is one of the many documents in Foxe which must always make his work valuable. His hearsay statements sometimes require sifting, but the amount of information furnished by him on the most trustworthy evidence is very large. Mr. Platt has done good service in editing the work so carefully.

such men was Master Stafford, professor of divinity, a man of high reputation for learning, and eminent as a teacher.*

Bilney makes a memorable convert.

But a person much more memorable was to be numbered among Bilney's converts. In 1509 there was a youth in Clare Hall, not more than eighteen years of age, who had gained a fellowship. He took his master's degree in 1514. This young scholar was the son of a Leicestershire yeoman, who occupied a farm of no great extent in that county. The good man; we are told, had walk for a hundred sheep, and his wife milked thirty cows. In 1497, at the call of the king, this yeoman had appeared mounted and armed on Blackheath, to resist the Cornish rebels under lord Audley. His son tells us that he never forgot the help he rendered to his sire on that occasion, when only six years old, in assisting to buckle on that armour. The youth had six sisters, who were all brought up in 'godliness,' and settled honourably, their frugal parents giving to each of them a portion. The yeoman's board was hospitable, and from his door the poor and deserving were never sent empty away. The only boy of the family was this Cambridge student. He had been sent early to school, and in due time to the university. He acquitted himself creditably in his studies, both classical and theological; but his force lay in his exquisite sensibility, the clearness of his conceptions, the vigour of his imagination, and in the readiness, heartiness, and manifest honesty with which he gave out what was in him. But, with all the ardour of his temperament, he was strongly conservative in his tastes, and, as the result, according to his own account, he became 'as obstinate a papist as any in England.' He learnt that some of the younger members of the university had meetings among themselves for reading the scriptures. When inquiry was made about them, the answer of many was it is only the Sophists. But the son of the Leicestershire yeoman

* Foxe, *Acts and Mon.*

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accounted those meetings mischievous, and thought the evil should be assailed by something more effectual than a sneer. He one day presented himself in the midst of these readers, and endeavoured to dissuade them from a course so unusual and unauthorized. But, to his surprise, they were not to be so persuaded. His next step was to lay the blame of these irregularities on Stafford; and his chief reason now for attending the class-room of the professor, is to show his disapproval of much that is said, and to do his best to prejudice the students against their instructor. While in this mood, it happened that he was chosen to preach before the university. The subject of his discourse was, Melancthon and his doctrines, and such was the impression made, that all pronounced him the man above all men to resist the Lutheran heresy, and, under God, to save the church.

Bilney had been observant of this man's course, had listened to his famous sermon, admired his zeal, but lamented that it should be so little according to knowledge. The preacher, said Bilney, now bears a strong resemblance to Paul before his conversion; may he not be brought to resemble him still further? In the hope of reaching this gifted mind, the good man resolved on a singular expedient. He made his way to the study of the preacher, and there, pale, feeble, and trembling, besought him, for the love of God, to receive from him his confession. The preacher consented, and in this confession Bilney set forth the phases of the spiritual conflict through which he had passed, and the scriptural grounds on which he had found rest and peace. The effect was as the breaking of new light on the mind of the confessor. He became from that time the companion of Bilney in religious studies, and in works of charity, and soon grew up into the same spiritual manhood.*

Such was the early history, and such the conversion,

* Latimer's *Sermons*, 334. Foxe, *Acts and Mon.* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 72; iii. 368.

Hugh Latimer—his preaching and labours.

of Hugh Latimer, the great preacher of the times of the English Reformation. Latimer sought forgiveness from Stafford, attended his lectures in another spirit, and valued his friendship. Much now was said about the change which had come over him, and the surprise that Bilney should have been the man to produce it. Latimer had been a zealous sacramentarian. He now taught that piety, not the imposition of hands, makes the priest; and that Christian usefulness must come from the influence of Christian truth, and not from a scrupulous observance of ceremonies. These ideas embraced the essence of the Reformation. This was a falling back, not merely on the earlier fathers as distinguished from the later, but on the school of the apostles themselves. Latimer's preaching attracted great crowds. Some, like young Becon, afterwards secretary to archbishop Cranmer, listened devoutly, treasured up his lessons, and became eminently spiritual men. But others, as Becon informs us, were filled to the utmost 'with envy and malice 'against him.' Even of these, however, many who came to mock, remained to admire and to pray. Coupled with this zeal for preaching, was a zeal, scarcely less valuable, which led the preacher to seek intercourse with such as valued his services. Latimer, so effective in the pulpit on Sunday, might be seen during the week in the study of the humblest student, visiting the poor in the most neglected parts of the town, and extending his charitable and spiritual help to the most necessitous inmates of the lazar-house, or to the most abandoned outcasts of the jail. The change, it will be seen, which he had experienced, was not a mere change of opinion. It had given him new feelings, and new motives to action. He had become in heart, and practically, another man.*

The Cambridge reformers are Protestants without knowing it.

The great topic with Stafford, and Bilney, and Latimer, and their whole party, was, the worth and authority of the sacred scriptures. It is true, the

* Becon's *Works*, ii. 425.

existing ecclesiastical system had been devised to substitute the question—What saith the *church*, for what saith the *scripture?* But so natural does it seem that a church founded professedly on scripture should favour appeals to scripture, that the Cambridge reformers generally, in common with Wycliffe and the Wycliffites before them, all made such appeals. Their so doing, however, was more to the credit of their simple-mindedness as Christians, than to their acuteness as disputants. To raise the authority of scripture, and the right of private judgment in regard to its meaning, above the authority of the church, was to cease to be Romanists, though they did not appear to see their course in that light. To the more sagacious of their opponents this was sufficiently clear. They saw no distinction between the fall of church authority and the fall of the church. How to show, accordingly, that these appeals to scripture were unwise, unwarranted, and pregnant with the greatest evils, became their great object.

Latimer's encounter with prior Buckingham.

The man who took this office upon himself in Cambridge was a certain prior named Buckingham, who insisted, among other things, that the common people, in reading the scriptures, would be sure to understand them in the grossest and most literal sense, and that the greatest mischiefs would follow. The ploughman, for example, reading 'No man, 'having put his hand to the plough, should look 'back,' would soon cease from his labour; and the woman reading that 'a little leaven leaveneth the 'whole lump,' would use so little as never to make good bread; while such as read about cutting off the right hand, or plucking out the right eye, might be expected to proceed to maim themselves according to the letter of such injunctions! The pompous and solemn manner in which this nonsense was delivered gave the matter a further air of the ridiculous.

Latimer announced that he should reply to this

attack on the next Sunday. Great was the crowd; and seated, in stately fashion, exactly opposite the pulpit, was prior Buckingham. Latimer did not scruple to tell his hearers, that the real source of all such assaults on the word of God, was the wish of some men to keep the people in subjection, as children, to their authority. But the time had come in which they were to be accounted as of full age, and were to be left to read and judge for themselves. With regard to what had been said about the plough, the leaven, and the right eye, there was no danger of finding the people so devoid of common sense as not to see that these expressions were all figurative. For example, said the preacher, you have sometimes seen the picture of a fox dressed up as a friar, and in the act of preaching. But who does not know that the design of that picture is not to say that foxes ever preach, but to say—Beware, lest, under the garb of a preaching friar, you sometimes find a man with the craft and hypocrisy of the fox? The friar had submitted to some hard thrusts before, but this last was not to be borne. He rose in great excitement, and hastening to the circle of his friends, complained bitterly of the insolence of these apostles of Lutheranism.*

Latimer and the bishop of Ely.

One other incident of this nature should be mentioned. West, bishop of Ely, had heard much of Latimer, and resolved to hear him preach. But the preacher was not to be apprised of the bishop's intention. When Latimer began to deliver his next sermon to the clergy, which, as usual on such occasions, was in Latin, the bishop, and several clergymen of his following, entered the church. The preacher ceased from his discourse until his lordship and his friends were seated. He then observed, after a pause, that when the auditory changed, it was fitting that the subject of discourse should also be changed; and leaving the topic he had entered upon, he began to

* Gilpin's *Life of Latimer*.

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preach on the office and duties of a bishop, delineating the character of our Lord as a bishop, so as of necessity to put the thoughts of the people upon comparing him with modern prelates, and with the prelate, not exactly after the divine pattern, who was before them. West was not a man to be easily disconcerted. As Latimer left the pulpit, the bishop accosted him, thanked him for his good sermon, and said—But there is one thing more, master Latimer, for which, if you will do it, I shall be prepared to kiss your foot. What is that thing, my lord? inquired the preacher. Why, said the bishop, that you preach me in this place a sermon against Martin Luther and his doctrine. Latimer replied—Your lordship knows we are forbidden to read the writings of Luther. I am in no condition therefore to refute them. If his doctrine be in accordance with scripture, I have nought to say against it; if it be contrary to scripture, I am prepared, according to my power, to refute it. His lordship felt that he had gained nothing by this affectation of indifference as to what had passed, and added tartly—Well, well, I 'perceive you smell somewhat of the frying-pan. 'You will repent this gear some day.' From that time the bishop plotted with the enemies of Latimer, and forbade his preaching in any of the churches in Cambridge, or in his diocese.*

Latimer before Wolsey.

But discourse about Latimer was not confined to Cambridge, nor to the diocese of Ely. Unfavourable reports had reached the ear of the cardinal, and the preacher was required to appear before him at York Place, his residence. At the appointed hour Latimer knocks at that palace gate, and is shown into an ante-room. Presently a small bell rings, which is the signal that persons in waiting may enter. Latimer enters accordingly. The yeoman's son and the butcher's son—two of the foremost men in England—

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 369, 370.

there stand face to face. 'Is your name Latimer?' was the first question. 'It is, assuredly,' was the reply. The cardinal appeared to be favourably impressed by the presence of the person before him, and said: 'From what I see, you should be a man capable of conducting yourself soberly and wisely, yet 'it is reported to me that you are much infected with 'the new-fangled doctrine of Luther, and such like 'heretics, and that you do very much harm among 'the youth, and other light people, by your preaching.' Your grace, said Latimer, has been misinformed. I have studied in my time both fathers and schoolmen, and should know better than to afford warrant for such imputations. That is well spoken, said the cardinal: I am glad you can so say; and calling to a Dr. Capon and a Dr. Marshall, who were within hearing, he bid them test Master Latimer by some scholastic questions. It soon became manifest that Latimer was better qualified than the doctors to take upon him the office of catechist. The cardinal was much pleased. He knew not why a man so well grounded in the knowledge proper to his office should have been brought before him; and turning round, he said: 'I pray thee, 'Latimer, tell me the cause why the bishop of Ely, 'and others, do mislike thy preachings?' Latimer described the scene at Cambridge, when he preached about the office of a bishop, and added, 'from that 'day his lordship hath done his best to silence me.' Wolsey requested him to give the substance of that sermon. Latimer tells us that he did so with fidelity, leaving the issue to Him who has all hearts in his hands. 'And that is all you said?' subjoined the cardinal. 'That is all,' was the reply. Whereupon, after a little further questioning, his grace said: 'If 'the bishop of Ely cannot abide such doctrine as you 'have here repeated, you shall have my licence, and 'shall preach it to his beard, let him say what he 'will.' Latimer was thus made independent of the

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bishops, and could preach throughout all England. Very honourable to Wolsey was this proceeding—and for that reason, among others, it is not here passed over.*

Proceedings against Barnes.

The next Cambridge delinquent to appear before the cardinal was not so fortunate as Latimer. This was Dr. Robert Barnes, prior of the abbey of the Augustinians in that town. Barnes was a native of Norfolk, had studied at Louvain, and on his return to Cambridge distinguished himself by his lectures on Terence and Cicero. With his passion for the restoration of letters, he joined considerable zeal in favour of the new religious opinions. But on this latter subject his light was partial. Bilney attempted, and not wholly without success, to show him the way more perfectly. When the bishop of Ely had silenced Latimer, Barnes invited him to the abbey pulpit, which, as an 'exempt' foundation, was not under the bishop's jurisdiction—and the church overflowed. Barnes was disposed to imitate Latimer, but he wanted the simple-mindedness, the serious conviction, and, above all, the natural sagacity, of his model. In the course of this excitement at Cambridge, a day was fixed on which a special movement should be made in defence of the new doctrine. But the sermon by Barnes touched little on doctrine. It teemed with invective against the manners of the clergy, and with descriptions which all men saw were intended to be pictures of the Cardinal. Report of these things was made to Wolsey. Two of his officials arrested the prior, in the presence of his friends, in the convocation house.†

Barnes was not equal to the trial which had befallen him. During his journey to London, he was at one time bold and elevated, at another timid and prostrate. When conducted from his place of confinement to the

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 369, 370–372.
† Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 568. Foxe, iv. 620; v. 415–434.

palace of the cardinal, he had to pass the live-long day waiting for an audience. After nightfall he was summoned. He dropped, as was customary with men who approached his eminence, on his knee. Wolsey inquired of his attendants—Is this the Doctor Barnes who is accused of heresy? Answer being given in the affirmative, the cardinal turned towards the accused man, still kneeling, and said—So, Master Doctor, you have not sufficient matter wherewith to teach people in the scriptures but you must take sore offence at my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses, and hold them up as a laughing-stock to the people. A merry and scornful meeting you had of it that day. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage than in a pulpit. And at last you spoke of my wearing *red* gloves—or, as I should say, quoth you, *bloody* gloves. What say you to this, Master Doctor? The poor man, thus assailed, answered wisely and unwisely, courageously and timidly, by turns. In the end, he was told that he must clear himself from the charge of heresy by the sort of testimony which he declared it impossible to produce, or *be burnt*. The next day a paper was submitted to him by the chapter, with the injunction—Abjure in these exact words, or prepare to be burnt alive. The struggle in the soul of the unhappy man was great. I will die, he said, rather than abjure. Nevertheless, old friends among his judges so plied him with sophistries and terrors, that their end was accomplished—he consented to dishonour the cause he had espoused by a recantation.*

Barnes and the Stillyard men at St. Paul's.

On the morning of a day soon after, there was a great stir in the neighbourhood of St. Paul's. The whole city seemed to be in motion in that direction. By eight o'clock, Barnes, and five 'Stillyard men'—shipmasters or merchants of the Hanse Towns—were conducted, with a strong guard, and great following, from

* Foxe, v. 416 *et seq.*

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the Fleet prison, at the bottom of Fleet-street, to the front of St. Paul's cathedral. The crime of the foreigners was that they had brought copies of the New Testament into this country. All were clothed in penitential dresses. One of the Stillyard men was sentenced to bear a lighted taper of five pounds weight. On the summit of the steps before the cathedral, a platform had been constructed, where Wolsey appeared in his scarlet and gems, and with the other insignia of which Barnes had spoken with so little reverence. Six-and-thirty ecclesiastics of high rank were in attendance, consisting of bishops, abbots, and priors, besides a number of doctors, who shone on that day in their damask and satin. On the platform was a temporary pulpit. Before it the penitents were required to kneel, while Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, discoursed to them on the enormity of their sin, and on the tender mercies of the church which had consented to receive them back to her bosom. At the close of the sermon the cardinal mounted his mule. His attendants bore the usual magnificent canopy over him, and he proceeded in this manner to his palace. Meanwhile, Barnes and his companions are made to walk three times round a fire kindled outside the eastern gate of the church, casting the faggots they bore, into the flames, as they encompassed them. So the pomp of authority was expected to prove stronger than the new ideas and the new life which were fast taking possession of many of the wisest and the best.*

1527.

Garret and the Tyndale Testaments.

We have seen the great precaution which was to be taken to seize the Tyndale New Testaments on their reaching our shores. But as the vessels of the Stillyard men containing them floated up the Thames, the Londoners were scattered by a prevailing sickness. Tonstal, their bishop, had been sent to Spain. Henry

* Strype's *Memorials*, i. 568. Tyndale and Frith's *Works*, 73 et seq.—Barnes had still much to suffer, and he lived to meet death at the stake with calmness and dignity.—Foxe, v. 430–436.

was keeping Christmas holiday in his palace at Eltham; and Wolsey was intent on influencing the course of continental politics so as to make them serve the purposes of his ambition. The bales of books were safely landed, and lodged in the house of Thomas Garret, curate of Allhallows, in Honey-lane, near Cheapside. Garret was one of many in his time, who, though naturally timid, were to show that conscience, which is said to make bad men cowards, can make weak men strong. He was a zealous preacher of the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, and went so far as to affirm that every layman capable of preaching that great truth should preach it. It soon became known that he had the New Testament in English for sale. Purchasers were found in great numbers. Thus, in less than ten years after the New Testament in Greek is found in the hands of our scholars, the New Testament in English is found in the hands of the people. Tradesmen, artisans, students, and even priests and monks, were eager to possess it. That so many should have evinced this feeling, at so much hazard, is evidence that a sense of religious want had grown up in the heart of multitudes. To such, the scriptures were as waters to a thirsty soil. The words of Christ and of Paul were viewed as full of authority —as an end of all controversy. The religion exhibited in their teaching was felt to be a genial, a happy religion. It revealed the Fatherhood of the Almighty, full of love and pity. Few in the present day can imagine with what freshness and power this new and living word came upon the spirits of the men and women of those times.

Garret and the New Testament in Oxford.

Garret had studied at Oxford. He judged, as before stated, that the English Testament would be a welcome book to many a young heart in that university. With the assistance of his friend, Anthony Dalaber, a student of St. Alban's hall, he made the experiment, and with signal success. He had been some weeks thus employed, and was busy in making his entries of

sales, and of the names of purchasers, when two friends rushed into his room, saying—Escape without a moment's delay, or you will be in the hands of the cardinal, and sent to the Tower.

The Fraternity at Christchurch.

The fact was, that, by this time, Wolsey had become aware that the advice of Cochlæus had not been acted upon effectually. The books which should have been seized and destroyed were passing into wide circulation. It was discovered that Garret had been the instrument of this mischief, and that Garret was gone to Oxford. His place of concealment was in the house of a man named Radley; but it had become known. Radley was a singer at Christchurch. Christchurch, too, the college founded by the cardinal himself, had become the centre of Garret's operations. Wolsey had introduced a number of Cambridge men into his new college. Among these were several who had become deeply interested in the new learning, and were already looked upon with suspicion. Frith was one of these, and Clarke, Sumner, and Taverner were all active men of the same character. Private meetings took place at Christchurch for the reading and exposition of the scriptures, to which many from other colleges were admitted. The men of this association spoke of each other as 'brethren,' and their influence became more considerable every day.

Proceedings against the brotherhood.

Disappointed and mortified by reports of these proceedings, Wolsey had now resolved that Oxford should be purged. Those who had been employed in selling the prohibited books, and those who had bought them, were alike in danger. Some of the brethren met for consultation. It was agreed that care should be taken to conceal the obnoxious books; and Dalaber was to send Garret away with all speed, giving him a letter of introduction to his brother, the rector of Stalbridge in Dorset, who was in want of a curate.

Garret and Dalaber.

But Dalaber himself describes his brother in Dorset as a 'rank papist.' Garret was expected to present himself to this man under a feigned name, and, as the

only probable condition of finding a home at Stalbridge, was to affect to be himself a zealous Romanist. Garret fled, but in deep distress. To go forward was to do violence to his conscience—to return to Oxford would be to place himself in the path of the lion. Through the first day, and part of the second, he was in doubt what course to take. His final decision was, that he would not seek concealment on such terms. His face was again set towards Oxford. He flattered himself that he was prepared for all consequences. It was evening when he re-entered the city, and making his way with much caution to his former lodgings, he went exhausted to his bed. Before midnight the proctors were at his door, who led him at once to Lincoln college, where he was given in charge to Dr. Cottisford, the commissary of the university. Great was the joy over this event. News was sent with all haste to the cardinal.

Arrest of Garret.

On the day of Garret's departure, Dalaber, pondering over the gloom of the times, felt inclined to relinquish his divinity studies, and to commence the study of law. With this view he left his rooms at St. Alban's hall, and took rooms in Gloucester college, which then stood where Worcester college now stands. This was on the Thursday. On Friday, and the forenoon of Saturday, he was much busied in giving a little order to his bedroom and his books. Having accomplished this object, he sat down, and began to read Francis Lambert on St. Luke. But presently he was disturbed by a loud and repeated knocking at his door. On at length opening the door, he there saw Master Garret, who at once said, I am undone—they have taken me.

Hidden life.

This he said in the presence of a young man, one of the college servants, who immediately slipped down stairs. Dalaber marked the sudden disappearance of the servant, and said, Alas! Master Garret, by so speaking in the hearing of that youth, 'you have 'disclosed yourself, and undone me.' Garret then re-

Garret's escape.

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lated what had happened to him, adding, that while the commissary and his family were at prayers, he had contrived to slip the bolt, and so to escape; and, without heeding his friend's complaint of his imprudence, 'He prayed me,' says Dalaber, 'with deep sighs 'and many tears, to help to convey him away; and 'so casting off his hood and gown wherein he came to 'me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, 'if I had any; and he told me he would go into 'Wales, and thence convey himself, if he might, into 'Germany. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of 'mine. He would also have had another manner of 'cap from me, but I had none but priest-like, such as 'his own was.' The two friends then knelt together in prayer, embraced, bedewed the face of each other with their tears, and were so affected that utterance almost failed them. Garret became once more a fugitive. Dalaber renewed his devotions, and soon went forth to apprise his friends in different colleges of what had happened. He then went to the chapel at Christchurch.

Evening song had commenced. The dean and the canons were there in their mass dress. Dalaber stood in the door of the choir, listening to his friend Taverner playing the organ, and to voices with which his own had often joined when his heart was less burdened with care. As he there stood, Dr. Cottisford, the commissary, entered the chapel in great haste, looking 'pale as ashes.' He hurried to where the dean was. Earnest words passed between them. As both were leaving, Dr. London, rector of Lincoln, met them in a state of still greater excitement, and Cottisford was seen to weep as they upbraided him with his negligence. Dalaber left the chapel with Clarke, who saw the cloud gathering, and gave him 'a very godly 'exhortation.' He slept that night with his old friends, and in his own room, in St. Alban's hall.

Dalaber's troubles.

It was a stormy night out of doors that night, as well as within. Dalaber was afoot by five in the morning. The gates of Gloucester college should

have been open at that hour. He found them closed. Not until he had paced the road beneath its walls nearly two hours in the damp and cold morning air did he gain admission. His thoughts meanwhile had been busy—his head 'full of forecasting cares.' But one brave resolve he had made—come what would, the enemy should learn nothing from him touching his brethren that might be used to their injury. On attempting to open the door of his room, he found that the lock was not as he had left it. He succeeded, however, after awhile, in making an entrance. Within he found everything in confusion—clothes, bedding, furniture, tossed in all directions, and so left. While looking in dismay on this scene, a monk came, and informed him that the commissary and two proctors had been there last night in search of Garret, and had thrust swords and bills through the bed, and other parts of the room, in the hope of finding him. The monk added, that the commissary had ordered that Dalaber, on his return, should appear immediately before the prior, and in the bewilderment of the moment the poor youth went, bespattered as he was with his long walking, to the prior's chamber.

Dalaber before the prior.

Where did you sleep last night? was the first question. At St. Alban's hall, with my friend Fitzjames, was the answer. The prior showed that he did not credit this statement. Was not Master Garret with you yesterday? He was, said Dalaber. Where is he now? 'I do not know, unless he has gone to Wood-'stock; he told me that he would go there, because 'one of the keepers had promised him a piece of 'venison to make merry with at Shrovetide.' Dalaber himself tells us that this was an untruth. The reader will see that its intention was to save the life of an innocent man, by putting the bloodhounds on a wrong scent. If hard words be applied to this conduct, what words are hard enough to apply to the tyranny which never fails to make such means of protecting the weak against the strong seem to be virtuous rather than

Power of oppression to demoralize even good men.

vicious? It is of the nature of tyranny that it should thus affect moral conception and feeling. The guilt of those who err thus is small, compared with the guilt of those who may be said to necessitate such error. This prior of Gloucester college was a sample of too large a class—very orthodox, but very covetous, and devoid of principle. In this interview with Dalaber, he observed that the young man wore what appeared to be a valuable ring. Let me see that ring, said the prior. Dalaber presented it. The prior placed it on his hand, and said, with a sinister smile—This must be my property, for it has my initials—A for Anthony, and D for Dunstan. Poor Dalaber had so much to fear just now, that the loss of his ring affected him little.

Prior Dunstan's morality.

Dalaber before the authorities.

At this point of the dialogue several officials made their appearance, requiring the prior and Dalaber to repair immediately to Lincoln. On entering the chapel, says Dalaber, 'I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, dean of Cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of New college, standing together at the altar. They called for chairs, and sate down, and then for me to come to them. They then asked me what my name was, how long I had been at the university, what I studied, and various other inquiries: the clerk of the university meanwhile bringing pens, ink, and paper, and arranging a table with a few loose boards upon trestles.' These preliminaries settled, Dalaber was required to swear upon the mass-book that he would answer truly all questions put to him. This he was at length prevailed upon to do, 'partly by fair words, and partly by threats.' But it was not his intention, he tells us, to be so bound by this oath as to convict himself, or to injure his friends. To the question, where is 'Master Garret?' he answered, as before, that he knew not, unless he was gone to Woodstock. 'Surely, they said, they might see, by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of

'the night. I answered plainly that I lay at Alban's hall with Mr. Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof. They asked me where I was at evensong, I told them at Frideswide, and that I saw first Master Commissary, and then Master Doctor London, come thither to Master Dean. Doctor London and the dean threatened me that if I would not tell the truth I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease.'

Finding that nothing further could be learnt by questioning Dalaber, the commissary and his friends led him to an upper chamber, placed him in stocks, with his feet nearly as high as his head, and having made fast the door, left him to his thoughts. 'When they were all gone,' he writes, 'then came into my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clarke, who, well nigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, said unto me after this sort: Dalaber, you desire you wot not what, and that which you are, I fear, unable to take upon you: for, though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant to you, because there is no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that, peradventure, shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you whether you can as pure gold abide the fire. You shall be called and judged a heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; you shall be cast into prison, and none shall dare to help you; you shall be accused before bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of your friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clarke, and wish that you had never known him, because he has brought you to all these troubles.' The confessor's lot.

'At which words I was so grieved, that I fell down

'on my knees at his feet, and with tears and sighs 'besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, he 'would not refuse me; saying that I trusted, verily, 'that He who had begun this in me would not forsake 'me, but would give me grace to continue therein to 'the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, 'took me in his arms, and kissed me, the tears trickling 'from his eyes; and said unto me: The Lord God 'Almighty grant you so to do; and from henceforth 'for ever take me for your father, and I will take you 'for my son in Christ.'*

D'Aubigné, in making his use of this narrative, has truly said, that the personal affection which the early English Protestants bore one towards another exceeds anything of the kind elsewhere. In this respect, as in others, the account which Dalaber has given us presents a genuine picture of the times. The exact and minute painting to which his simple-heartedness, and his intense interest in his story disposed him, gives us more than a picture of life as it then was—we see the reality. The strength and weakness in the character of these men, come out as we find them in the human nature about us, and as we can suppose them to have been. We have stopped the longer to watch this chase after heresy in Oxford, partly because this account of it bears such an impress of genuineness, and partly because what was thus taking place in that city, may be accepted as a fair sample of what was common at that time to a great part of the kingdom.

Subsequent proceedings against Dalaber.

Unfortunately, Dalaber's narrative ends with the Sunday morning incarceration, and the meditation above described. But we learn something more concerning his fate, and that of the 'little flock so lately 'born in Oxford,' from other sources. On the evening of that Sunday, or on the morning following, Dalaber was again examined. His confession in regard to

* Foxe, v. 421 et seq.

himself was free, and must, as he knew, expose him to grave consequences. But in regard to anything that might implicate others, he was 'marvellous obstinate.' After this examination, he was removed from the great chamber at Lincoln, and sent to prison.

Search for books—chase after Garret.

Search was made without delay in the rooms of all suspected persons. Large stores of Testaments, and other books, were found, Dalaber's among the rest, notwithstanding the 'marvellous secrecy' with which they had been concealed. Many persons were put under arrest, and a report of these things, sounding very like a despatch concerning some great victory, was sent to the cardinal. But a great drawback remained. Garret had not been taken. Orders were sent to all the ports, in the hope of seizing the arch-culprit, should he attempt to leave the kingdom. Strange to say, so intense was the solicitude of the Oxford doctors on this matter, that they consulted a great wizard of the time for information, and by so doing exposed themselves to the penalties of heresy in their attempts to crush it. 'He fled in a tawny 'coat, south-eastward, and is in the middle of London,' was the answer of the wizard. His grace the archbishop, and his eminence the cardinal, were apprised that the oracle had so spoken! But, as usual, the oracle had lied. Garret had gone in the direction of Bristol. The hue and cry raised upon his track had been enough to shake the nerves of a much stronger man. Had he carried with him a colony of plagues, the stir to apprehend him, and to prevent infection, could hardly have been greater. And what had he done? He had presumed to sell the New Testament to his countrymen in their mother tongue! He was at length apprehended at Bedminster, a village on the Somersetshire side of the Avon, near Bristol. He was sent from that place to Ilchester jail, and by special writ to London. Wolsey prevailed on him to make certain confessions and promises, and he was spared

for a season. But some years later, the good man became again obedient to his convictions, and on that occasion met his martyr-death in a martyr-spirit.*

Further proceedings in Oxford—cruelty towards the accused.

Meanwhile, the suspected in Oxford, consisting, according to the language of one of their persecutors, of 'the most towardly young men' in the university, were put upon their trial. They were menaced with severe penalties. Clarke would probably have been burnt, had he not died under the cruelties of his imprisonment.* Three of his companions—Sumner, Bayley, and Goodman—were reported to be near death from the same cause. Their friends at length obtained permission to remove them from their foul prisons to their college rooms. They were borne on litters. But it was too late. No attention could save them. They were removed to die. So the life of three of these 'most 'towardly young men' was nipped in its budding. Of the remainder, some made a sort of recantation, and were sentenced to carry the faggot in Oxford, as Barnes and the Stillyard men had carried it in London. Among these sufferers were several who became men of some figure in after time. Such was Cox, who became bishop of Ely; Udal, who became master of Westminster and Eton schools; Salisbury, afterwards dean of Norwich; Frith, who became a martyr; and Ferrar, who became bishop and martyr.†

Luther writes to Henry—new persecution.

Hitherto, Henry had left the cardinal and the bishops to deal with heresy pretty much according to their judgment. It was in 1526 that Luther wrote a letter to the king of England, in which he congratulated his majesty on the rumour of his having become favourable to the gospel. Henry's indignation was extreme. The crowned head which had taken up the pen to refute this apostate monk numbered among his converts! The king published a reply to this letter, in which he cautioned his subjects against unfaithful translations of the New Testament, set forth,

* Foxe, iv. 615. † Froude's *Hist. Eng.* ii. 61 et seq.

said his majesty, as pure wine, but which would be found to be mixed with poison.* The bishops professed the sincerest sympathy with the feeling of their sovereign on this occasion. Wareham issued a mandate against all books containing 'any particle' of the New Testament.† An attempt was made also to move the authorities of Antwerp to prosecute Eyndhoven, the well-known printer of such works in that city. But the attempt was not successful. The law of that city had not provided any penalty for such printing, and the pleasure of the king of England could not be allowed to come into the place of law. So did the revival of religion tend towards general liberty.‡

Latimer and Bilney warned.

During this excitement Latimer and Bilney were summoned before the cardinal, and cautioned against preaching Lutheran doctrine. Both professed that they were little concerned about what Luther taught, but that they were deeply solicitous that their teaching should be in all things according to the scriptures.

Preaching of Bilney and Arthur.

In this same year, Bilney and his friend Arthur traversed the country as preachers. Great was the excitement wherever they came. The people listened with delight. Priests tore them from the pulpit.§ But early in 1527 grave proceedings were instituted against them. The choice set before them was to abjure or to burn. Arthur was persuaded to recant. Bilney came thrice before his judges; thrice he refused to abjure, and stood prepared to abide the result. But Tonstal, bishop of London, to whom Bilney had written the eloquent letters from his prison which are still extant, was anxious if possible to save him. Sentence was, in consequence, postponed from day to day, and this policy was successful. The man who had resisted all the terror at the command of his

* Strype, *Mem.* i. 91, 92. Cochlæus, 127 et seq.
† Wilkins, *Concilia*, iii. 706. ‡ *Annals of the Bible*, i. 129.
§ Foxe, iv. 627 et seq.

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enemies, once and again, was at length induced to listen to the persuasions and sophistries of friends. Bilney carried the faggot to St. Paul's, as Barnes had done. The Catholics were full of exultation. The Protestants wept with a pious sorrow. But light was their grief compared with the death-struggle which seemed to take possession of the soul of Bilney himself as he returned to his prison.*

Increased circulation of the scriptures.

Bilney, however, like Garret and many more, was to find in his troubles the elevating power necessary to prepare him for the crown of martyrdom. During the space from 1527 to 1532, edition after edition of the English Testament, each more portable, and with better apparatus than the former, was landed, under various concealments, in this country. Some were purchased abroad by our clergy, purely that they might be destroyed. Others were seized as soon as imported, and burnt. But the greater number escaped detection. Everywhere men and women were found eager to become purchasers.

Tyndale.

Tyndale was indefatigable. When reminded that the priests would very likely burn the works he was at so much pains to call into existence, the reply of the martyr was—Should it be so, they will only do to my books as they will some day do to myself. But the brave man was ingenious in eluding the search of his pursuers. He moved from place to place. Now he availed himself of protection from the powerful, and now he found his home in quarters the most humble and obscure. With the assistance of Frith, he commenced a translation of the Old Testament.

Coverdale.

Miles Coverdale also became possessed with the idea of giving himself to the same kind of labour. It was manifest, on all hands, that the checks opposed to this new tide of affairs were giving way. Every day the waters seemed to rise higher and higher.† What a

* Foxe, iv. 633–638. Latimer's *Sermons*, 222: Ed. Parker Society.

† *Annals of the Bible*, i. ubi supra.

happy land is this, said Master Roper to his father-in-law, Sir Thomas More, in which heresy is so watched and so rigorously dealt with. 'And yet, son Roper,' rejoined Sir Thomas, 'I pray God that some of us, as 'high as we seem to sit upon the mountains, treading 'heretics under our feet like ants, live not the day 'that we should gladly be at league and composition 'with them, to let them have their churches quietly 'to themselves, so that they would be content to let 'us have ours quietly to ourselves.'* Writing to Cochlæus, Sir Thomas More laments that Germany was producing monsters daily, more to be dreaded than any to be found in Africa. Nor was this infamy peculiar to Germans. Numbers of Englishmen, he writes, who, a few years since, would not hear mention of the name of Luther, have grown to be full of his praises. Heretics, becoming bold with numbers, 'have put off hypocrisy and put on impudence.'

More's prophecy.

So did the natural progress of learning, intelligence, and wealth in England, and the success of the reformed doctrine upon the continent, contribute, under the providence of God, to bring the mind of many in this country under the influence of Protestant thought before Henry VIII. and his parliament began the work of reformation. It was not always given to the good men so influenced to see the extent to which consistency required them to go in the course to which they had committed themselves. As we have seen, when Latimer and his contemporaries affirmed, as Wycliffe and his followers had affirmed before them, that the scripture, and the scripture alone, must be the guide of their personal teaching, they appear not to have seen how completely they had elevated private judgment into the place of church authority. Having gone so far in opposing church doctrines, it behoved them to go much further. But it seems to be a law of providence in relation to the human mind in such cir-

Retrospect.

* Cayley's *Memoirs of Sir Thomas More*, i. 77.

cumstances, that its power to look into the future should be thus limited. The issue in the distance is disclosed by little and little, as men are able to bear it. It is not too much to say, that before the meeting of the memorable parliament of 1529, a very large portion, and certainly the most intelligent portion, of the people of England, especially in towns, were full of Protestant sentiment. But it was for the most part an unconscious Protestantism, such as not a few possessing it were by no means prepared to avow under that name. It is thus, however, that all great revolutions are brought about. Men learn to do by degrees what they would never have dared to do at once. As these revelations of the future open upon them, some are seen to draw back in dismay. But others feel, that what they are called to do to-day, is as clearly their duty as the thing they did yesterday, and they go forward.

CHAPTER III.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT. 1529.

WITHIN a fortnight from the day on which Wolsey ceased to be chancellor, England witnessed two great events—the formation of a cabinet consisting almost wholly of laymen, the first of its kind in our history; and the assembling of a parliament prepared to express the long pent-up feeling of the nation on many subjects, but especially on questions affecting the pretensions of the see of Rome, and the position of the national clergy. The new privy council consisted of the duke of Norfolk, as president, Sir Thomas More, as chancellor, the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Wiltshire, Sir William Fitzwilliam, and Dr. Stephen Gardiner. Gardiner acted as secretary to the king, and was the only ecclesiastic in the cabinet. Such a ministry was a sign of the times. The new ministry. Sept.

The great divisions of party which had been long visible in English history were now to become more than ever conspicuous, and were so to remain for some time to come. In the fourteenth century, England had her extreme Romanist party, consisting mainly of the clergy and their dependents, and represented by such men as Courtney and Arundel. It had likewise its great national party, whose policy was avowed by such noblemen as John of Gaunt, by his friend earl Percy, and by the Lollard members, as they were called, in the lower house in the time of Richard II. It had also its opponents of the church of Rome, who, like Wycliffe and Oldcastle, added dissent from the doctrines of the hierarchy, to dissent from its polity. Division of parties in the past.

and customs. During the fifteenth century these lines of demarcation became at times so faint as to be hardly observable, but they were never wholly effaced.

Old party distinctions revived, and become more prominent.

Since the death of Henry VII., every year had served to revive these old distinctions, and to bring them into prominence. Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury; Fox, bishop of Winchester; Fisher, bishop of Rochester; Sir Thomas More, Wolsey, and Henry himself down to the year 1529, were among the most strenuous upholders of the ecclesiastical system of Europe in the form substantially which had been given to it in past ages. But of late, the men who had learnt to look with much discontent on the conduct of the papacy, and on the wealth and power of our own clergy, had become greatly more numerous, and outspoken beyond precedent in their censures. In prospect of the meeting of parliament in 1529, noble lords, and leading men, of this class, discoursed in their homes, and elsewhere, with the greatest freedom concerning the revolution in this respect which was about to take place.* It was concluded that there was hardly any conceivable diminution of church authority, or of the wealth of churchmen, which the great majority of the nation would not be found prepared to approve. This party, the national party, whose aim was to secure the national authority, and the national wealth, against all undue meddling on the part of the papacy, was the great party of the time. It was so possibly from its numbers, it was so certainly from the position and influence of its leaders. The only fear on the part of this class of reformers had respect to the king. No other influence could prevent their policy from being largely carried out; and the danger to be apprehended was, that to win the assistance of the king to the side of religious independence and reform, concessions might be made to the crown which would trench on the general liberty of the subject.

* Legrand, iii. 374.

The great want was freedom from ecclesiastical domination: and from the feeling of the hour, scarcely any price would be deemed too great to be paid for that object. The men opposed to the papal ascendancy on the more religious grounds, and who were to become the nucleus of a real reformation, would be sure to sustain decided measures, and while not few in number, would compensate for their want of rank and wealth, by the depth of their convictions, and the activity to which they were prompted by their zeal. The resistance to be expected from a few aged bishops, and from sympathizers who were regarded as being for the most part not less feeble, caused no apprehension. Nor were these views exaggerations. Such, or very nearly such, was the state of parties; and the king, who was to do so much towards originating the English Reformation, was to be for his lifetime its great helper and its great hindrance.

Popular feeling in regard to the fall of Wolsey.

On the day when Wolsey—disgraced and stripped of office—descended to his barge by his private stairs at the Blackfriars, more than a thousand boats, filled with men and women, were seen floating about on the Thames, waiting for his appearance. It had been noised in the city, that an end had come to the greatness of the cardinal; that he would be sent by water to the Tower; and this multitude had come suddenly together to rejoice at the sight. The feeling of London in this respect was the feeling of all the great towns, and of the most intelligent and manly portion of the nation almost everywhere. Whence came this feeling? It came from the conviction that the removal of Wolsey was the removal of the grand stay to an enormous system of abuses, both in church and state. Englishmen have sometimes exulted thus over the fallen. But humanity has been on their side when they have so done. Arbitrary rule has its natural issue, not merely in the plunder, but in the mental torture of its victims. Hence, there is virtue in the joy felt when the abettors of power so exercised cease

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to be powerful. Wolsey, indeed, was not responsible for all the evil which was thus identified with his name and influence. Some of it he condemned, and wished to see removed. But his plans of reformation never passed beyond good intention; and the lawlessness in the state, and the corruptions in the church, which were virtually sanctioned and upheld by him, were such as readily to account for the strength of the popular feeling now manifested.* The practice of raising money from one seven years to another without consent of parliament was his deed. The war with Spain, so costly, so disastrous, and so ruinous to trade, was his war. The church system, which had become an omnipresent inquisition, from which no fireside, especially among the lower and middle classes, could be said to be safe, was his system—the system which he had especially bound himself to vindicate and sustain.

The Reformation Parliament.

The temporal peers in the Reformation Parliament were forty-four in number. The abbots were more numerous than the bishops. Altogether, forty-six spiritual persons were present. These forty-six votes would have sufficed, in ordinary times, to have checked any material inroad on the pretensions of the church. But the men possessing these votes knew that the court, the country, the laity in the lower house, and many in the upper house, were against them. Their power, accordingly, was more apparent than real. The dangers with which their personal interests were beset, disqualified them for acting with firmness, according to their real or professed sense of public duty. Nor should it be forgotten, that the majority of the bishops and abbots owed their preferment to the favour of the present king, and some hesitation

* In 1523, Fox, the aged bishop of Winchester, wrote a long letter to Wolsey, urging him most earnestly to prosecute the measures for reforming the manners of the clergy, which then occupied his thoughts. But the hand of the cardinal was scarcely the hand to be employed in such a work. It came to nothing.—Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. 72–74.

might have been felt about using a power against the sovereign which had been received openly from his hands. With regard to the lay peers, seven years had intervened since the dissolution of the last parliament, and twenty-five temporal lords now took their seats for the first time. Henry VII. was jealous of his nobles, and did what he could to depress them. His son adopted a more generous and a wiser policy. The instances in which the conduct of Henry VIII. towards the great families was harsh or selfish, were exceptional, not common. It is true, great men knew that his favour was the one avenue to rank and wealth. But they do not appear to have regarded their circumstances in this respect as involving any great hardship. Many of these younger peers had been wards to the king, and so must have been accustomed to defer to his pleasure. On the whole, the lay peerage was too small a body, and too nearly connected with the crown, not to be open to considerable influence from that quarter. The house of commons was much more numerous. It consisted of two hundred and ninety-eight members—a number much too great to be subject more than partially to court management. It is known, indeed, that neither Henry nor his nobles felt any scruple about using their influence to secure the return of the right men at elections. But at this juncture, the court and the constituencies were so well agreed, that meddling of that sort could hardly have been necessary anywhere. There was, it seems, a number of men in the house who came to be known by the name of the king's servants, and who were always at hand when a division was to take place on any important matter. But this is a description which can hardly be supposed to have been applicable to the greater part of the members. On the whole, while we do not attribute to the Reformation Parliament an unsullied purity, nor a patriotism wholly free from self-interest—as little do we regard it as being the mere tool of an arbitrary

and corrupt policy. Not a little of its work was honestly done—done because it was believed, in the circumstances, to be the right thing to do. If the tyranny of the crown was somewhat too readily submitted to, it was because it promised to be a comparative refuge from the less endurable tyranny of the church.

Spiritual jurisdiction assumed by the clergy.

The form of priestly power which grew up in Europe in the Middle Age was more Oriental than European. The jurisdiction and authority of the Christian clergy greatly exceeded anything of that nature assigned to the ministers of religion by the races of the west while in their state of heathenism. Among the Greeks and Romans, the function of the priest was a harmless affair.. Such was very much the case with the Teutonic race. The Celts were somewhat more submissive to priestly rule, but ceased to be so when influenced in only a slight degree by the progress of civilization. But it was otherwise with the position of the Christian priesthood. According to the canon law, the churchman was almost as much magistrate as priest. He had to do with marriages, with wills, and with many other secular matters, and he was the judge concerning all offences charged upon men of his own order. On the ground, moreover, that the moral is inseparable from the religious, there was not a relation in life, nor a duty of it, with which the priest did not presume to intermeddle, and to subject to his special scheme of rewards and punishments. The law of the magistrate was concerned with the outward acts of men in their social connexions. It went no further. But the canon law took cognizance of sins—offences which might pertain to mind only, and be wholly secret and personal. At the same time, by means of the confessional, whatever of this nature might be hid, was required to be made known: and as all sin was a sort of taxable commodity, the multiplication of sins was in fact an augmentation both of revenue and of power. There was a

time when the Christian communities of the Roman empire did wisely in ceding arbitrative powers of this nature to their ministers; and when the conscience of the Christian might naturally look for relief to the intelligence and piety of the Christian pastor. Christians felt, for a season, that even their civil interests were safer in such hands than in the hands of the magistrate, the magistrate being often an avowed, or a secret, 'heathen man.' But that time passed away, and, as often happens, the machinery survived, when the spirit indispensable to its wise action was no longer present.

Independence of the magistrate claimed by the clergy.

In the days of Wolsey the proceedings of these consistory courts, as they were called, filled the country with irritation, which at times broke out into open violence. What made the action of these courts against the real or alleged sins of the people especially offensive, was the fact, that the clergy themselves were not only one of the most delinquent classes of society—but that, being judges in their own cause, the penalties imposed by them on each other were so light, in comparison with those often imposed on the laity for the same offences, as to present a mockery of discipline. Men who acted as officers for these courts, were driven out of the houses they entered, hooted, and knocked down in the street. To this pass had the popular feeling come, when the citizens and burgesses of England were called upon to send men to parliament who should find a remedy for such evils.

Henry professed to recognise liberty of speech in the commons as an ancient right. It would not have been favourable to his object to have acted on any other principle towards the new parliament. For awhile, the lower house evinced an admirable mixture of courage and discretion in the use of its freedom.

The commons begin to reform the church.

It was natural that the evil which pressed most should be dealt with first. Accordingly, the commons at once took up the encroachments and abuses

of the church. In a petition to the king, they presented, with clearness and force, a long list of grievances. As if to guard themselves at the outset against the charge of being a set of Lutherans and anarchists—a charge which any meddling with clerical privilege would be sure to bring upon them—they complain of the increase of 'frantic and seditious 'books, contrary to the true Catholic faith.' But they complain also of the uncharitable behaviour of 'divers 'ordinaries' in attempting to correct such disorders; and they then proceed to show to his majesty, that 'the causes which daily breedeth and nourisheth 'these factions,' are to be found in the clergy who are so forward to complain of them.

Commons' memorial.

Your clergy, they say, enact all sorts of laws in convocation, which neither the laity nor your majesty have had anything to do with making, and which they enforce by their own fines and penalties, invading therein your majesty's prerogative, and doing great wrong to your loyal subjects. In the court of Arches there is a limited number of proctors, who, between them, can occasion much needless delay and cost, the fines at every stage of proceedings there being enormous, and the whole being managed by the said proctors so as to be to their advantage. Especially have the poorer sort of your majesty's subjects a right to complain, summoned, as they often are, before official persons on slight, imaginary, and malicious grounds; and being grievously harassed for little or no cause, are only released by paying fines much beyond their means. Often, too, the clergy obstinately refuse to administer the sacraments, even to the sick, unless paid for so doing. In all matters testamentary the same system of extortion is carried out, the judges, scribes, apparitors, summoners, appraisers,—all expecting their separate gratuity or fee. Exactions of the same description are made from all persons presented to benefices. At the same time, the prelates, who are responsible for all these proceedings,

do not scruple to give the livings at their disposal 'to certain young folks, calling them their nephews 'or kinsfolks,' retaining the proceeds of such livings in their own hands until their 'infants' shall come of age to be inducted. Great is the number of holidays, the effect of which is a great waste of time, great viciousness, and 'very small devotion.' The men who favour this idleness and vice are the men who summon your majesty's liege subjects on the charge of heresy, often purely from their own pleasure, compelling them to answer all questions put to them; who conduct such examinations privately, in place of doing so in open court; and who often send men to their prisons without examination at all, and presume to detain them there six or even twelve months, without allowing them to know who has been their accuser, or of what they have been accused. Nor can such persons when released obtain any redress for such false imprisonment, however afflicting or ruinous it may have been to them. 'Also, upon the examina-'tion of the said accusation, if heresy be ordinarily 'laid unto the charge of the parties so accused, then 'the said ordinaries or their ministers are wont to put 'to them such subtle interrogatories concerning the 'high mysteries of our faith as are able quickly to 'entrap a simple, unlearned, or yet a well-witted lay-'man without learning, and bring them by such sinister 'introductions soon to their own confusion. And 'further, if there chance any heresy to be by such 'subtle policy, by any person confessed in words, and 'yet never committed, neither in thought nor deed, 'then put they without further favour the said person 'either to make his purgation, and so thereby to lose 'his honesty and credence for ever; or else, as [with] 'some simple silly soul, the same person may stand 'precisely to the testimony of his own well-known 'conscience, rather than confess his innocent truth in 'that behalf and so be utterly destroyed. And if 'it fortune the said party so accused to deny the

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'said accusation, and to put his adversaries to prove 'the same as being untrue, forged, and imagined 'against him, then for the most part such witnesses 'as are brought forth for the same, be they but two in 'number, never so sore defamed, of little truth or 'credence, they shall be allowed and enabled, only by 'discretion of the said ordinaries, their commissaries 'or substitutes; and therefore sufficient cause be found 'to proceed to judgment, to deliver the party so ac- 'cused either to the secular hands, after abjuration (to 'be burnt) without remedy; or afore, if he submit 'himself, as best happeneth, he shall have to make 'his purgation and bear a faggot, to his extreme shame 'and undoing.'*

From whatever quarter the inspiration of this address may have come, from the king, from the country, from the honest feeling of the parliament, or, which is most probable, from all these sources together, the words spoken were just and noble words. Henry at once took measures to convert some of the most important sections of this petition into statutes. The document itself he handed to the bishops, as the parties whom it chiefly concerned, and their lordships set forth a formal reply without delay.

Reply of the bishops.

In regard to certain of the abuses mentioned, it was deemed enough to say, that if some of their order were unhappily so much at fault in respect to them, the same could not be said of all. In regard to the court of Arches, it was alleged that improvement had taken place there; but it was not added, that the alleged improvements were inconsiderable, and that, such as they were, they were of very recent origin, and had not come until forced into existence by external influence. In short, the bishops were prepared to vindicate themselves in respect to nearly everything that had been urged against them. They

* Foxe, iv. 610, 611. Petition of the Commons, MS. *Rolls Office.* Froude, i. 190–199.

were not, for instance, to be censured for promoting their young 'nephews' or 'infants'—which meant, possibly, in not a few cases, their own children—to the cure of souls, if the revenues of the livings so appropriated were applied to the education of the young people, or to charitable uses. Nor could they for a moment admit that the laws passed in convocation should be dependent for validity on the sanction of the civil power. It might be true that the statutes of the realm and the canons of the church were not always in harmony; but the remedy in that case was, that the state should conform itself to the church, not the church to the state. Concerning imprisonments for heresy, their lordships merely affirm that they do not proceed thus against persons without suspicion of pravity of that kind; and inasmuch as the persons who have thus come into their hands have been apostate friars and priests, bankrupt merchants, and such like people, they declare themselves unable to see any reason for the sort of complaint that has been made. And in regard to the custom of receiving evidence in cases of heresy from persons without character, their lordships affirm it to be the law of Christendom, that the worst evidence against persons so accused should be accounted as sufficient, when no better can be obtained.*

The churchmen do not see the signs of the times.

As we read this language, we feel as though the deluge had intervened between the better days of the Plantagenets and the days of the Tudors. Nearly all that had been done in those early times to subordinate the ecclesiastical to the civil power seems to have been swept away. But the case was not so. During the last forty years England had known little of civil strife. Churchmen had been in favour and in power. As the supposed friends of order, they had been allowed to become wealthy, arrogant, and encroaching. They

* Strype's *Annals*, i. 198–210. MS. *Rolls Office*. Froude, i. 204–223.

were obsequious servants to the crown, but contrived to become more and more rulers of the people. While such, however, was the tendency of things in the region occupied by ecclesiastics, another stream of feeling had set in strongly among influential laymen. The people also had become more wealthy, and with the increase of wealth had come an increase of intelligence, of independence, and of an indisposition to submit to this growing priestly rule. Ecclesiastics are naturally conservative, especially if well stricken in years, and the leading bishops of 1529 were mostly old men. So far from seeing into the future, it was not given them to read the present. In the manner of such men, they concluded that what had existed long must continue to exist. They flattered themselves that they had only to persist in declaring heresy to be but another name for treason and anarchy, and the civil sword would be sure to be with them.

The commons prepare bills according to their memorial.

The commons sent several bills to the upper house in accordance with their petition to the king. In these bills they reduced and defined the fees to be paid for the probates of wills and the interment of the dead; they declared it to be a mischief and a scandal that spiritual men should take upon them secular offices; they condemned pluralities, except within certain limitations; they aimed to put an end to non-residence; and they provided that no prelate nor pope should grant a dispensation from the observance of these laws under heavy penalties.*

Resisted by the bishops —Fisher's speech.

The bishops and their friends sounded the usual note of alarm. To touch anything pertaining to the established church, was to endanger everything. They did not see, that times will come in which to cede nothing is to save nothing. Fisher, bishop of Rochester, now seventy-six years of age, spoke in behalf of his brethren in the upper house, and said—'My lords, beware of yourselves and your country;

* Herbert, 136–138. Foxe, iv. 612, 614.

'beware of your holy mother the Catholic church; the 'people are subject to novelties, and Lutheranism 'spreads itself among us. Remember Germany and 'Bohemia, what miseries have befallen them already; 'and let neighbours' houses which be now on fire 'teach us to beware of our own disasters. Wherefore, 'my lords, I will tell you plainly what I think, that 'except ye resist manfully, by your authorities, *this 'violent heap of mischief offered by the commons*, you 'shall see all obedience first drawn from the clergy, 'and secondly from yourselves; and if you search into 'the true causes of all *these mischiefs which reign amongst 'them*, you will find that they all arise through *want 'of faith*.'*

Dispute between the bishops and the lawyers.

Protracted and sharp discussions ensued. The prelates would make no surrender. They took their stand on prescriptive right. The lawyers, on the other side, appear to have spoken freely, at times offensively, in dealing with such rights. One of them said—'The usage has ever been for thieves to rob on 'Shooter's hill, *ergo* it is lawful.' The prelates grew angry—Is it come to this, then, that we are to be compared to highwaymen and thieves! But the speaker stood to his terms, and said to the archbishop of Canterbury—The exactions which your order are wont to make from the people, and which these bills require you to make no more, are 'open robbery and theft.'†

The commons get their bills passed, and complain of Fisher's speech.

The commons not only secured the passing of their bills, but so humbled the bishops as to preclude them from becoming troublesome in future.‡ Sir Thomas Audley, speaker of the house, and about thirty leading members, presented themselves to the king in his palace at Westminster, where they set forth that the shires, cities, and boroughs of England, had chosen them as men who might be trusted to watch over the public interest; but that the bishop of Rochester had

* *Parl. Hist.* i. 502. † Foxe, iv. 613.
‡ Herbert, 138. 21 Henry VIII. capp. 5, 6, 13.

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presumed to describe them to the upper house as men lacking the faith of Christians, degrading them to the level of Turks and infidels, and leaving no more authority to their acts than might be due to the acts of such men. Their prayer was, that the king would summon the said bishop before him, and oblige him 'to speak more discreetly of such a number of men as 'is the commons' house.' Henry called Fisher, and six other prelates, to his presence. When made aware of the complaint of the commons, the courage of Fisher failed him. He descended to equivocation. When he spoke of men as wanting in faith, he spoke of the Bohemians, not of the house of commons. The six bishops concurred in this explanation. It was accepted by Henry and by the commons; but the men who could avail themselves of such means of escape from their difficulty fell irretrievably in so doing.* The English clergy, in common with their order everywhere, had aimed at more than was their own, and, for a season, we shall see them obliged to content themselves with less than is their due. In what remains of English history, the ministers of religion will generally retain the reverence due to their office, but in public affairs they will not be again the men they have been. The ascendant power in England in the time to come, will be the power that should be ascendant—the power of the state, not the power of a priesthood.†

Evasion by Fisher and six prelates.

The new statesman.

But where is the layman whose hand will be found strong enough and wise enough to guide the vessel of the state over the new and troubled seas now before it? No one of the men who had combined to bring about the fall of Wolsey was capable of taking his place. Some of them were good soldiers, but there was no statesman among them fit to look such times in the face as were now evidently at hand. In the

* Hall, 766. Herbert, 137, 138. *Parl. Hist.* i. 502–505.

† By this time the Reformation Parliament had passed many laws relating to social questions. These will come under review in another place.

household of Wolsey there was a man who had come of a family once honourably known in Lincolnshire, and which was afterwards creditably known among the business people of London. In his youth this man had fallen under the discipline of a father-in-law, and leaving a home little congenial to him, had become an adventurer in search of a livelihood. He determined to seek his fortune out of England, and appears to have filled some humble office in a mercantile house in Antwerp. We next find him in Florence, where he is reduced to great straits. It happened one day, that 'a poor young man' presented himself to a banker named Frescobaldi, a name known in London hardly less than in Florence, and entreated 'alms for God's sake.' The banker looked on the 'ragged stripling,' and pleased with what he saw, or thought he saw in him, inquired—'Where were you 'born?' 'I am,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name 'is Thomas Cromwell. I am strayed from my country, 'and am now come into Italy with the camp of 'Frenchmen who were overthrown at Garigliano, 'where I was the page to a footman, carrying after 'him his pike and burganet.' The Italian had compassion on the young Englishman, took him into his house, and, after awhile, furnished him with a horse and means wherewith to return to his country.*

Cromwell visits Rome.

It would seem that during some portion of his early life Cromwell visited Rome, for he is said to have committed the Latin translation of the New Testament by Erasmus to memory on his way thither. But the report which makes him to have been in the imperial army when it sacked that city, is not to be accepted. That event belongs to the spring of 1527, and Cromwell had entered the service of Wolsey in 1525, and seems to have been in the service of the marchioness of Dorset some time before.† But such

In the service of Wolsey.

* Foxe, v. 392.

† Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, i. 218, 219. 3rd Series, iii. 99–113.

was the rude training of the man whose mind was to give an impress to the future of his country beyond that of any other man of his time. Cromwell soon rose so high in Wolsey's estimation as to become his secretary, and to be entrusted with the delicate task of suppressing the smaller monasteries in favour of the cardinal's new colleges. No man could have performed that piece of service without bringing evil tongues upon him; and Cromwell did not escape that kind of penalty. But he was on the whole faithful to his master, and stood by him when he was deserted by men on whom his bounty had conferred far greater obligation. He accompanied Wolsey to his wretched home at Esher, and ministered to his comfort there to the best of his ability.

Faithful to his master.

He aspires to the function of a statesman.

Cromwell seems to have despaired of seeing Wolsey restored. He appears, also, to have felt—as with his transcendent capacity he might well feel—that there was no man to take the place of the cardinal, still less to do that new and strange work which Wolsey himself would never have been the man to do, though he certainly had done much to make the doing of it a necessity. His mind was full of such thoughts, in that gloomy house at Esher, on the morning of a gloomy autumn day, 'when it chanced me,' says Cavendish, 'to come into the great chamber, to give 'attendance, where I found master Cromwell, leaning 'in the great window, with a primer in his hand, 'saying of our Lady matins. He prayed so earnestly 'that the tears distilled from his eyes. Whom I bade 'good-morrow. And with that I perceived the tears 'upon his cheeks. To whom I said—Why, master 'Cromwell, what meaneth all this your sorrow? Is 'my lord in any danger, for whom ye lament thus? 'Or is it from any loss you have sustained from any 'misadventure?' Cromwell answered that he knew he had acquired an ill name by doing service for the cardinal, but intimated that he thought he saw a way by which he might save himself, and render the best

service to his fallen master. 'Thus much,' said he, 'will I say to you, that I intend, God willing, this 'afternoon, when my lord hath dined, to ride to 'London, and so to the court, where I will either make 'or mar, ere I come again.' In the afternoon Cromwell had a long secret conference with Wolsey. What that conference embraced no one knows. But Cromwell took horse, and rode to London, through the heaviest rain that had fallen for a year past.* BOOK VI. CHAP. 3.

With some difficulty the future statesman obtained access to the king. It is supposed, that in this private interview, the man who had been seen some years since as 'a ragged stripling,' begging his bread in the streets of Florence, ventured to urge on the king of England that he should declare his dominions free from all foreign control whatsoever, whether civil or ecclesiastical; that he should assert this independence by committing the question of his divorce and his second marriage to the decision of authorities within his own realm; and that he should proclaim himself head of the church as truly as of the state. That words with this bold meaning were uttered, and that Henry was disposed to look upon the advice, and upon the man who had shown himself man enough to offer it, with favour, may be safely believed. The king had become perplexed. He scarcely saw the course best to be taken. But in Cromwell there was no lack of clear apprehension, or of the strong will. His mind seems to have come as the needed light, and the needed force, on the mind of the king. So far, he meddled not with doctrinal differences. He affected no sympathy with Lutheranism. But in clear and strong terms he laid out the course which would not only suffice to free the king from his present embarrassment, but would furnish a basis for other great national reforms; and Henry appears to have felt that he had found the instrument necessary to ensure suc- Cromwell's interview with Henry.

* Cavendish, 258-270.

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cess to a policy of this bold description, should he decide to act upon it.

Becomes a member of parliament —his services to Wolsey.

Having obtained the confidence of the king, Cromwell's next step was to induce a junior member of the house of commons to resign his seat in his favour. He was thus in a position to serve the cardinal by opposing the articles of impeachment which had been preferred against him. This he did with so much ability, that the impeachment came to nothing; and he at once 'grew 'into such estimation in every man's opinion, for his 'honest behaviour in his master's cause, that he was 'esteemed a most faithful servant, and was of all men 'greatly commended.'* It is to be presumed that Henry himself was not unwilling to see the action of the parliament on this case so terminated. Cromwell became secretary to the king, which gave him a seat in the privy council. An authority to which we do not attach great value has described him as a disciple of Machiavel, and as recommending the study of that author to all men who would become real statesmen.† His Italian experience had probably brought him into some acquaintance with the works of that profound writer; but the authority which describes him as having committed the New Testament to memory, is quite as trustworthy as that which makes him to have been a pupil in the school of so exceptionable a master. Such a man might have seen something to admire in the writings of the great Italian politician, without adopting all his apparent maxims. Cromwell, in common with all men of his order, knew his own capacity for business, and was bent on being occupied in the kind of work for which that capacity gave him fitness. This ambition, if such it may be called, is all but inseparable from natures so gifted. The power to achieve great things, and the passion to achieve them, are commonly born together. The mind of Cromwell is the mind of the Reformation Parliament.

* Cavendish, 276. † Reginald Pole.

Life of Anne Boleyn.

But it is time we should look somewhat more closely to the character of another person whose name will be for ever associated with the great religious revolution in our history. Anne Boleyn was the daughter of Sir Thomas Boleyn, of Rochford Hall, in Essex, and of Blickling, near Aylsham, in Norfolk. The grandfather of Sir Thomas had been knighted as mayor of London. His father, Sir William, had fought by the side of the earl of Surrey at Bosworth, and that nobleman subsequently gave one of his daughters, Elizabeth Howard, in marriage to Sir William's eldest son. Elizabeth Howard became the mother of Anne Boleyn, and Anne Boleyn was thus related in blood to one of the first families in the kingdom. Her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn, was a man of unquestionable ability, and much occupied in diplomatic and state affairs.*

Anne's residence in Paris.

When the princess Mary went to Paris to become the queen of Louis XII., Anne Boleyn, whose exact age at that time is doubtful, accompanied her as one of her attendants. Louis, as we have seen, died soon after the marriage, and his widow returned to England; but Anne Boleyn remained in France as one of the household of Claude, the new queen.† Claude, though young, was a person of so much intelligence, virtue, and religious worth, that she was known by the name of the 'good queen.' It was beneath such oversight that Anne Boleyn passed the next nine years of her life. Claude died in 1524, and then the young Englishwoman became a part of the household of the famous duchess of Alençon, sister to Francis, and afterwards queen of Navarre. The duchess, as the reader has seen, was distinguished by her beauty, her accomplishments, and her love of letters; and was viewed with disaffection by not a few on account of her religious life, and her known disposition to favour the Lutherans.‡

* Bloomfield's *Norfolk*, iii. 626. Dugdale's *Baronage*, ii. 306.

† Legrand, ii. 40. Camden's *Elizabeth*, Ap. 2. Cavendish, 61.

‡ Erasmus, *Epist.* lib. xx. Epp. 11, 12.

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Favourable circumstances connected with her residence there.

It has been the misfortune of Anne Boleyn, not only to have been calumniated with the utmost imaginable licence by her enemies, but to have been praised also, with little discrimination by her friends. It is not just, however, to the memory of this ill-fated woman to describe the court of Paris as the most dissolute in Europe, and then to intimate that Anne Boleyn was exposed wholly without protection to the influence of such dissoluteness. It may be doubted if the French court was really more depraved at that time than some others; and we feel sure, that it would have been hard to find another where the daughter of a gentleman would have been, on the whole, in circumstances more favourable to character than were those in which Anne Boleyn passed her early years.* Had her conduct been open to any grave censure at that time, would she have remained so long near the person of the 'good queen?' Would the intelligent and pious
1527. duchess of Alençon have become so readily her friend? Would the grave Catherine of England, whose religion always took the gloom of the convent along with it, have received her at once into her family on her return to this country? So far, then, we see no ground for unfavourable conclusions in regard to the character of Anne Boleyn.

Anne's return to England.

The duchess of Alençon became queen of Navarre early in 1527. In February of that year Anne Boleyn returned to England. Her natural capacity had enabled her to avail herself of the advantages to be derived from the best society in Paris. She was musical, and excelled in all the accomplishments to have been expected in a person of her position. She read Latin, knew much of what had been done by men of letters in her time, and was by no means unac-

* The princess Renée, in whom Wolsey hoped to find the future queen of England, became conspicuous among the women of rank in France who sympathized with the leaders of the Reformation, and suffered bravely for so doing. She became duchess of Ferrara, and the correspondent of Calvin and Marot.

quainted with the 'new learning.' All these acquisitions contributed to render a person of great beauty eminently attractive.

Court rumours.

That such a woman, now in the flower of her youth, should have admirers was inevitable; and it would have been strange if the court gossip in relation to her had never verged upon court scandal. Cavendish relates a story which seems to show that a love affair had taken place between her and the young lord Percy, son of the earl of Northumberland; but we do not know that any pledge or contract had passed between them. That nobleman declared more than once, and upon oath, that nothing of that nature had existed. In fact, lord Percy was engaged at the time, or soon afterwards, to the lady whom he married. Sir Thomas Wyatt, the poet, appears to have been charmed by the person and manners of the court beauty, and was, perhaps, allowed to demean himself more freely in her presence, from his being a married man, than would otherwise have been tolerated. But the character of Anne Boleyn is not affected by anything known to have happened in that intercourse.*

Henry declares his passion to Anne Boleyn. Aug. 1527.

Such had been the history of this lady to the time when Henry declared himself to her as her lover. Anne supposed, as she well might, that the king's intention in so addressing her was to secure her as a mistress, and she is described as expressing herself with the feeling of a high-born and virtuous woman. Of what passed between them for some while after we are ignorant. We know, however, that Anne withdrew from the court, much against the wishes of the king. We know, also, that some six or seven months later, Henry addressed letters to her, expressing his affection towards her in earnest, and, for the most part, respectful language. It is manifest, moreover, from the letters written at that time, that down to the close of this interval, Anne had not responded to these ex-

Anne retires from court.

Henry's letters to her.

* Cavendish, 119–131; App. 421 et seq.

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pressions of attachment in a manner to satisfy the king that his feeling was reciprocated. When something more in accordance with his wishes reached him, it was in a form which bespoke the apprehensions that had been the cause of this hesitancy, and which even then had not wholly passed away. Anne sent him a picture, in which a female was seen alone in a vessel, the ship being in great danger from a storm. Henry was greatly delighted with this present, and with the 'sweet words' of the letter which accompanied it. 'Henceforth,' he writes, 'my heart shall be devoted 'to you alone.'*

All thought of a match for the king from any continental court had now died away. The divorce question was publicly broached. The pope was said to have promised his sanction of that measure. Perhaps Anne Boleyn might be excused in concluding that the moral propriety of the divorce, and of her own marriage with Henry, had been thus placed beyond doubt. Such was the common faith in the dispensing power of the pope in those times. To such a woman, moreover, at such an age, the prospect of a crown may be supposed to have been inexpressibly fascinating. She may also have persuaded herself that the future tranquillity, and, it may be, the future religion of the country, would be much influenced by a course of affairs so unexpected to herself, and so startling to the world.

Anne Boleyn's course not to be justified.

But when all possible allowance has been made in her favour, we feel bound to regard the conduct of Anne towards Catherine as inconsistent with pure womanly feeling, or with high principle. Until sentence on the divorce should be pronounced, Catherine

* These letters, seventeen in number, were deposited in the Vatican, and must have been dishonestly obtained. Wolsey and Campeggio are suspected of having been concerned in the theft.—Hall, 759. The only correct edition of the letters is in the *Pamphleteer*, Nos 42, 43, edited by Gunn. See large extracts from them in Turner's *Hist. Eng.* ii. 227 et seq.

was not only her mistress, but the wife of the king, and the queen of England. Her acceptance of such overtures from the king, in such circumstances, is the first known fault in the history of Anne Boleyn. It was a grave one, and it was natural that it should be followed by others.

As the autumn of 1528 wore away, the high and absolute resistance to the king's wishes presented by Catherine, the limit of the powers found to have been entrusted to Campeggio, and the attempt to revoke the case from London to Rome, appear to have satisfied Henry that it became him to abandon all half measures. He now avowed his intention to raise Anne Boleyn to the place of queen. Orders were given to prepare apartments for her residence at Greenwich. Catherine and Anne were thus placed under the same roof, and had their respective following as in the sight of each other. The coarse cruelty of this proceeding needs no comment. The king in proposing such an arrangement, and Anne in accepting it, were alike at fault.

Henry avows his intention to make Anne Boleyn his queen—she is placed at Greenwich.

We now return to proceedings in parliament. We have seen that Wolsey, when charged with violating the premunire statute, might have pleaded the sanction and command of the king in his defence. But such a course would not have been politic. Henry would have been filled with resentment; and it would have been easy for the parliament to remind the fallen minister, that he should have been a better adviser of the crown than to suppose that a royal licence could be allowed to supersede a series of statutes provided against such acts of divided allegiance.

Parliament —the clergy and the præmunire statute. 1530.

Two years had passed since the proceedings against Wolsey, when the parliament insisted, that as the authority of the cardinal had been illegal, so the conduct of the clergy in recognising that authority must have been illegal, and that having been parties to the same offence, it was only just that they should be accounted as exposed to the same punishment. Tech-

The clergy at large judged as offenders against the præmunire statute.

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nically, perhaps, the case so stood; but the moral defence that might have been set up against such reasoning was strong, if the clergy had only dared to take that ground. That the government should have deemed it safe to adopt such a course towards the whole body of the English clergy, and that the clergy should have deemed it prudent to submit to what was done, are facts which reveal the magnitude of the ecclesiastical revolution which had already taken place. The clergy, who through so many centuries had divided the empire of the state with the laity, often taking precedence of them, have evidently so fallen as to have become a class of men with whom almost any sort of liberty might be taken. The houses of convocation consented to pay 118,000*l.* in compensation for their delinquency—a sum equivalent to a million, according to the present value of money. It was deemed a politic proceeding to bring the ecclesiastical power down to this lower level; and a righteous proceeding to do something towards diminishing its enormous and often ill-gotten wealth; and the plea from the case of Wolsey sufficed for this double purpose. The measure, in its outward pretence and form, was a shameless wrong; according to its spirit and intention, it was part of a wholesome policy.*

The king declared supreme head of the church.

But even this was not the worst. The clergy were not only required to confess their sin, and to pay the money, they were called upon to do so on the ground that the king 'is the sole supreme head of the church 'and clergy of England.' This was a demand which no previous law had made. The clergy entreated earnestly, and repeatedly, that they might be spared the necessity of adopting this language. The government insisted on retaining it. The bill passed the two houses of convocation with the obnoxious words, but with an additional clause, which said that they

* 100,000*l.* was accepted from the province of Canterbury, 18,000*l.* subsequently from the province of York: the whole to be paid in instalments in the course of the next five years.—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 198–210.

accepted the king as 'sole and supreme head of the 'church, *as far as is allowed by the law of Christ.*' Such limitation must always be understood, though in this instance it was no doubt intended to be of special latitude, according to circumstances.

What did the government intend by the use of this language? It is certain they did not use it as denoting a separation of the church of England from the church of Rome in the Protestant sense. But it is observable, that according to the manner in which English laymen had now come to regard the papacy, there was scarcely any restraint that could be laid on the papal authority in relation to national churches that might not be deemed compatible with the preservation of Catholic unity. Happily for England, the see of Rome was not prepared to accept allegiance on such terms. The pope, while shorn of almost every attribute which his predecessors had been wont to value, was expected to be submissive, and to be the pope still. How far it was reasonable to calculate on such submission from the spiritual head of Christendom was a question which hardly seems to have been raised. With Henry and his parliament, resistance and non-resistance seemed to be regarded as questions for others; the great question with themselves was simply—What is proper to be done? Great, in this respect, was the change from the past to the present. In what was now done, intimation was given both to the English clergy and the pontiff, touching the length to which affairs were likely to proceed, should the court of Rome continue to be indifferent to the wishes of Henry and his subjects on the question of the divorce.

Discontent of the lower clergy in London—scene at St. Paul's.

But when the two houses of convocation had voted that the money demanded should be paid, the great difficulty remained. From what sources should it come, and how should it be apportioned? At this point the lower clergy began to rebel against the higher. If any persons, they said, had been partakers with the cardinal in his sin, those persons were the

prelates and the great abbots, not the ill-paid and overworked parochial priesthood. Let the burden fall, therefore, on those who have been most in fault, and who are best able to bear it. Dr. Stokesley, the bishop of London, was apprised of the storm thus rising. It will be remembered that Wolsey had hoped to extort a benevolence from the citizens of the metropolis by dealing with them, not in their corporate strength, but separately and personally. Stokesley resolved to try the same experiment upon the clergy, but it was with no better issue. The clergy of London were summoned to the Chapter House of St. Paul's. Orders were given that not more than six or eight should be admitted at a time. But the crowd of curates and parochial incumbents outside became clamorous, demanded admission, and, after several noisy efforts, succeeded in forcing open the door. All then rushed into the episcopal presence like an insurrection mob. One of the clergy had struck the bishop's servant out of the way at the entrance, giving him a blow in the face. Other officials were roughly handled, and thrust aside; and a number of citizens had mingled with the men in orders, encouraging them in these riotous doings. It was long before silence could be obtained. At length, the bishop, who is described as a man of wit and learning, but as wanting in discretion and in humanity, proceeded to remind the angry multitude before him that they were men and not angels; that they had all sinned so as to have forfeited everything they possessed to the king; and that, inasmuch as his majesty had been graciously pleased to accept of a part of their means in place of seizing the whole, he hoped that, like reasonable persons, they would contribute cheerfully according to their ability. But the malcontents were sharp in their answers, and the meeting was dissolved.*

* Hall, 783, 784. Sir Thomas More sent ten of the clergy, and some half-dozen laymen to prison for that day's proceedings.

The feeling of the lower clergy in London was no doubt the feeling of the same class of men through the country. The scene at St. Paul's would be so interpreted. It was clear that the ecclesiastical house in England had come to be a house divided against itself. Men saw that the time had arrived in which it would be safe to attempt such alterations and repairs in the edifice as time and the elements had rendered necessary. The parliament on its meeting in January, 1531-2, appears to have felt that such was its position in relation to the church.

The clergy made subject to the civil power, Jan. 1532.

The reader has seen, that it was a great principle in the policy of the Middle-Age clergy, to account ecclesiastics as amenable in no case, in the first instance, to the tribunal of the magistrate. It was not pretended that clergymen offending against society should go unpunished; but it was insisted that it should be left to men of their own order to determine their guilt, and the course to be taken towards them. In no case were they to be subject to penalty from the hands of a layman until divested of their sacred office by a priest. Could we ensure to the ministers of religion the sanctity proper to their vocation, even such an immunity might be safely and wisely granted. It was only on the assumption that the men were in general thus pure that such a law could ever have become prevalent. But, in the times now under review, the character of the clergy was not commonly of that high order; and the law which had been designed to ensure protection to the innocent, now often gave a dangerous licence to the guilty. Possessed of such means of impunity, the crimes of the clergy became scandalous, enormous. Much had been done, from time to time, by the civil power to curb this mischief, but with only temporary or partial effect. Experience, said the parliament, has taught us, that all hope of amendment in this respect, as to come from the clergy themselves, must end in disappointment. It is observable, however, that, resolute as these senators were in the work of reformation,

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they leave archdeacons, and all ecclesiastics above that rank, at liberty to plead this benefit of clergy, deeming it enough for the present, to provide that all clerks below that degree should be subject to the civil magistrate, in all civil matters, in common with the laity.*

Further reform of the bishops' courts.

Something more was done in this session towards diminishing the grievances inflicted on the king's subjects by the spiritual courts. With this view, it was enacted that in future, persons should not be cited to appear in any such court beyond the diocese in which they may be resident, nor be made to pay more than such moderate fines as should be fixed by law.† In another statute, provision was made against certain devices by which the clergy contrived to evade the statute of mortmain. For this object, it was declared that property bequeathed by the dying to secure masses for the soul, should not be so appropriated beyond the space of twenty years.‡

Movement concerning annates.

But the most significant measures of this juncture had respect to the payment of annates, and to the legislative power claimed by the clergy. The annates, or first-fruits, consisted of the first year's value of a bishopric or benefice, required from every man at the time of his promotion to it. This claim had been made by the popes in the first instance in support of the crusades, and subsequently for the general purposes of their government. Even the clergy in convocation rose against this exaction, and went so far as to pray the king 'to ordain in this present parliament 'that *the obedience of the people be withdrawn from the 'see of Rome,*' if this practice be not discontinued. The parliament was not disposed to take this extreme course. The commons would have left it with the

* 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

† The preamble to this act complains in strong terms of the harassing and loss to which the people were exposed by the many vexatious suits instituted against them in those courts.—23 Hen. VIII. cap. 9.

‡ 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

king to consider if the matter did not admit of some friendly, and more satisfactory, arrangement. But in 1533, an act was passed which put an end to that impost, and to appeals to the see of Rome under any pretence whatsoever.*

The clergy deprived of legislative power.

With regard to the legislative power of the clergy, we might have supposed, that with some recent events in their memory, the prelates would have seen it to be anything but prudent to take high ground on that subject. But memorials were presented, both to the king and the commons, in which the power to enact laws concerning faith and manners, wholly irrespective of state authority, was claimed as belonging to the sacred order by divine right. The answer to these pretensions was, a demand of immediate and entire submission to the supremacy of the crown. The memorialists strove hard to avoid an absolute surrender. But a statute was passed which reduced the clergy to the state of allegiance proper to all good subjects.†

Retrospect. 1530-1532.

Such was the work of the Reformation Parliament in little more than two years from the time of its being convened. It had swept away a vast amount of abuse chargeable on the clergy of the English church,

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. Ap. No. 41. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

† 24 Hen. VIII. capp. 12, 19. 'Be it therefore now enacted, by authority of this present parliament, *according to the said submission and petition of the said clergy*, that they, nor any of them, from henceforth, shall presume to attempt, allege, claim, or put in use, any constitutions or ordinances, provincial or synodical, or any other canons, or shall enact, promulge, or execute any such canons, constitutions, or ordinances, by whatsoever name or names they may be called, in their convocations, in time coming (which always shall be assembled by authority of the king's writ), unless the same clergy *may have the king's most royal assent and licence* to make, promulge, and execute such canons, on pain of every one of the clergy doing contrary to this act, and being thereof convicted, to suffer imprisonment, and make fine, at the king's will.'—Ibid. It was also ordered, that the canons of former convocations should be all revised by a committee of thirty-two persons, half to be laymen and half ecclesiastics; but this important resolution was not carried into effect.—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 198 et seq.

and which had been long felt by the nation as a burden grievous to be borne. It had put an end to the old and bitter controversy concerning the relation of the ministers of religion to the civil power. It had declared that the clergy should no longer be allowed to make laws on their own authority. It had made them subject in all things to the laws of the king. It had gone far beyond the premunire statutes of former times in dealing with the pretensions of the church of Rome towards the church of England. Henceforth, according to the language of the new statutes, no contribution was to be made to the coffers of that see; no appeal was to be made to its authority. Englishmen were to know nothing of authority, civil or ecclesiastical, above that of the king, or apart from it. The crown was proclaimed as supreme and exclusive in all causes.

Erastian ascendancy.

There is something in this high-handed Erastianism that does not seem natural. We can hardly forbear thinking that judgment concerning what is religious truth, or religious duty, would be more in place in the hands of the ministers of religion, than in the hands of ministers of state; and that the administrations of religion rest more consistently with ecclesiastical persons, than with secular functionaries. But these proceedings on the part of the English parliament have their explanation in the circumstances and spirit of the times. Had the clergy been truly spiritual men, administering purely spiritual laws, in relation to a people who had become voluntarily subject to those laws, nothing could have been more unwarrantable than any intrusion of the secular power into their affairs. But the laws of the clergy had been made, under one pretext and another, to affect the secular interests of men as much as their spiritual interests. While professing to be only spiritual rulers, they had been wont to claim the aid of the magistrate to assist them in accumulating and preserving their large wealth, and in rendering them formidable as func-

tionaries, by enabling them to inflict penalties, not on the soul merely, but on body and goods. It had seemed to them fitting to bring the civil power in this manner into the province of religion, and they had now to meet the consequences of having so done. The alien force which had been called to their help had become their master. And very justly so. It became secular men to be watchful over the secular interests of those subject to their authority. Body and goods belong to the domain of the magistrate, and in all attempts to meddle with the one or the other, on the part of the clergy, it was simply just that they should be powerless apart from the magistrate.

But thoughts of this nature had no place among thinkers of the times under consideration. The magistrate never doubted that it became him, as such, to concern himself with religion; and the clergyman never doubted that it became him, as such, to seek assistance from the secular arm in the exercise of his spiritual office. This Erastian claim of the state was a natural reaction against the Theocratic claim of the church. The clergy had accounted themselves an order of men divinely appointed to church offices, and they claimed the nation as the church which they were to govern; and now the nation, through its representatives, seemed to see the meaning and drift of this doctrine. We discover at length, they seem to say, whence the mischiefs so rife everywhere about us have come—we, the church, should have been the makers of law, and you, the officers of the church, should have been simply its administrators. This was the order of things at first; it was strictly reasonable; it should never have been departed from; we return to it. It was in vain that the clergy alleged the authority of their priesthood as being theocratic—that it had come from God, not from man, and that it was not therefore to be subject to the laws of man. That was a conception which had wrought too much evil,

and was much too refined and metaphysical in its nature, to avail against the stern, practical, self-reliant temper of society with which it now had to contend. In fact, both parties were in error. It no more pertained to the two houses of parliament to concern themselves with the cure of souls, than it pertained to the clergy to meddle with questions touching body or goods. The nation was not a church, as assumed by parliament; and the ministers of religion were not a magistracy, as assumed by the clergy. The two had become usurpers, and it was natural they should be in conflict. The best mode of combining the two functions, the statesman and the churchman, so as to occasion the least possible infraction of the principles of social justice, can hardly be said to have been a question of that age, and is still a problem only in course of solution.*

The above observations will apply to nearly all the disputes between religious parties in our history under the Tudors. Each party was too much inclined to appeal to force; and no party, in consequence, had a right to complain when that means of discipline happened to be wielded against itself. This fault was more conspicuous in some connexions than in others, but it existed everywhere—at least until late in the reign of Elizabeth.

Sir Thomas More.

When Sir Thomas More became chancellor in place of Wolsey, it might have been expected that the rule of a layman, and of a layman distinguished by such culture and acquisitions, would be much more liberal than that of the priest. But strange contradictions met in the character of this eminent person. He was learned, and deficient in learning. Wise, and greatly wanting in wisdom. Humane and cruel. Religious,

* In the preamble to the act against appeals there is a sort of recognition of the clergy as the 'spiritualty' of the realm, by the side of the laity as the 'temporalty;' but the authority left to this spiritualty is merely that of interpretation and administration in regard to spiritual laws, corresponding with the same power as vested in magistrates in regard to secular laws.—*Statutes at Large*, ii. 177.

and disposed to raise external forms and ecclesiastical organizations into the place of religion. He could grow eloquent as the champion of free speech and free action, and could become the zealous patron of almost every form of oppression opposed to such freedom. He could write tender poetry in elegant Latin, and could use that language as a vehicle of the most startling invective and misrepresentation. In Christianity as expounded by general councils in times much less enlightened than his own, he was a firm believer. Of the earliest and the purest Christianity he knew little. Rome had represented the Deity as making the benefits of an infinite redemption dependent on a due conformity to the mint and cumin of church institutes and rituals; and the littleness of man, as thus ascribed to the dispensations of the Infinite, Sir Thomas More could also ascribe to Him. The mission of the mediæval hierarchy was from God; the sacraments in the hands of its priests were from God; and there was no other gate to the celestial paradise. All separatists from the church of Rome, accordingly, were bad men—rebels, not only against man, but against God. Their own souls were assuredly lost, and all the souls seduced by them were assuredly lost. They were destroyers of men, not merely of their bodies, but of their spiritual nature, inflicting on that an everlasting death.* We may marvel that such a man should have been a believer in such a theory; but the theory once admitted, heretical people naturally became to him little better than so many incarnations of the Evil One. More never looked on the case of such persons with any approach towards candour. Towards such offenders, to be pitiless was to be humane—to burn their bodies was the highest act of charity that could be rendered to their souls.

Now, let it not be said, or seem to be said, that seeing Sir Thomas More *believed* thus, it became him

* Dialogues on Heresies. Foxe, iv. 705. More's *Life of More*, 211.

to *act* thus. His sin had its root in his so believing. In a sense, his sincerity was his crime. The Thugs of India say, all men are as selfish as we are. If they do not all rob and strangle as we do, it is simply because they want the skill and the courage. They are, in fact, more selfish in abstaining from our ways, than we are in following them. Does this reasoning justify the Thugs? We think not. But the plea that persecution becomes venial when a man's principles naturally lead to it, is to the same effect. The crime of such men is in having such principles. It is folly not to see that a principle must be fallacious which aims to do what it cannot do; and it is a crime not to see that a principle must be evil which affects to benefit human nature by trampling upon its natural rights. Men may claim toleration so long as their thoughts are merely thoughts, and their words are only fair words. But if, after the manner of Sir Thomas More, they must proceed to unsheath the sword in support of their arguments, it is only fitting that they should perish by the sword. If there be any *opinion* which it would be just to punish as a *crime*, it is the opinion which makes it to be *a virtue not to tolerate opinion*. It is not necessary, as a current paradox on this subject seems to assume, that we should ignore religion and become atheists, if we would be consistently tolerant. It is only necessary that we should account the affairs of religion as belonging to the administration of a kingdom which is not of this world. When the magistrate affects to anticipate the decisions of the Supreme Judge in relation to such matters, he assumes a province that does not belong to him. It is not too much to say of such a man as Sir Thomas More, that he should have been obedient to the laws of his own intelligence, which would have sufficed to teach him the unreasonableness, and the general inefficiency of persecution: and that he should have been more mindful of the spirit and precepts of Christ, which show that persecution must be unchristian.

John Petit, a wealthy citizen of London, to whose intelligent and honest judgment on affairs the king attached much importance, was suspected, and not without cause, of being a friend to such men as Bilney, Frith, and Tyndale. More took upon himself the office of inquisitor in the case of this man. He presented himself at the door of Petit's house, at a place near the river, called Petit's quay. When the door was opened, the wife of the merchant saw who had knocked, and hastened to her husband, who was 'in his closet 'at his prayers,' bidding him hasten from the place, as the lord chancellor was at the door. But the chancellor, eager to take the heretic unawares, had followed the wife, and entered the closet with her. Petit received him courteously, and it so happened that the visit did not yield the sort of evidence the chancellor sought. No obnoxious books or writings were discovered. Nevertheless, More gave Petit in charge to the lieutenant of the Tower, and there, in contempt of petition and remonstrance, Petit died of the hard usage for which More was responsible.* The cases of Phillips and Field are instances showing still further how More could offend against law and humanity where heresy was concerned.† This bad feeling seems to have prompted him at times to gross slander. He declared that Bilney, who perished at Norwich, had read a recantation of his errors at the stake. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, who was present, assured John Foxe that the statement was not true.‡ More afterwards spread abroad injurious charges against Bayfield, who suffered in Smithfield, which were also shown to be false.§ Rumour said that the chancellor had a tree in his garden called 'the Tree of

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 312–314.

† Foxe, v. 29, 30. See Phillips's petition to the House of Commons, after more than three years of unlawful imprisonment, in Platt's ed. of Foxe, vol. v. Ap. 2. Froude, i. 74–83.

‡ Ibid. Foxe, iv. 643. App. 761–763.

§ Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 311.

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'Truth,' to which good men under the charge of heresy were bound, and flogged with his own hand. More denied this charge. But it is certain that Bainham, the martyr, was whipped in the house of the chancellor, if not by his own hand; and what must the temper of the person have been, against whom such rumours might be expected to gain credit?*

While such were the employments to which the feeling of Sir Thomas More was prompting him, the course taken by parliament might well fill him with sadness and alarm. He retained the seals, however, about two years and a half. He then tendered their resignation, and the resignation was accepted.

Resigns the seals. May, 1532.

Progress of the divorce question.

Through the period of More's chancellorship the divorce question continued to be agitated. Henry had hoped that the course taken by the English parliament would excite apprehension in Rome, and expedite his wishes in that quarter. But with the progress of the spirit of reform in England, came the progress of the imperial arms in Italy. France had lost her footing in that country, and as it became more and more probable that England would be lost to the papacy, Clement found himself sinking more hopelessly than ever to the condition of a prisoner and a tool in the hands of Spain. He sighed deeply under this bondage, but saw no means of escape. France was enfeebled, England was remote, and south of the Alps Charles could do according to his pleasure.

Memorial from the lords to Clement.

In the summer of 1530 the house of lords addressed a memorial to Clement, signed by forty-two lay peers, by seven prelates, and by twenty-three abbots, in which the case of the divorce was set forth, and a speedy decision upon it was most earnestly entreated; followed by an intimation, that if the kingdom should be left to find some other way by which to bring this painful business to a close, that other way would certainly be found. Clement replied courteously; but the sub-

Clement's reply.

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* i. 315. More's *Apology*, c. 36.

stance of his statement was, that the case had been revoked from London to Rome by a unanimous vote of the cardinals; that Henry refused to plead; and that the delay, accordingly, was caused by the king of England, not by the papal court.* Henry alleged that he could not descend to plead in a foreign court without consent of parliament, and that such consent could never be obtained. It was maintained, indeed, that no Englishman, much less a king of England, was at liberty to plead in an English cause in any court beyond the king's dominions.

The points successively at issue.

It should be remembered, that throughout this controversy, there was no question about its being unlawful, except under special dispensation, for a man to marry his brother's widow. When the cause was revoked to Rome, the point to be determined was, the validity, as to form, of the dispensation which had been granted by Julius. And now, through the suggestion of Cranmer, it is said, it was formally alleged that such a dispensation must have been worthless, whatever may have been its form. That a man should not marry his brother's wife was said to be a divine law, and the authority of the pope, it was contended, was never meant to extend to an abrogation of such laws. On this question it was resolved to obtain the opinions of the learned over Christendom. In pursuance of this object, intrigue, bribery, and intimidation were largely resorted to, and with little scruple on either side. The result is said to have been a sort of drawn battle, the opinions obtained being about one half on the one side, and the other half on the other.† But, if we may credit the language of Clement himself, the scale really turned very much in favour of the king. 'The opinion of the theologians,' said the pope to the emperor, 'is wholly against the papal

Clement owns the justice of the king's cause.

* Herbert, 141–147.

† Legrand, iii. 467, 458. *State Papers*, i. 377, 378; vii 241–245, 253–259. Burnet, *Collect.* 429–431.

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'power of dispensation in cases of so close relationship; 'and, of the canon lawyers, part are agreed with the 'theologians, and those who differed from them are 'satisfied that such a power might not be exercised 'unless there were most urgent cause—unless, that is, 'the safety of a kingdom were dependent upon it.' Such an occasion, he added, could not be shown 'to 'have existed for the dispensation granted by his pre-'decessor.'*

Meeting between Henry and Francis.

In the autumn of 1532 a grand meeting took place between Henry and Francis at Boulogne. It was the policy of Francis to perpetuate the alienation between Henry and Charles, and he was accordingly profuse, not only in his professions of attachment to Henry, but in his measures to render the papal court favourable to his wishes. The Christmas following, Charles was crowned emperor at Bologna, and some further attempt was then made to bring the 'king's matter' to a favourable issue. But the whole business continued to be, as it had long been, a contention in which Henry and Francis threatened to withdraw from the papal see if Clement did not sanction the divorce, and in which Charles threatened evils even more formidable if he did—the policy of his holiness being to oppose the arts of Italian cunning, the only weapon of his weakness, to the strength of these rival masters.†

1522. October.

Henry resolves to marry.

But soon a step was to be taken which would put an end to these protracted insincerities. In an early stage of this dispute Clement had suggested that the most expedient course might be for the king to marry again without waiting for the papal sanction of a divorce. Recently the king of France and others had urged Henry to bring the embroilment to a close by that means. The king hesitated; but, on learning the result of the negotiations at Bologna, he resolved to act on this advice. For some time past Anne had

* *Rolls House* MS. Froude, i. 388.

† *State Papers*, vii. 427–436. Legrand, iii. 571 et seq. Herbert 160.

resided with him. To outward appearance they were as man and wife, but only to outward appearance. The relation between them, we have reason to believe, involved no infraction of morality. But this state of matters could not long continue. In January, 1532-33, Henry and Anne Boleyn were privately married. Rowland Lee, afterwards bishop of Lichfield, officiated. Due record was made of the proceeding, but little more is known of it.*

Some course of this nature inevitable.

Five years and a half had now passed since Henry had declared to Anne Boleyn the feeling with which he regarded her. Such a submission to impediment and delay was hardly to have been expected from a man of his character and temperament. In this amount of forbearance and self-control we see enough to warrant the belief that Henry's great purpose must have been something much higher than the selfish and sensuous desire by which he has been supposed to have been wholly governed. He had often said that the substitution of one woman for another as a wife, would not have prompted him to take a single step in the weary business of the divorce; and we may accept his words without supposing that his feeling towards Anne Boleyn, as compared with Catherine, had no influence upon his conduct. We are all beings of mixed motives at best. We never rise above what is substantially good. We can suppose Henry in the main a truthful man when he said that he had come to account his marriage with Catherine as unlawful, and when he declared that another marriage, which might give him the prospect of a male successor to the throne, was, in his judgment, of the first importance to the future interests of the nation. Had not Anne Boleyn become so much an object of interest to him, it is hardly to be doubted that some other

* Herbert, 161. Henry's last interview with Catherine was six months before (14th July, 1532). The duke of Norfolk, and Anne Boleyn's parents and brothers are said to have been present at the wedding. —Ibid. Burnet, i.

woman would have come into her place, and a divorce and a second marriage there would have been. During a considerable space after his virtual separation from Catherine, Henry's demeanour towards her had been considerate and exemplary. But it ceased to be so when he gave the state of a queen to another woman in the presence of the woman who was still his wife. Catherine had been unyielding before, surrendering herself to feelings sufficiently personal; but now her passions became intensely those of the injured woman, prompting her to resist every approach and shade of compromise. The event, however, is now determined, and the actors in this drama, and the nation as spectators, have to wait the issue.

Court at Dunstable —Cranmer's sentence.

The king's marriage could not long remain a secret, and when known, still more innovating measures would be indispensable. In the following April, Cranmer, now archbishop of Canterbury, obtained a licence from the king to bring the cause relating to Catherine to an end by a decision in his own court. In granting this licence, Henry was careful to make the primate understand, that his sole authority was to judge according to the law of the case, in the name of a king who did not 'recognise any superior on earth 'but only God, and is not subject to the laws of any 'earthly creature.' Cranmer, assisted by four prelates, opened his court at Dunstable, a few miles from Ampthill, where Catherine was then resident. To lord Vaux and the gentlemen who waited upon her with the citation from the archbishop, Catherine replied that she repudiated utterly the authority of the tribunal from which they had come, and that she should in no way plead before it. The court, as a matter of course, accounted her contumacious, and proceeded with the trial. Witnesses were examined, and sentence was passed, which declared that 'the said pretended mar-'riage always was, and still is, null and void.'*

* *State Papers*, i. 394, 395. Herbert, 163–165.

But the feeling of the country was not quieted by this decision. Those who had always sympathized with Catherine, did so the more deeply, as she seemed to them to be sinking lower and lower in her sadness and her wrongs. Many who regarded the divorce as expedient, if not just, were pained by many of the circumstances which had come to be attendant upon it. But if we may judge from what passed in London, on the last day of May and on some subsequent days, when the grand pageant of Anne's coronation took place, the mass of the people must have been satisfied that the right course had been taken, and that it became them to sustain what had been done. Hall has given a full and minute account of the processions and holiday doings by which the citizens, and the companies of the metropolis, testified their loyalty; and Henry addressed 'hearty thanks, with 'many good words,' to the 'mayor and his brethren' for those expressions of their good feeling as his subjects.*

Popular feeling.

The coronation.

Henry sent information of these proceedings to the emperor and the pope, reminding them of the respect he had shown them by waiting so long in the hope of obtaining their approval, expressing his regret that necessity should have been laid upon him to act without their concurrence, and his hope that their amity with him might not be disturbed by what had come to pass. Charles contented himself with saying that he knew what had taken place, and that the future must be left to show what the future would be. He wrote encouragingly, in the meanwhile, to those who assured him that England would soon be in a state of insurrection, and stood prepared to avail himself of such circumstances, should they arise.† Clement was urged by the imperialist cardinals to launch the thunders of the church against Henry without delay. But his holiness was busy at this juncture with an intrigue

Henry writes to Charles and Clement.

* Hall's *Chron.* 798-805. † Herbert, 166.

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to detach Francis from his friendly relations with England, and he was disposed to proceed cautiously until the result of this policy should be ascertained.*

Altered policy of Francis.

As danger thickened about the path of Henry, the policy of Francis became obscure, wavering, and insincere. He had so far committed himself to the course of the king of England, that if this country should be separated from the see of Rome, France was to follow her example, and to become an independent patriarchate. But the hope of recovering influence in Italy through the good offices of Clement, now so much affected the French king, that he found excuses for evading such promises.† Not that Francis contemplated a rupture with England. Nothing he declared was farther from his thoughts. But the real object, nevertheless, of the negotiation between him and Clement was to place Christendom under the feet of a triumvirate, consisting of the emperor, the king of France, and his Holiness. The effect of this combination, as dreamers supposed, would be, to crush the Lutherans first, and England next. Henry saw the drift of these intrigues, and in his letters to Francis laid it bare in a tone of remonstrance remarkable for its intelligence, dignity, and firmness.‡

Henry appeals to a general council.

Menaced with denunciations from Rome, Henry prudently anticipated the thunder from that quarter, by appealing from the authority of the pope to that of a general council.§ Clement felt the inconvenience of this move, and proposed a middle course. Let the case, he said, be withdrawn from the papal court, before which the king of England declines to plead,

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* *State Papers*, vii. 427–437, 449, 469, 468 et seq.

† Catherine de Medici—an evil match for the future of France—was given in marriage, through the influence of Clement, to the duke of Orleans, 'to whom, besides 100,000 crowns portion, the principality of many towns in Italy, as Milan, Reggio, Pisa, Leghorn, Parma, and Piacenza, and the duchy of Urbino, were given.'—Burnet, i. 246.

‡ *State Papers*, vii. 462 et seq., 473–479, 506.

§ Rymer, vi. part 2, 188.

and let it be judged by a commission to sit at Cambray. There was concession and fairness on the surface of this proposal. But it came from men who were known to be lost to all honest dealing. Henry rejected it. It was not, he said, to the honour of the pope to hand over to a commission an act of justice which he should have the honesty and courage to perform himself; nor was it to be expected that the king of England should traverse a cause beyond the limits of his own dominions, to be argued before any tribunal of less rank than a general council.*

Proposed meeting at Cambray.

On the 12th of July, six weeks after the coronation, Clement had declared Cranmer's judgment at Dunstable illegal, and the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn void. But the penalties of excommunication, incurred by those proceedings, were postponed until the close of September. Time was thus to be given for repentance.† But September passed, and October passed, and the signs of contrition came not. And now the time had arrived for the long-expected conference between Francis and Clement. It took place at Marseilles, in October, and extended to about the middle of November. The liberties ceded to the Gallican church in that conference made it all but independent. Francis urged that the same liberal course should be pursued towards England. It was to the interest of both that Henry should not sever himself from the church of Rome, and that they should both remain on friendly terms with him. Could not this be accomplished? Clement felt the force of these representations. He now went so far as to say, that the cause of the king of England was a just cause, and that if his majesty would only make a little reasonable concession, so as to furnish a plausible ground for conceding his claim, the imperialists in the consistory, as committed parties, should be excluded from having any voice in the question, and judgment should thus

Clement pronounces sentence, but suspends penalties.

Clement disposed to conciliation.

* Foxe, v. 110.

† *State Papers*, vii. 480.

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be given in his favour. We do not know the exact words that passed, but they appear to have been words to this effect.

Henry threatens to form a great Protestant league. December.

On his return to Paris, Francis received a letter from Henry, in which he stated that it was not his wish to separate himself from the Catholic princes, but that, if shut up to such a course, he should certainly do his best to form a grand Protestant league, by joining himself to the Lutherans. Francis was alarmed by this communication, and sent Du Bellay, the bishop of Paris, to apprise Henry of what had passed in the conference at Marseilles, and to urge upon the king a cautious and conciliatory course.* Du Bellay knew the king of England and the English people well, and was exceedingly desirous of healing this breach, even at the eleventh hour. To be successful might be to prevent Europe from becoming marshalled into two hostile camps on the side of opposite religions. The bishop obtained from Henry so much concession, or so much of what looked like concession, that he felt warranted in proceeding with all speed to Rome. It was the depth of winter, and the winter was severe; but the bishop posted forward, and sentence, which was just on the point of being pronounced, was stayed.

Mission of the bishop of Paris.

Prospect of a settlement at the eleventh hour

Du Bellay made his communications in behalf of Henry. Those communications were deemed satisfactory, and terms were sent in reply. Judgment on the case was now deferred to the 23rd of March. The new overtures of peace were sent with all possible haste to England. But the 23rd of March came, and no answer was received. The imperialists in the consistory, who, according to Clement's promise to Francis, were not now to be parties to the judgment, seized on this circumstance, and insisted that sentence should be given on the ground first taken, without delay. The French cardinals, and others that might be influenced, had been prepared to carry a sentence of

* *State Papers*, i. 414, 415; vii. 524–527.

an opposite description, had Henry's expected approval of the proffered terms been duly returned. Du Bellay remonstrated most earnestly against the course urged by the imperialists. He reminded them that the journey from England was by sea as well as land—who could tell what had happened? The king of England, moreover, had waited six years in hope of obtaining a favourable decision from Rome—he would only ask that Rome should wait six days in hope of a peaceful message from England. But he pleaded in vain. Clement was made to yield—sentence was pronounced! And now, illuminations, bonfires, cannon, and noisy street-processions testified to the delight with which the Spanish faction began to look on England as about to become a spoil to her enemies, and to be ranked as a second Netherlands.

Frustrated by the imperialists—sentence is pronounced.

Two days passed, and an English courier, whom accident, as men call it, had detained on his way, made his appearance. He had come to say that Henry had accepted peace on the terms agreed upon, and that two envoys were on the road prepared to give them a full confirmation. Du Bellay implored that the consistory might be again convened. Long debating followed. But the votes were on the side of the Spaniards, and what had been done was declared to be irrevocable!*

Arrival of the courier.

Sentence confirmed—England is free!

So ended the last scene in a drama made up of so many scenes. In this halting courier we see only one circumstance in a long series of circumstances, which, all coming up like so many accidents, were to issue in an ever-memorable result which was no accident. We may imagine, that had this courier been less dilatory; had Henry been a man of less passion, less intelligence, or less courage; had Catherine been more handsome or more fruitful, or less a woman of deep feeling and stern resolve; had Anne Boleyn been less fascinating, or more scrupulous about accepting honour

Retrospect.

* Burnet, i. 246-249. *State Papers*, vii. 553, 554, 579. Legrand.

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on terms not honourable; had Wolsey not died, or had Cromwell failed to come into his place—then the Reformation era in English history might not have come. But this is idle dreaming. There was no real contingency in this matter. The later and more visible causes of this change were weak, and apparently from chance, but there were remote and latent causes which were not weak, and in which there was no chance. During long centuries the tendencies towards this result had been in action. True, the men who should have led the English clergy in those days were weak—but what made them weak? And the men who were on the side of reform were strong—but what made them strong? The one represented an order of things which had grown old, diseased, and could not live in such a soil as England had become. The other represented an order of things which was indigenous to the people, possessed the vigour and bloom of youth, and promised much for the time to come. Yes—the mind which operated through the greater influences, in this great chapter of our history, operated through the less. The less came upon a scale which had been all but turned by the weight of the greater. Had not these later and smaller instrumentalities come as they did, others like them must have come in their place. The tide had set in—its rising higher was inevitable. Nations, like individuals, may rough hew their path, may do it with a strong hand, but, after all, there is a Providence that shapes their ways.

How Henry regarded these final proceedings in Rome on this long-agitated question will presently appear. In this place we must halt, to be observant of the measures of the English parliament during the three months preceding that decision.

Proceedings in Parliament. 1534.

The session opened in the middle of January, and there were grave matters then demanding attention. The act which withdrew from the see of Rome the large field of revenue known by the name of annates, or first-fruits, had been passed with the understanding

that it was not to receive the royal assent, should the pontiff become more reasonable. But Clement had given no evidence of greater wisdom, and the act now became law.* Here, however, a new perplexity presented itself. Denied his annates, the pope would withhold the formalities of consecration from future bishops. But this difficulty was soon surmounted. The form of election to a vacant bishopric was left with the chapters; the reality of election, which had sometimes proceeded from the king, sometimes from the pope, and often from both conjointly, was now vested exclusively in the crown. The crown was to nominate, and if the chapter did not elect the person named within twelve days, they became subject to a premunire.† The act which put an end to the legislative functions of the clergy was also finally passed.‡ Some attempt, moreover, was made to check the wrongs and cruelties to which persons were exposed when charged with heresy. The clergy had never been more zealous or pitiless in their proceedings against heresy than during the last two years—years in which the reforming spirit of the commons might have been expected to suggest what the effect of such a policy was likely to be.§ It was now enacted, that in future, the clergy should not arrest persons charged with heresy, nor examine such persons, at their pleasure. The only cases with which they were to meddle, in the time to come, were such as should have been sustained by lawful witnesses, and before magistrates. The accused, moreover, might claim to be admitted to bail, and the ordinary was not to set aside such claim without the consent of two justices of the peace. All secret examination was declared unlawful, and trial must be in open court. In this manner the magistrate was

1534. Bill concerning annates passed.

New form of electing bishops.

Legislative functions of the clergy at an end.

Check given to persecution.

* 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 20.

† 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 19. ‡ Ibid.

§ See the accounts in Foxe, taken mostly from the episcopal registers, v. 1–45.

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to take a new precedence of the ecclesiastic, and the liberty of the subject was more effectually guarded.* Further measures were contemplated, for the purpose of severing the church of Rome from the smallest access to English wealth. But, before acting on these stringent provisions, three months were allowed, that his holiness, if so disposed, might reconsider his policy.

The Reformation so far not a Protestant Reformation.

It is important, also, to observe, that these reforming senators were careful to affirm, that all these proceedings were the result, not of any intention to depart 'from the congregation of Christ's church in 'anything concerning the articles of the Catholic 'faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared 'by the holy scripture and the word of God neces-'sary for salvation,' but simply that the realm of England might be conserved 'in peace, unity, and 'tranquillity, from ravin and spoil.'† In other words, their position was that of Nationalism as distinguished from Romanism. They were prepared to reciprocate all friendliness on the part of other Christian powers, but the position of England must be a position of ecclesiastical as well as political independence.

Act of Succession.

Next came the act intended to settle the succession to the throne. It declared that marriage with a brother's widow is 'prohibited and detested by the 'laws of God;' that no man, 'of what estate, degree, 'or condition soever he be,' hath power to dispense with God's laws; and that the princess Elizabeth, now born, and such children as should be born to the king from his present marriage, should be accepted as undoubted heirs to the throne of England. It was further enacted, that all persons suing the livery of their lands, and all other persons, should, at the king's pleasure, be required to declare on oath their entire approval of this statute, and to bind themselves to observe and uphold it to the extent of their power.‡

* 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 14. † Ibid. cap. 21.
‡ Ibid. cap. 22.

Position of affairs in England before the final judgment by Clement.

These acts sufficiently show, that with the opening of the year 1534, the course of England in relation to the papacy was decided, whatever might be the final judgment pronounced in that quarter. The country had settled its own terms. The answer expected to these terms was simply yes or no. And in all these proceedings, the senators in this memorable parliament had not only to brave the terrors of the Vatican, but to meet danger at home on which a mind less equal to the crisis than that of Thomas Cromwell might well have looked with dismay. It was not to have been expected that a proud and ancient nation would be found to change its faith in a day, or without a struggle. The majority of the people might be comparatively passive. But nations are not governed by majorities. The momentum which determines their course comes from intelligence rather than from numbers. Intelligence, however, does not come over all at once from the past to the present, from the old to the new. In England enough had so come to have turned the scale on the better side, but not enough to preclude all hope of a reaction from minds averse to change. Such a marked disturbance on the surface of society, implied a deep disturbance of men's thoughts and passions. Fear, interest, and the honest love of old memories, would suffice to ensure that all the daring and self-sacrifice would not be on one side. Friars preached against the king's policy to his face, in the presence of court and people. And if the pulpit of a chapel royal could be so used, it is easy to imagine what many other pulpits must have been. On the lips of many of the inferior clergy, no language was so common as that of sedition, or that of slander against the king and Anne Boleyn. One of these offenders was told, when his rebel words were repeated in his hearing, that he deserved to be tied in a sack and thrown in the Thames. Be it so, was his reply, there is a way to heaven by water as well as by land. Such was the hot blood which was running into con-

spiracy, or ever ready to do so, in not a few directions.*

Elizabeth Barton—the Maid of Kent.

The story of Elizabeth Barton—the Maid of Kent—served to bring some of this feeling into action. This young woman was originally a farmhouse servant. She was a person of good character, but of no remarkable intelligence. In 1525 she suffered much from disease; and subsequently had seasons in which she seemed to be insensible to what was immediately about her, and in those intervals of abstraction, or 'trance,' as they were called, she delivered sentiments which were said to be so holy that they must have been inspired. From this stage, the transition to self-deception and imposture was easy. The parish priest reported the matter to Wareham, archbishop of Canterbury. Wareham sent a monk named Bocking to examine the case; and Bocking so ordered his communications with the bewildered woman, as to send abroad the rumour that a miracle in support of the Catholic faith had been wrought by her means. She became a witness for the church as it stood, and, in the spirit of prophecy, foretold the ruin of all who should presume to innovate on its ancient right and usage. Catherine was a great saint. Henry was in danger of a dishonourable death. Even the pope was not so secure as to be beyond the need of warning. In defiance of the words of the prophetess, Henry married Anne Boleyn, and the time within which a signal retribution was to have fallen upon him, passed away, and no retribution had come.

Arrest of the Maid of Kent, and five monks.

During seven years the monks of Canterbury were allowed to make their uses of this poor lunatic. But at length five of their number, and the woman herself, were arrested. The disclosures now made were of a serious description. Wareham, Fisher, and More had all received the utterances of the nun—for such Elizabeth Barton soon became—with more respect than

* Strype, *Memorials*, i. 256–258, Ap. xlvii.

became them. Catherine and the princess Mary had listened to frequent communications from her. Many of the English nobles, with numbers belonging to their households, were implicated in the folly or the crime of similar proceedings; and so were the marchioness of Exeter, and the countess of Salisbury. These last names brought the Nevilles, the family of the great earl of Warwick, and the White Rose faction, within the circle of suspicion. As the burden of the nun's prophecies consisted in their opposition to the religious change now in progress, and in their political and treasonable tendency, it was natural that all persons known to be lending an ear to them should be accounted as disaffected. It is now known to have been arranged, that so soon as the consistory should have pronounced its final sentence against the king, the nun, and a number of 'spiritual and religious 'persons,' were to endeavour, by preaching and other means, to kindle an insurrection; and there is good reason to suppose that Catherine and Mary were prepared to welcome events which might reverse whatever had been done against their interests.*

Proceedings against Fisher and More.

The parliament took up this business. The nun of Kent, and five monks, were declared guilty of treason on their own confessions. The poor girl took the blame of all the 'falsehood and mischief' connected with what had been taking place upon herself. But much larger blame rested on the weakness of many who had credited her sayings, and especially on the wickedness of those who had prompted her to utter them. The judgment which sent Elizabeth Barton and the monks to the scaffold, passed by the names of many persons who, in other circumstances, would have found themselves exposed to trouble. But the names of Fisher and More were not to be overlooked. Both were declared guilty of misprision of treason—that is, of receiving treasonable communications without dis-

* Burnet, i. 213–280. Ap. 192. Froude, i. 295–309; ii. 164–172.

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closing them. Cromwell apprised them, that if they were prepared to confess their error, and to ask the royal pardon, a pardon would be granted. More readily conformed to these terms. His judgment of the prophetess had altogether changed. But Fisher stood on the defensive. He had looked on the nun as a holy woman. He knew nothing of any intention to arm against the king. In brief, he knew nothing which he had not good reason to suppose the king himself knew. He had, therefore, no apology to make, and could ask no pardon. It is probable that the bishop felt as he spoke. It may be, also, that he had a painful remembrance of the disgrace which he had incurred, not long since, through his want of firmness when challenged by the commons touching the injurious words he had uttered concerning them. Certainly, he now seemed to covet a place among those who suffer for righteousness' sake. It was from his sick bed that the bishop wrote as above, and the government showed its wisdom in forbearing to proceed against him.*

Spring of 1534.

Tidings of the judgment which had been pronounced against the king in Rome, reached England on the 7th of April. The questioning of Fisher and More, on the affair of the Nun of Kent, had taken place nearly two months before; and the Act of Succession had not only passed, but, as we have seen, an oath had been attached to it which might be universally exacted, and which was meant to be exacted very largely. The news that the final step had been taken by the consistory could not fail to dispose men to look with interest for what was to follow. The history of the nun's imposture had shown, that in the unsettledness of the mind of the country, the persons were neither few nor un-

* *Suppression of the Monasteries, edited from the Original in the British Museum*, by Thomas Wright, Esq. pp. 14–34. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, ii. 47; 3rd Series, ii. 289. Strype's *Memorials*, vol. i. part 2, pp. 195–203. Burnet, i. 273–281.

influential who were inclined to listen to the language of disaffection, and to parley with treason. To these signs of division at home, the probability of war from abroad was now added. According to the common rumour and expectation, the spiritual thunder of the pope was to be followed by the material thunder of the emperor. But Henry was equal to the exigency. He promptly augmented his naval force, strengthened the garrisons of the country, and stood prepared to meet the worst. The very day which brought the news of the final proceedings in Rome, appears to have witnessed the confirmation given by Henry to the proceedings in the two houses of parliament, and the two houses of convocation, which declared the authority of the bishop of Rome to be that of an ordinary bishop, and no more.* It has been justly said that—'Five 'years before, if a heretic had ventured so desperate 'an opinion, the clergy would have shut their ears 'and run upon him.'† Revolution had been moving apace.

The Succession oath.

The oath attached to the Act of Succession required all persons to whom it was tendered to swear, not only that they would be faithful to the princess Elizabeth, and to such other offspring as should be born to the king from his marriage with Anne Boleyn; but they were required to declare that the marriage of Henry with Catherine had been invalid, and that his marriage with Anne was alone a lawful marriage. It was a grave matter to call upon such a people as the English people then were to take such an oath. Not a few among them had no decided opinion in regard to the subtle casuistry of this marriage question, much as it had been discussed; and

* Herbert, 173–175. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 2. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 2. Burnet, i. 284, 285. 'The sentence [against the divorce] was given at Rome on the 23rd of March, the same day on which the act of the succession to the crown did pass here in England.'—Ibid. v. 158.

† Froude, ii. 219.

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among those who had made up their mind on that subject, there were many who were willing to bind themselves to be obedient to the law of succession as it had been determined by parliament, but who were by no means prepared to say that they accounted the marriage between Henry and Catherine as having been from the beginning illegal and void. This was exactly the position of Fisher and More. When summoned by the commissioners, they expressed their readiness to accept the law concerning succession to the throne as defined by the statute, and to be faithful to it; but to the portion of the oath which prescribed a declaration of opinion concerning the king's divorce and his second marriage, they could in nowise conform. Cromwell and Cranmer urged compliance by every argument they could devise, but without effect.

Fisher and More refuse to take it.

Impolicy of the oath.

It was a serious dilemma which these statesmen had thus brought upon themselves. To accept an oath thus limited from these distinguished men, would be to bind themselves to accept an oath in that form from all persons taking the same exception. On the other hand, to insist that the oath taken should be according to the letter of the statute, would be to bring a sad odium upon their policy, and to entail other evils, in all probability of a very formidable description. These wise men had not acted wisely in this matter. The exercise of power contemplated by this statute was such as no conceivable circumstances could justify. To construe a refusal to take the oath in the prescribed form into proof of holding opinions at variance with its purport, and then to proceed to punish the opinions of which the recusant was presumed to be self-convicted, as treason, was a stretch of power for which no adequate plea was possible. It is true that the point at issue was one of papal casuistry, and that on such questions Fisher and More had never felt the least scruple in dealing with accused persons as they were themselves now dealt with. No heretic

falling into their hands had ever been allowed to escape conviction by refusing to answer the questions put to him. His silence, if persisted in, was his conviction. But injustice, pushed to the extent of cruelty on the one side, does not cease to be what it is now that it has changed sides. Nor was the injustice of this policy less patent than its weakness. If men really held certain opinions, it was not possible they should be made to swear them away. But it was possible to bind them against *acting* on those opinions either by *deeds* or *words*. In the present case, it should have been enough, in the first instance, to have demanded an oath of allegiance to the offspring of the king by Anne Boleyn. Even now, it would have been the wiser course to have narrowed the compass of the statute to that point, rather than to have persisted in a policy which, if not seen to be unjust, was felt to be pregnant with so much discredit and danger. A refusal to take the oath as thus limited would have been a confession of treason, and the feeling of the country would have sustained any measures of severity that might have been necessary to quell such manifest disaffection. Cranmer, and some other persons, would have retraced their steps to this extent.* But Cromwell was not a man to look back. The loss of his only son upon the scaffold, he said, would not have pained him so much as this want of loyalty in Sir Thomas More. It became clear that the government had chosen its course. What had been done was not to be undone. Cromwell knew the mind of the king, and, as commonly happens, the man with the strong

* While the case of Fisher and More was pending, Cranmer wrote to Cromwell, urging strongly that the preamble with its matter opposed to the authority of the bishop of Rome, and to the king's first marriage, should be passed over. 'If they do obstinately persist in this opinion of the preamble, yet me seemeth it should not be refused, if they will be sworn to the very Act of the Succession, so that they will be sworn to maintain the same against all powers and potentates.'—*Life of More*, 179. Strype's *Cranmer*, c. 6.

will carried the conclusion. An oath without a judgment concerning the divorce, said the king and his minister, would be an oath leaving all men at liberty to regard the offspring of Catherine as legitimate, and the offspring of Anne as illegitimate. True; but, if men so thought, was it in the power of an oath to make them think otherwise? Fisher and More so thought. Their conduct could have no other meaning. But it was their lot to find, that Henry and his parliament had come into the place of Clement and his consistory; and to see the same cruel means employed in support of the new order of things, which they had themselves been so free to use in support of the old.

Many ecclesiastics, and laymen of position, were summoned with Fisher and More, but the bishop of Rochester and the ex-chancellor stood alone on that day as recusants. They were committed, in the first instance, to the charge of the abbot of Westminster, and were sent subsequently to the Tower. Within the walls of that ancient prison, surrounded by the busy life of that great city, they were left to their own reflections for the next twelve months. Ought it not to have been foreseen that cases rendering a hesitancy of this kind expedient on the part of the government were likely to arise—and, foreseen, should they not have been avoided?

Nation tranquil, but the clergy not well-affected.

The country, however, remained quiet under these proceedings. Charles was kept in check by Francis; and the papal censures, whether against the king or the nation, seemed to have wasted themselves in air. But it was no secret that many of the clergy, while consenting to take the oath exacted by the government, were by no means well affected towards the great scheme of innovation which that oath implied. But what could they do? Not only poverty, but martyrdom, would be the consequence of resistance. By one mode of reasoning or another, they brought themselves to the conclusion, that it would be wise to submit, and, in the meanwhile, to hope that a

state of affairs so new and deplorable might be of short duration.

Clergy required to preach in support of the king's measures.

But the great trouble to this class of persons must have been, that they were not left to be merely passive in this great change. They were made to act as though they were its zealous partisans. First, they were required themselves to take the succession oath; and next they were to preach in explanation and commendation of that oath, and of the measures which had issued in the repudiation of the papal authority as a manifest usurpation, contrary to scripture, and to the just liberty of nations. Nor was it left to them to discharge this duty in any superficial or slovenly manner. The government sent them minute instructions showing how they should acquit themselves, and also a condensed report of what had been done, and the reasons of it, which was to be read aloud by each man to his usual congregation. Pulpits were in those days what newspapers are now—the great media of nearly all state advertisements; and every pulpit throughout England was to be employed, not only in giving publicity to these state documents, but in inculcating on the people the ecclesiastical and political obedience thus required from them. The bishops were to see that the clergy conformed to these injunctions; and the sheriffs and justices were to see that the bishops were not negligent in their department of service. At the same time, it was commanded, that the clergy should abstain, for the next twelve months, from preaching on doubtful matters, such as miracles, pilgrimages, celibacy of the clergy, purgatory, and the worship of saints and relics. On all these topics the court orthodoxy had become unsettled. Preachers were to confine their teaching to such doctrines as might be found 'in scripture and in the words 'of Christ—and not to make God's laws and man's laws 'of equal authority.' All unseemly controversy among themselves was to be especially avoided, the settlement of such differences as might arise among them being

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left to the bishops. So far had the king advanced in the work of reformation before the close of 1534.*

But everything about the proceedings of the government betrayed its conviction that much of the outward obedience shown would be insincere, and that instances of open and daring resistance should be expected. The clergy of the north, and the religious orders generally, were known to be strongly disloyal. Even the archbishop of York, and the bishop of Durham, were under suspicion. Prophets affected to predict the speedy return of the 'old learning.' The confessional whispered the doctrine of mental reservation, and became the school of much covert treason.†

Parliament.

Such was the course which affairs were taking when parliament was reassembled in the autumn of 1534. The act against appeals, and that which subjected the clergy to the authority of the crown, had declared the king to be head alike of church and state. But the complete settlement of this doctrine in our history dates from the Act of Supremacy passed in this session. This act marked off the ground for battle between the two great parties—the Nationalists and Romanists.‡ To recognise the supremacy of the crown as defined in this act, was to admit its competency to do all that had recently been done. To deny it, was to defer to the authority which had condemned the divorce, the second marriage, and the Act of Succession, and which, by declaring Catherine to be still queen of England, declared Mary to be next in succession to the throne. The talk of many priests,

Act of Supremacy.

* Strype, i. 285–299. Ellis, 3rd Series, ii. 335, 336. Burnet, v. 161–169. Some of these instructions were not issued until later in the year, but the royal proclamation containing the following words was published in June, 'That all manner of prayers, rubrics, canons of mass-books, and all other books in the churches wherein the bishop of Rome was named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, should be utterly abolished, eradicated, and rased out, and his name and memory should never more be remembered except to his contumely and reproach.'—Foxe, v. 69–71.

† Strype, i. 285–299.

‡ 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

and especially of many connected with the religious houses, had become most libellous and treasonable. They spoke of Henry as a monster whom the judgment of heaven must soon overtake, and Anne was classed with the lowest of her sex. It was resolved to check this licentious speech. Six months had passed since Clement had pronounced judgment against the king. Parliament had not met since that memorable event. Henry's Tudor temper had been roused, and the temper of the nation had done more than keep pace with it. An act was now passed, intitled 'An 'Act whereby Offences be made High Treason,' which declared—'That if any person or persons, after the first 'day of February next coming, do maliciously wish, 'will, or desire, by words or writing, or by craft 'imagine, invent, practice, or attempt any bodily 'harm to be done to the king's most royal person, the 'queen's, or their heirs apparent, or to deprive them, 'or any of them, of the *dignity, title,* or *name of their* '*royal estates,* or slanderously and maliciously publish 'and pronounce by express writing or words that the 'king our sovereign lord should be *heretic, schismatic,* '*tyrant, infidel,* or *usurper of the crown*—that all such 'persons, their aiders, counsellors, concerters, and 'abettors, being thereof lawfully convict according to 'the laws and customs of the realm, shall be adjudged 'traitors.'*

New statute of treason.

The government might require any man, at its discretion, to bind himself to obedience according to the tenor of this statute; and refusal to take the oath, or to answer satisfactorily the questions put in relation to it, was to be accounted as proof of disaffection—of high treason. In so far as this statute was designed to empower the government to reach opinion, and to punish *that* as crime, all that we have said in regard to the oath imposed by the Act of Succession applies to it. On the ground of this act, suspected persons

Tyranny and cruelty of the interpretation given to this statute.

* 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 13.

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might be so questioned, as to be shut up to the dreadful alternative of perjury or treason. How far it was intended to be so used does not appear, but no man with the least sense of justice or humanity should have assented to an act admitting of such an application. The king, however, and his minister, regarded the cause to which they were committed as the cause of the nation; this cause, in their view, was exposed to the last degree of danger from enemies at home and abroad; and the parties, it was said, who had made such instruments of rule necessary had made them lawful. We cannot but regard this reasoning as short-sighted and fallacious. We feel persuaded that the national interest would have been better secured by milder measures—measures which, as having reference only to actual indications of treasonable tendencies, might have been acted upon, even largely, without danger. The policy which makes laws so severe that they can never be more than partially executed, is fraught with evil. The discretion thus lodged with the executive, leaves the complexion of government to be determined, not by the defined certainties of law, but by the accidents of character in its administrators.

The act not enforced—boldness of the disaffected.

It is clear, from the conduct of the authors of these measures, that they were themselves sensible to the importance of not acting upon such powers except as a last resort. Months passed away, and the Act of Supremacy seemed to have become a dead letter. The inaction of the government, as usual, was attributed to fear, and the men whose convictions as Romanists prompted them to encourage resistance became more bold. 'Sundry persons, as well religious as secular 'priests, and curates in their parishes,' defended and extolled the authority of the bishop of Rome, and prayed for him in their pulpits. This was to violate the law, and to defy both king and parliament. But so common were these signs of insubordination, that Henry addressed a letter to the lieutenants of counties,

apprising them that reports of such things had reached his ears, and requiring them to send a faithful account of all such proceedings in their respective districts to his council.*

Strong measures—views of the parties at issue.

And now the struggle which should bring out the strength of the strongest was to begin in earnest. No doubt, many of the men who thus betrayed their feeling were men sincerely convinced that their spiritual allegiance was due to the pontiff, and that only their secular allegiance was due to the king. On the ground of scripture and of reason, as they thought, Christendom ought to have a spiritual sovereign, enthroned with becoming dignity, and so sustained by sanctity and learning as to be qualified to act as an ultimate authority on all great spiritual questions. The interests of the great Christian commonwealth, and the honour of its common faith, were thought to demand that such deference should be shown to the Christian priesthood, and during ten centuries or more, such homage had been rendered to it. The doctrine, it was maintained, which would tolerate differences of opinion, resolved itself into indifference to all religious truth, and to the fatal consequences of mistake in relation to it. It was not to be supposed, said these persons, that the Almighty should reveal important truths to men without instituting some authority which should be always ready to distinguish between them and the errors which the ignorance or passions of mankind might be disposed to thrust into their place. Such an authority existed in the Catholic church, and the church or state which made light of that authority opened the floodgates of falsehood, irreligion, and spiritual ruin upon society. To become confessors or martyrs, accordingly, on the side of Romanism, was to tread in the steps of the wisest and holiest of men in bygone ages; and to suffer in the cause of Christ, of truth, and of humanity.

* Burnet, *Hist.* i. 277, 278. Strype's *Memorials*, i. App. 208–212.

But this was only one side of the picture, and a side which was accounted by others as more imaginary than real. What the papal hierarchy might have been if the great majority of its members had been spiritual men was a matter for conjecture; what it had become in history, and especially of late, with its great majority of official persons consisting of anything but spiritual men, was a fact. The nationalist party in England judged of this system, not by what it might promise as a theory, but by what had resulted from it as put into action. So judged, it had proved, in their estimation, a signal failure. The nations of Christendom, it was alleged, were competent to conserve truth for themselves, and at much less cost both to their substance and their spiritual independence, than by perpetuating their old relations to the see of Rome. The religious reformers went much further. In their view, it was little less than blasphemy for an order of men to assume that the Deity, in revealing Himself to mankind, had acquitted Himself so indifferently, as to have made it necessary that they should take upon them to act as his interpreters, and, in fact, to do what He had done but so imperfectly, more as it ought to be done. The effects of this presumption, it was said, were such as might have been expected to flow from it. The little truth thus preserved was in great part neutralized by error, and was everywhere overlaid with superstitious fancies, and connected with customs the natural fruit of such fancies. The harm which might come from leaving men to interpret the Bible for themselves would be nothing, compared with the effects which had followed the secreting of that volume, and the prohibition of inquiry. The natural tendency of this usurpation over the authority both of God and of the human conscience had been, as they believed, to darken the popular mind, to deprave its moral feeling, and, in brief, to dwarf and enthral humanity. Too long had this power been left to do its own work undisturbed. With God's help, its days

should be numbered. So had the leaders on both sides become prepared for the struggle before them.

Proceedings against the Carthusian monks of the Charter House.

Hesitation and half-measures were now at an end. The government had only to fix on the delinquents who should become a warning to others. For this purpose offenders might have been chosen whose disobedience was patent to every one. But it was determined to select men whose character had given the greatest influence to their example. One day, three priors sought an audience of Cromwell. Their object was to pray that the fraternities under their charge might be exempt from taking the oath of supremacy, or at least that they might be allowed to take it with some modification. Cromwell discussed the question with these men. But neither side was prepared to yield, and the minister sent the ecclesiastics to the Tower. Two of these persons represented monasteries in the country; Haughton, the third, was at the head of the Carthusians of the Charter House in London.

1535. April.

Haughton and his monks appear to have been pious, conscientious, and simple-minded men. They had hesitated to take the succession oath, and the prior had been sent to the Tower on that ground. But, after a painful struggle, he had conformed, and the brotherhood under him had followed his example. The oath of supremacy, however, was, to consciences already somewhat ill at ease, a still greater difficulty. The conclusion of the inmates of the Charter House was, that they could not take it. Being thus resolved, they confessed themselves one to another, partook of the eucharist together, and awaited their fate as men already condemned.

Examination of Haughton.

When examined, they declined to take the prescribed oath. Reasoning, persuasion, terror, produced no impression on these men. So their fate was sealed; and Haughton then stated plainly, in behalf of himself and his brethren, the ground of their refusal. It was, that they could not, without peril to their souls, cede that authority to the king in religious matters

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which they believed to be due only to the pope. The three priors, and a monk of great reputation for piety, named Reynolds, were sentenced to die the death of traitors. They all suffered at Tyburn, and, to add to the startling effect of subjecting such men to so barbarous a death, they were all sent to the place of execution in the habit of their order. Haughton suffered first, and his companions were urged in succession to avoid the same dreadful end by submission, but in vain. Six weeks later, three monks from the Charter House suffered at the same place for the same offence. But this was the end of the work of the executioner on the Carthusians. Ten of those who were left were sent to prison, where nine are said to have died of prison fever. Two were hung in chains as insurrectionists, in Yorkshire; the remainder took the oaths under mental reservation, casting themselves, by agreement, on the mercy of God in so doing—these were lodged for a time in different monasteries.*

May 4.

June 19.

Proceedings against Fisher and More.

After such measures towards the Carthusians, the case of Fisher and More, difficult as it might be to deal with, could not be passed over. Deputations were sent to them in the Tower for the professed purpose of bringing them to compliance by argument and

* *Historia Martyrum Anglorum.* Strype, *Memorials*, i. 299–309, 427–430. It is proper, in recording these severities, that some instance should be given of the temper in which some of the clergy expressed themselves in regard to the king and his proceedings. Hale, who was indicted as a clerk, was charged with saying to Feron, also a clerk, 'Until the king and the rulers of this realm be plucked by the pate, and brought, as we say, to pot, we shall never live merrily in England, which I pray God may chance, and now shortly to come to pass. Ireland is set against him, which will never shrink in their quarrel; and what think you of Wales? Their noble and gentle Ap Ryce, so cruelly put to death, and he innocent, as they say, in the cause. I think not contrary but they will join and take part with the Irish, and so invade our realm. If they do so, doubt you not but they shall have aid enough in England, for this is truth, three parts of England be against the king, as he shall find.'—MS. *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii. bundle i. *State Paper Office:* Hale pleaded guilty to this charge. Henry he further described as a sensuous beast, the swine's nature being less offensive.

persuasion, but with the ultimate object of obtaining ground for accusation against them, should that purpose fail. Rich, a bad man, who had risen to the office of solicitor-general, was sent to both prisoners on this errand. More, when upon his trial, told this man to his face, that he had been known from his youth as one of the most untruthful and unprincipled men living. Nevertheless, this man had been empowered to make promises, both to Fisher and More, in the name of the king; and, to induce a freedom of expression, he had pledged himself solemnly that what they might say should be strictly a secret, to be known only to his majesty. The man failed in his attempts to persuade. He then became the one witness on whose testimony these deeply-injured men were condemned as traitors, and the words he had drawn from them by the most artful means, were the only evidence on which the commissioners founded their judgment. It is true, there was treason, according to the bad laws then existing, in the simple refusal to take the prescribed oath. But it is observable that the government did not take that ground. More and Fisher were condemned on the ground of alleged treasonable words, and the only words adduced against them, were the words which this one witness—this solicitor-general, Rich—affirmed to have been spoken to himself in the Tower. It is not easy to imagine a more shameless proceeding. And yet the king and his ministers must all have been parties to what was done.*

* *State Trials*, i. 367–408. The words of the indictment against Fisher were—'That John Fisher, late of the city of Rochester, in the county of Kent, clerk, also called John Fisher, late of the city of Rochester, bishop, treacherously imagining and attempting to deprive the king of his title as supreme head of the church of England, did, 7th of May, 27 Hen. VIII., at the Tower of London, openly declare in English 'The king, our sovereign lord, is not supreme head on earth of the church of England.''—MS. *Baga de Secretis*, pouch vii. bundle 2, *State Paper Office*. It should be added that Rich denied upon the trial having had any authority in making his communication with either More or Fisher. But he had declared the contrary to those parties, and the government condemned them on the evidence thus obtained.—Ibid. bundle 3.

Fisher and More not faultless.

There were, indeed, other circumstances which disposed the government to such action, though no mention was made of them in court. Paul III., who had now come into the place of Clement, had been so imprudent as to raise bishop Fisher, while under the charge of treason against his sovereign, to the rank of a cardinal.* The feelings of Henry and Cromwell became bitter. They were in no mood to hearken to moderate counsels. Nor was this all. Henry had written to Fisher some months before, hoping to change his opinion. The bishop promised that the king's letters should be private. But he nevertheless sent them to other hands, along with his replies, together with other writings on the same subject.† And if we may credit the assertions of Henry, of Cromwell, and of some other parties, the language and conduct, both of Fisher and More, while in the Tower, had been such as to betray their readiness to encourage opposition to the measures of the government. Certainly, if the sneering and bantering style in which More replied to the bishops of Durham, Bath, and Winchester, when invited by their lordships to accompany them to the coronation of Anne Boleyn, may be taken as a specimen of his manner when touching on current politics, he could hardly have been so cautious in his expressions as his statements when upon his trial would lead us to suppose.‡ If More was thus wanting in prudence, failure of this kind was likely to be much more serious with Fisher. They were not condemned, however, for anything of this nature. Sentence was passed upon them on the ground of what they had said to Rich, and only tacitly on the old ground of refusing the oaths.§

On the fifth day after listening to his sentence in

* *State Papers*, vii. 604.

† See Bedyll's letter to Cromwell in *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 45, 46.

‡ Cayley's *Life of More*, 142, 143.

§ *State Papers*, i. 431 et seq.; vii. 604, 633–636.

Westminster Hall, Fisher was led from his prison to the scaffold on Tower Hill. On his way he opened his New Testament at hazard, in the hope that his eye might fall on some text that should give him comfort, and he found what he had sought. Aged, sick, and feeble as he was, he ascended the scaffold stairs without assistance. What followed was a sad spectacle. But there the restlessness and sorrows of the good man's life came to a close. As if in defiance of the feeling that would be so deeply offended by what was done, the head of the venerable prelate was exposed to the gaze of the populace on London Bridge.

Execution of Fisher

Four days after the execution of Fisher, a grand jury of Middlesex found a true bill against Sir Thomas More, and five days later the commissioners at Westminster Hall pronounced him guilty of high treason. More, as the reader has seen, denounced Rich as utterly unworthy of credit; but when the verdict of guilty was returned against him, he declared openly, that the parliament, by meddling with the question of the divorce, and the question of the supremacy, had entered upon ground beyond its province.*

And of More.

More, strange to say, had walked in the morning from the Tower to Westminster. On reaching the court he was so exhausted from weakness, induced by his long confinement, that he was allowed to be seated during the trial. He returned to his prison by water. On the stairs of the Tower a scene took place which deeply moved all who witnessed it. Mrs. Roper, More's beloved daughter, was there to meet him, and to obtain his last blessing. On seeing him approach, she rushed into the avenue formed by the armed men, and fell sobbing on his neck, crying 'Oh, my father! 'oh, my father!' The loving father gave the loving child the blessing she sought, and a few brief words of comfort. She then tore herself away, but had passed the distance of a few paces only, when, under a new

* Strype's *Memorials*, i. Ap. xlviii.

burst of feeling, she turned back, and cast herself once more on that bosom. But the parting came, and she never saw him again. Her woman, too, Dorothy Collis, an old and faithful servant, could not forbear to express her feeling in the manner of her mistress—she, too, kissed and embraced her master in his trouble. More said of this Dorothy, afterwards, 'It was homely, 'but very lovingly done.'

Prepares for his end.

Five days after his trial, More had the feeling that his end was near. On the evening of that day he sent his hair shirt, and a whip, with which he had done his penance, to his daughter. The next morning, in accordance with his presentiment, Sir Thomas Pope arrived, and informed him that it was the king's pleasure he should die at nine o'clock. Sir Thomas was an old friend, and taking leave of the doomed man, grasped his hand strongly, and burst into tears. More, who was calm and collected in all these scenes, bid him be comforted, and to look forward to the world where their next greeting would be 'merrily' made, and where they should 'live and love together in 'eternal bliss.' More would have gone to the scaffold in a rich suit of apparel, had not Sir William Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, prevailed upon him, with some difficulty, to do otherwise.

His execution.

So at nine o'clock Sir Thomas More, late chancellor of England, paced his way, under the usual guard, through the open space between the Tower gate and Tower Hill. He bore in his hand a red cross, glancing at some moments towards heaven. His face was thin and pale. His beard, which was not usual with him, had been allowed to grow long. Wit and humour were too natural in him to be quelled by any pressure of calamity. His vein in this respect seemed at times hardly consistent with right feeling, from its contrast to such scenes. When sentence was pronounced upon him, he was told that the king, in his great mercy, had ordered, as in the case of Fisher, that he should die by decapitation, and not under the usual

penalties for treason. 'God save his majesty,' was the reply, 'from showing any more such mercy, and 'my posterity from such pardons.' And now, when he had reached the scaffold, the unsettledness of the structure, and his weakness, led him to put forth his hand for help, and he was heard to say—'See me safe 'up; as for my coming down again, I can shift for 'myself.' When his last religious act had closed, and he laid his neck upon the block, he signalled the headsman to wait a moment, and then drawing his beard forward from beneath his chin, he said, as if to himself, 'Pity that should be cut—that can't have 'committed treason.' The axe fell after those last words. The end had come!*

Effect of these proceedings on the continent.

And now what are we to say to these things? What was widely said about them on the continent we know. Men looked at each other, and asked with amazement, how such things could have come to pass, and what was to follow? Even Francis ventured to entreat the king of England to abstain from such proceedings in future, and to content himself with sending such offenders into banishment. The Lutherans, who had never placed great confidence in Henry's reforming policy, began to look upon it with more distrust than ever, and to see in it little else than an ambitious attempt to raise the power of the crown into the place of the power of the papacy. In Rome, as might be expected, the lamentation over the martyred blood which the schismatic king had shed was loud and bitter. As the death of Fisher was described to the consistory, all, it is said, were moved to tears.† We do not doubt the sincerity of this sympathy. But these weeping men should have remembered, that they were of the order which had shed the blood of martyrs as no men in the history of the world had done, and which had sent weeping and heartbreaking to the

France.

Germany.

Rome.

* More's *Life of More*, 244 et seq.
† *State Papers*, vii. 621.

homes of multitudes to an extent which the last day only can reveal. In a slight degree, they were now reaping as they had sown. Paul III. declared that the death of Fisher should be a more memorable tragedy for England than the murder of Becket.*

But Henry and England are not moved.

But the world had not been stationary since the thirteenth century, and Henry VIII. possessed means of self-defence which had not been at the disposal of Henry II. Henry condescended to address letters of explanation to the king of France, to Germany, and to the pontiff. But the tone of those documents was that of firm, if not haughty, self-vindication. The men who had suffered, he affirmed, had not suffered simply as holding disloyal opinions, but as having given encouragement by words and acts to disaffection, and to treasonable conspiracy. The conclusion of all was, that he deeply lamented the necessity of resorting to such means of self-protection, but that, if such crimes were to be repeated, come what might, such punishments would follow.†

Still the extreme policy of the government was not wise.

Had the seditious words and conduct attributed to Fisher and More after their death been fairly proved against them on their trial, their case would have been of another complexion. Great as was the danger to which the interests of the nation were at that time exposed, it was not so great as to warrant a policy of this nature. If to have spared these men would have been to endanger the reformation; that cause may be said to have been endangered much more by the course which was taken towards them. For this suffering could not fail to throw about the cause to which they were devoted an interest rendering them more formidable as dead than as living. The cause in

* *State Papers*, vii. 606–621.

† Strype, i. Ap. 211. *State Papers*, vii. 633–636. In this last document, which is Cromwell's statement of the case against Fisher and More, it is said, that besides devising arguments to the best of their power against the king's laws, letters were extant, 'written with charcoal when ink failed,' in furtherance of their seditious purposes.

which good men suffer—suffer unjustly—draws vitality, grandeur, and sanctity from such suffering. The character of the Romanist martyrs under Henry VIII. and the circumstances of their martyrdom, never ceased to give strength to Romanist conspiracy in our history, so long as a Tudor was upon the throne.

England takes her position.

It was well known that the breach between England and Rome had not been the work of the king only. The parliament had been his willing instrument. Still, to this time the idea had prevailed that the schism might be healed. Now, however, such expectation could exist no longer. Henceforth, all who came into any relation with England were to be mindful of the position she had taken. In Rome, matters were seen in this light, and the policy of the papal court became no less decided than that of the English cabinet. Paul III. prepared a bull, which set forth his spiritual supremacy in terms befitting an Innocent III. or a Hildebrand. Henry was addressed in it as a feudatory, who, by his failure of duty, and his great crimes, had forfeited all right to the crown of England. His soul was doomed to perdition; his subjects were absolved from their allegiance; his kingdom was placed under an interdict; and his adherents, and all who should render to himself, or to them, the slightest office of humanity, in any conceivable extremity, were placed under the same anathema. Francis, indeed, was not disposed to encourage such a display of priestly arrogance; and for the present, his interference sufficed to prevent the publication of this precious document.* But its purport was no secret, and it had its uses. It served to bring out distinctly the nature of the powers which were committed against each other, and to assist many in seeing beyond doubt the side which it became them to take. The answer which it called forth in England consisted in the efforts made by Henry and Cromwell to form a

Bull of Paul III.

* *State Papers*, vii. 625–630.

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Attempts to form a Protestant league.

Visitation of the monasteries—its object.

league with the German Protestants, and with all Evangelical Christians; and in the commencement of the proceedings which ended in the suppression of the English monasteries.*

The question concerning the monasteries was one of great significance. It should be remembered, however, that the commission to inquire into the state of those establishments was a commission, in the first instance, merely with a view to their reformation. It did not contemplate their extinction.† Great changes, it was believed, would be shown to be necessary, but nothing more was expected. In tendering the oath on the succession, and on the supremacy, the government found the clergy generally conformable. But the religious orders, both monks and friars, were almost as generally recusants. This difference is explained in part by the special relation in which those communities stood to the papal see. The clergy were subject in all matters of discipline to their respective diocesans; but the religious orders, for centuries past, had been wont to claim entire freedom from such oversight and control, on the ground of 'exemptions' to that effect, which had been conferred on them by the see of Rome. It was natural that this independence of local inspection and authority should become the occasion of disorder; and having proved fatal to the character of these communities, it was ere long to prove fatal to their existence. Common fame described them as devoid alike of purity and patriotism. It was time the truth of the matter should be known.

The religious orders—theory and experience.

What the religious orders had been in their origin we have shown elsewhere.‡ The fact that so much wealth had passed into their hands, may be accepted

* Strype's *Memorials*, i. cc. 32, 34.

† Strype's *Memorials*, i. Ap. lvi. Burnet, *Hist.* i. *Records*, pp. 205–222.

‡ See Vol. I. 405–407, 557–563.

as evidence, that they must have stood very high, at some time, in the affection and confidence of society. In theory, the principle which lay at the foundation of all these institutions was the principle of self-sacrifice; and the object of the sacrifice was to create an order of men whose vocation would be, not only to offer prayer for the departed, but to extend the benefits of instruction, consolation, and of hospitality to the living. They were to take this yoke upon them, that their days might be spent in lightening the burdens of humanity. No wonder that men supposed to have taken up such a mission should have become the objects of popular veneration. We may regret that what seemed so fair in purpose, should have been but so imperfectly realized in practice—in short, that this department of the papal system, which promised to be its best, should have become its worst. But so it was. No feature in that system did so much to hasten its fall, in all the countries which were to become Protestant.

Report of the visitors.

The report which the commissioners presented to parliament, was utterly destroyed by authority under queen Mary. But the documents relating to this measure which have been preserved are very many, and enough to show the result of the investigation. The visitors were no doubt men with a bias on the side of reform. But where they found establishments honourably conducted, they appear to have been willing to make a true report. It is manifest, however, that in the great majority of cases they had no good account to give.

Many of the tales afloat on this subject were no doubt exaggerations, or wholly false; but, rejecting everything of that nature that could be reasonably rejected, it was found that in some houses the inmates were kept much below the required number, that so the proceeds of the property might be privately appropriated, or become larger in distribution by passing into fewer hands; that, in others, the number of servants kept in the abbey livery sometimes exceeded the

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number of monks to be attended by them; that the abbot often mortgaged or sold the lands and treasures entrusted to him, and disposed of the livings in his gift, in the most corrupt and fraudulent manner; that buildings were allowed to fall into decay, though ample means for keeping them in repair were not wanting; that to a large extent the bequests made for purposes of hospitality were not so applied; that nothing was further from the general habit of these men than attention to study, or to the work of education; that the religious services to which the several orders were bound were wholly neglected, or performed in the most imperfect and perfunctory manner; that the chief pleasure of not a few among them was in eating, or in drinking and gaming, which they often extended far into the night or the morning; that profligacy in relation to the other sex was a common delinquency; that one abbot, for example, had six grown-up sons about him—all his sons, as he confessed, by unmarried women; that others were caught with their concubines; that the nunneries were not found to be by any means free from fault of this kind; that the confessional was impiously used in furtherance of these abominations; and that the nameless depravity which brought destruction on the Cities of the Plain was so prevalent among these men, that two-thirds of their number were said to be thus guilty. 'This,' says a writer of the time, 'appeared in writing, with the 'names of the parties and their factes. This was showed 'in parliament.'*

The report substantially a true one.

It would be pleasant to see human nature capable of realizing the spiritual purpose of such institutions. But history has to do with man as he is, and not with man as he may be imagined. For the sake of human nature, we could wish to discredit the above impeach-

* *Suppression of the Monasteries*, 114 et alibi. Strype, i. c. 35. It is evident from the questions which the visitors were to put that the worst conceivable forms of vice were supposed to be existing.—Burnet, i. *Records*, p. 207.

ment; but that is not possible. The great substance of it must have been true. From many causes, the evil in such establishments had come immeasurably to outweigh the good. It was of the first importance to the future of this country that they should be swept utterly away, and nothing short of this utter exposure would have sufficed to that end.*

When this 'report appeared in writing' before the two houses, with the 'names of the parties and their 'factes,' the indignation of the commons was great. Nothing, we are told, was heard, but 'Down with 'them.'

The smaller monasteries suppressed.

However, a 'great debate' ensued, and in the course of the discussion it appeared that the smaller monasteries, where the vicious could most easily act in concert, were the most corrupt, while some of the larger establishments could be described as places in which 'religion is right well kept and observed.' It was resolved, accordingly, to proceed with discrimination. The act passed suppressed all the monasteries where the inmates were less than twelve, and provided that the men in such houses should be sent to some of the greater monasteries, or that they should be released from their vows, and a gratuity assigned to them according to their degree. So certain of the greater monasteries were for the present to be con-

* 'We should be greatly deceived,' says Mr. Hallam, 'by acquiescing in the strange position of Warton, that the dissolution of the monasteries gave a temporary check to the general state of letters in England. If good learning, *bonæ literæ*, which, for our present purpose, means a sound knowledge of Latin and Greek, was to be promoted, there was no more necessary step in doing so than to put down bad learning, which is worse than ignorance, and which was the learning of the monks so far as they had any at all. The loss of a few schools in the monasteries was well compensated by the foundation of others on a more enlightened plan, and with much better instructors, and, after the lapse of some years, the communication of substantial learning came in the place of that tincture of Latin which the religious orders had supplied. Warton, it should be remembered, had been able to collect the names of not more than four or five abbots, and other regulars, in the time of Henry VIII., who either possessed some learning themselves, or encouraged it in others.'—*Lit. Europe*, i. 479.

tinued; and it should be added, that thirty-two of the smaller foundations, of which a favourable report had been made, were refounded by the king. This discretion was left to his majesty by the act; otherwise, the property of all monasteries with an income of less than two hundred a year went to the crown. The complexion of this act seems to warrant the conclusion that the visitors had endeavoured to acquit themselves honestly, speaking favourably where they could do so consistently with truth. The monasteries thus suppressed were 376.*

Last session of the Reformation Parliament —estimate of its work.

This was the great act of the Reformation Parliament in this its last session. This memorable house of commons was assembled for the first time in November, 1529, and was dissolved in April, 1536. Its legislation on general questions will be considered in another place. In this chapter our attention has been directed to such of its measures as affected the position of the English clergy, and the relation of England to the papal see. Its great work lay in this direction—and a great work was done. We have seen how the spiritual courts were reformed; how the jurisdiction of the prelates was restrained and narrowed; how the legislative authority of the houses of convocation was brought to an end; how the clergy were made subject to the court of the magistrate in common with the laity; how the magistrate was made to act as a check on all spiritual persons in their dealing with charges of heresy; how the same strong hand was extended, first to the limitation, and finally to the extinction, of the papal power in its relation to this country; how the act against appeals to Rome, under any plea whatsoever, was followed by acts against money contributions in any form to the papal treasury; how being shut out from all authority on English ground, and from all access to English wealth, the papal authority itself was at length openly disowned, the bishop of

* 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 28. Burnet, i. 351–354. *Records*, 205–237.

Rome declared to be no more than an ordinary bishop, and all persons were required to submit to the crown of England as supreme over all persons and causes, civil or ecclesiastical, on pain of incurring the penalties of treason. So far, Wycliffe or Oldcastle would have looked on with gratitude and wonder.

But much remained to be done—triumph of Nationalism, not of Protestantism.

But much remained to be done. We call this parliament the Reformation Parliament, because its ecclesiastical reforms were many and memorable; but it was not a Protestant parliament. It gave the nation ecclesiastical independence. It removed a heavy weight of ecclesiastical oppression from the mind of the people, so that they began to breathe anew. But, in its own estimation, it remained itself Catholic, and the nation was to remain Catholic, even when separated from the great centre of Catholicism. Its resolve was, to purify the religion of the country, and to secure its independence—with the concurrence of the see of Rome, if that should be possible, without it, if that should be impossible. In those days, the Catholic powers of Europe were the conformists, the Protestants were the nonconformists, and Henry, and many of his friends, seemed to feel that England would lose status by withdrawing itself from the rank of the former, and taking place with the latter. Hence, in the greatest heat of their innovations, the commons protest, as we have seen, against being regarded as intending to separate themselves from Catholic Christendom. As if to give emphasis to such language, Sir Thomas More and the bishops were allowed to gratify their taste for persecution on a large scale—the same breath sending forth angry messages to Rome, and sentences which made Protestantism heresy, and sent its disciples to the stake. In 1529, the year in which this parliament was convened, Henry issued a proclamation in which eighty-five works, the production of English or continental reformers, from Wycliffe downwards, were condemned, under their respective titles; and the year following, a Protestant

named Bayfield was burnt in Smithfield, because he had been bravely zealous in importing and distributing such books.* In 1535, the year after the papal authority had been renounced, fourteen Hollanders perished by fire—a man and a woman in Smithfield, the remaining twelve being sent to edify other towns by their sufferings. These people rejected the doctrine of transubstantiation, and spoke of infant baptism as of no efficacy. This last opinion had become so connected in the minds of men with ideas of social disorganization and immorality, that these friendless strangers—innocent enough no doubt of the impurity or treason accounted as natural to their creed—appear to have passed through their dreadful ordeal without an eye to pity them, and leaving scarcely a hand to give us a record of their fate.† The reader has seen that in 1536 Henry would fain have strengthened his position by forming a league with the Lutherans—pity that such an effort should have come so late, and that it should have been so inadequate to its object when it did come. It will be seen that, so far, the struggle upon the surface has been a struggle between Nationalists and Romanists. But there is a more religious element beneath, which will make itself felt both above and below, in its season.

The spirit of the future rising to the surface.

The following passage from the instructions placed in the hands of the visitors of the monasteries, and which was no doubt from the pen of Cromwell, is much above the ordinary level of thought in those times, and promises well for the country in which statesmen could learn so to express themselves—'That 'the abbot, prior, or president shall every day expound 'to his brethren, as plainly as may be in English, 'a certain part of the Rule which they have pro-'fessed, and apply the same always to the doctrine of 'Christ, and not contrarywise, and shall teach them that 'their ceremonies and other observances of religion,

* Strype's *Memorials*, i. 253–256. † Stow's *Chronicle*, 571.

'be none other things than as the first letters or principles, and certain introductions to true Christianity. 'And that true religion is not contained in apparel, 'manner of going, shaven heads, and other such 'marks; nor in silence, fasting, uprising in the night, 'singing, and such other kind of ceremonies, but in 'cleanness of mind, pureness of living, Christ's faith 'not feigned, and brotherly charity, and true honouring of God in spirit and verity.'*

* Burnet, ii. *Records*, 219.

CHAPTER IV.

REFORMATION AND THE SIX ARTICLES.

Anne Boleyn—the tournament at Greenwich. May 1.

ON the first of May, in 1536, Henry and the queen were present, with the court, at a festival held annually at Greenwich. In the tournament of that day, lord Rochfort, the brother of the queen, and Sir Henry Norris, one of her gentlemen in waiting, were opposed to each other in the lists. It was a hot day, and the queen was said to have dropped a handkerchief near the spot where Sir Henry stood, which the knight took up and applied to his brow. The king, it was afterwards reported, had observed this incident, and had left the scene in high displeasure. The story may have owed its origin to what followed. We only know, that something which suddenly affected the feeling of Henry seemed to have happened. He rose abruptly from his seat, and withdrew in much apparent excitement. Henry slept that night in London. The queen was left at Greenwich.*

Jealousies between Henry and the queen.

To the crowd, the conduct of the king must have been a mystery. To some present it was not wholly such. Anne little thought, as she took her place amidst the splendour of that Greenwich spectacle, that a network had been laid about her path, which, before that bright month of May should reach its close, would cause the curtain to fall on the tragedy of her life. Henry had waited long to possess the

* Burnet, i. 360.

person of Anne Boleyn. But more than three years had now passed since that object had been fully realized. Ardent lovers do not always make steady husbands. The king was much changed, and had now learnt to look on Jane Seymour, a lady of the court, whom he afterwards married, as no married man should look on a second woman. Some occasional misunderstandings, and collisions of feeling, such as often come up in married life, appear to have taken place between him and the queen. The effect of such differences, in most cases, is not a serious matter. In this instance it was otherwise. Before the day of the tournament at Greenwich, Henry and Anne had become mutually jealous. How far the conduct of Anne had been such as to warrant this feeling on the part of her husband, is the question which historians have had to solve, and which they have solved very differently. Enemies of Anne Boleyn, who were no doubt enemies also of the Reformation, had probably succeeded in fixing injurious impressions on the mind of the king.*

P. of a commission—arrest of the queen and five gentlemen.

During the fortnight before the gathering at Greenwich, a secret commission had been busily occupied in collecting evidence relating to alleged improprieties on the part of the queen. So weighty were the proceedings contemplated as the result of these inquiries, that writs were suddenly issued for a new parliament. The festival at Greenwich was on a Monday. On the Thursday preceding, Sir William Brereton, of the king's household, had been sent to the Tower. On Sunday, Mark Smeton, a musician, who had been for some time about the court, had been sent to the same custody. Immediately after the festival on Monday, Sir Henry Norris, Sir Francis Weston, and lord Rochfort found themselves prisoners. These were all young men. The offence of which they were accused—

* Constantyne's Memorial to Cromwell, *Archæologia*, vol. xxiii. 64. Burnet, i. 359. *Records*, 237, 238.

even Rochfort, Anne's own brother—was that of criminal familiarity with the queen of England. Anne, who had gone unsuspectingly to the May-day scene at Greenwich, left it under arrest, and appeared the next morning before the privy council to answer questions touching the charges preferred against her—charges which embraced adultery, incest, conspiracy, and treason.*

Necessary issue of this investigation.

It should be remembered at this point, that when it was resolved to institute this official investigation, Anne Boleyn was in effect no longer queen. Whatever the righteous issue of such a scrutiny might have been, a woman upon whom the shadow of such suspicions had fallen, could never again receive the homage of the throne. The undoubted sacredness, the sort of divinity, that must hedge about a woman in that high place was gone. The real, and the only question, accordingly, which remained to be settled was—how to displace this poor child of fortune most effectually, and with the least hazard to public feeling.

Endeavours to bring the accused parties to confess.

In accordance with this view, there is one marked feature in these proceedings which it becomes the reader to observe. It is manifest that Henry hoped to bring this grave business to a speedy issue by inducing the accused parties to confess themselves guilty under the promise of pardon. This course was tried with Norris by the king in person, and his majesty made more than one effort of the same kind, as we shall see, with the queen herself. In this case, as in all similar cases, to know the policy of the king, was to know the course which would be sure to be taken by his instruments. All the persons accused were made aware that their only chance of escape from the dreadful penalties of treason was by admitting the charges against them. This policy, we think, implies a want of such decisive evidence as the course to which the king had committed himself required.

* Constantyne's Memorial to Cromwell, *Archæologia*, xxiii. 64. Burnet, i. 359, 360.

Had the evidence been really sufficient, confession would have been of little moment.*

Policy of the enemies of Anne Boleyn.

Concerning what passed when Anne was first examined by the council, we know little. The president was the duke of Norfolk, uncle to the queen. Norfolk and Gardiner were strongly opposed to the contemplated league between Henry and the Lutherans. They looked with much more pleasure towards a possible reconciliation with Rome and with the emperor; and such a counter revolution they were willing to regard as practicable, if Henry could somehow be divorced from Anne, and this obnoxious marriage be thus set aside.† And certainly there was enough in

* Constantyne's *Mem.* 64. 'On the first of May the king sent for Norris, and said, if he would confess those things with which the queen was charged, he should neither suffer in person nor in estate, nor so much as be put in prison. But if he did not confess, and were found guilty, he should suffer the extremity of the law. Norris answered he would much rather die than be guilty of such falsehood; it was all false.'—Burnet, *Hist.* iii. 203, 204.

† 'I would wish that he [the earl of Surrey] should be one to be sent thither [to negotiate with the Lutherans]; for there he should be fully instructed of God's word and of experience. For if the duke of Norfolk were as fully persuaded in it *as he is to the contrary*, he should do much good, for he is an earnest man, a bold man, and a witty, in all matters. DEANE: It is true, and ye say well in that.'—Constantyne, 62. Some years later, the duke was known to say, 'I never read the scripture, and never will read it; it was merry in England afore the new learning came up; yea, I would all things were as hath been in times past.'—Froude, iv. 106. In 1543, the duke was at the head of an intrigue in the council against Cranmer. The morning had come in which the archbishop was to have been arrested at the council table, sent to the Tower, and made to pay the penalty of his fondness for religious novelties. Henry allowed the duke and his zealots to take their course, but interposed at the last moment to save the primate. When rebuked by the king, Norfolk's hypocrisy and mendacity allowed him to say, 'We meant no manner of hurt unto my lord of Canterbury, that we requested to have him in durance; which we only did because he might, after his trial, be set at liberty to his greater glory'!—Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 180. Yet we know scarcely a man among the peers at that time of a better moral standing than Norfolk; not a few of them, we have reason to fear, would have suffered in comparison with him. These facts should be borne in mind in connexion with these proceedings, and, indeed, are of a sort that should be familiar to the reader of the history of this reign.

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the conduct of the duke to warrant suspicions of that nature. Anne spoke of having been 'cruelly handled,' on that dreadful day when she found herself suddenly reduced to the condition of a friendless woman in the presence of such terrible accusations. The treasurer, she intimated, was there to do the pleasure of the king; and Norfolk, in reply to her protestations of innocence, shook his head, and said 'Tut, tut, tut,' three or four times. In other words, the duke was there, not as the uncle, but as the politician, prepared to receive a confession of guilt, but to be little patient of anything beside.*

Course taken by the duke of Norfolk.

Brereton, Weston, Norris, and Rochfort, all pleaded not guilty, though they must have known that to do so was to give themselves into the hands of the executioner. Norris, indeed, after the strongest protests as to the queen's innocence, was prevailed on by the council, and by the hope of pardon, to make some confession of fault. But when upon his trial, he affirmed that he had been seduced into the use of the language attributed to him, and he retracted what he had said. He declared to the last his belief in the innocence of the queen. Smeton, the musician, had been put in irons, and according to common testimony from the Tower, and the general belief of the citizens, had been 'grievously racked,' to extort the needed admission of his guilt.† The wretched man made the confession sought from him, and he died without recantation, under what influence it is impossible to say. When Anne learnt that Smeton had been executed, without clearing her from the imputation he had cast upon her, she expressed her deep amazement, and her horror at the thought of the condition into which his soul must have passed.‡ It had been arranged that the trial of the queen should not take place until sentence had been passed on this man. It thus became possible to

The four gentlemen plead not guilty.

Smeton confesses, being racked.

* Kingston's Letter to Cromwell in Singer's *Cavendish*, 456.
† Constantyne, 64. ‡ Burnet, part iii. 206.

use him as a witness—as the only witness, against her, and at the same time to preclude him effectually from being questioned in her favour. In these proceedings so far, we trace the presence of a wisdom which is too clearly a wisdom of this world.

Trial of the four commoners.

The case of the four commoners was of course a case to be decided by juries. They were accordingly tried by juries, both in Kent and Middlesex, the offences charged upon them being said to have been committed in both counties. By a jury, in both instances, they were all pronounced guilty. The indictment presented against them was specific as to time and place. The crimes imputed to Norris and Brereton date as far back as the 12th of October and the 25th of December, in 1533; those imputed to Weston and Smeton date from April and May in the following year. So that the first offence, according to this document, took place within a year after the queen's marriage, and just a month before the birth of the princess Elizabeth! Two years had elapsed, at the time of this prosecution, since the date of the last alleged delinquency. If evidence existed on these points, so direct and specific as was affirmed, in 1536, it must have existed in 1534 and in 1533. And can we suppose that a secret knowledge of such matters, possessed not only by the paramours, who are described as bitterly jealous of each other, but, as the evidence supposes, by third persons, and by many such persons, could have remained a secret so long? These considerations dispose us to ask with much interest, what the evidence really was on which these juries proceeded to their verdict. But here our lights fail us lamentably. These memorable state trials were the trials of men under the gravest possible charges, such as could not fail to awaken public curiosity, and to furnish men everywhere with talk. The indictment, indeed, not only attributes great crimes to Anne Boleyn, but mentions circumstances and dates. She is said to have been always the tempter, and the arts of seduction ascribed to her are set forth as being the

The indictment.

What was the evidence?

No evidence apparent.

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same in all the cases. But, in fact, this document, in place of proving her guilty, furnishes decisive evidence, in our judgment, that she must have fallen by a foul conspiracy. To suppose that Anne Boleyn indulged in the licentious freedoms with the persons of her alleged lovers, to seduce them to her pleasure, which are described in this indictment, and that she did all this in the presence of third parties, must be to suppose her bereft of reason. In the case of the four gentlemen, if there were not third parties to be witnesses,* there could have been no witnesses. The evidence, in fact, is of the sort which destroys itself by being outrageously overdone. Persons who could credit it for a moment, must have been prepared to credit anything. Of the witnesses we know nothing as to who they were, or as to where or how they were examined.* The obscure Latin indictment, giving the substance of their depositions, furnishes no valid ground for decision against the queen, but the strongest presumptions in her favour.†

Conduct and language of the queen.

The language and conduct of the queen after her arrest will supply the nearest solution of this mystery. At Greenwich, after her appearance before the council, Anne was strong in her protestations of innocence, and said that the want of rain from which the country was then suffering, would continue as a judgment on the land for the wrongs that had been done to her.‡ On her voyage from Greenwich to the

* We read of something as deposed on oath by a Mrs. Wingfield on her death-bed. But who this Mrs. Wingfield was, what her depositions were, or what credit should be given to those who professed themselves privy to her disclosures, are all points on which we are left in ignorance. —Burnet, i. 360. Constantyne speaks of Brereton as an old friend, but says he could never learn what was laid to his charge.—*Mem.* 65.

† The Indictment may be seen in the Rolls Office—the copy apparently used upon the trial. It expressly states that the paramours were 'all very jealous of each other,' and that the queen 'was especially jealous of lord Rochfort, and others the before-mentioned traitors, and she would not allow them to show familiarity with any other woman, without her exceeding displeasure and indignation.'—MS. *Baga de Secretis.*

‡ Kingston to Cromwell, *Cavendish.*

Tower, the noblemen who met her gave her further information concerning the matters laid to her charge. She again declared herself innocent, in the most earnest tones, and implored that she might see the king. On entering her room in the Tower, 'She fell 'down on her knees, and prayed God to help her, as 'she was not guilty of the thing for which she was 'accused.' She felt it a sad grievance that at such a moment the ladies in whom she had been wont to confide had been put away from her, and that only such as were not friendly to her should be placed about her. And it is a significant circumstance, that one of the ladies thus unacceptable to her, and who was appointed to sleep in her chamber, was her aunt, the duchess of Norfolk. The duke of Norfolk, and some members of the council, waited upon her, and in the hope of bringing her to confession, told her that Norris and Smeton had acknowledged the charges against them. But no admission of her guilt could be drawn from her. On the contrary, she declared to Kingston, the lieutenant of the Tower, that she was the king's wedded wife, and had never been unfaithful to him.*

Temperament of Anne Boleyn impulsive, concealing little.

But Anne Boleyn, unlike the late queen Catherine, was a woman swayed by impulse. Her thoughts and passions soon came to the surface, and found utterance in words; and a mind never well balanced was all but unhinged by the stunning transition through which she had now passed. She was alternately buoyant and depressed, wept and laughed, and talked very incoherently. The report of the confession said to have been made by Norris and Smeton affected her greatly; and she fell into conversation with a Mrs. Cosins, as a more cautious and artful woman would never have done, about what had really taken place between herself and those persons. Mrs. Cosins inquired why

* Burnet, i. 362. Kingston's Letters to Cromwell in Singer's *Cavendish*. Strype's *Mem.* i. 431 et seq.

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there should have been any talk between her and Norris about love matters. 'Marry,' said Anne, 'I 'bade him do so, for I asked him why he did not go 'on with his marriage,' who replied that 'he would 'yet tarry some time;' to which I answered, 'You 'look for dead men's shoes; for if aught come to the 'king but good, you would look to have me.' Norris rejoined that, 'if he had any such thought, he would 'his head were cut off;' on which Anne said, 'I told 'him that I could undo him if I pleased, and therefore 'I fell out with him.' Of Smeton she said, that he had never been in her bedchamber but once, which was when the king was last at Winchester, and then he had come in to play the virginals. 'She never 'spoke to him after that, but on Saturday before May-'day, when she saw him standing in the window, and 'then she asked him why he was so sad; he said it 'was no matter; she answered, you may not look to 'have me speak to you as if you were a nobleman.' 'No, no, madam,' said he, 'a look has sufficed me; 'fare ye well.' Anne further said, that on the last Whitsuntide, Weston had observed to her 'that 'Norris came more to her chamber on her account, 'than for anybody else that was there. She had 'observed that he loved a kinswoman of hers, and 'challenged him for it, and for not loving his wife. 'But he answered her that there were women in the 'house whom he loved better than both; she asked— 'Who is that? Yourself, said he; upon which she said 'she defied him.'*

What is disclosed by these conversations.

These conversations, it must be borne in mind, do not come through channels friendly to the queen, nor all at first hand. The documents containing them, moreover, are only partially legible, and it is evident that this Mrs. Cosins, and all the persons near the queen, were placed there to do service to her prosecutors. But we must suppose that words somewhat

* Singer's *Cavendish*. Strype, *Mem.* i. 430–436.

to the above effect were uttered; and the disclosures they make as to what could take place between the queen and such persons, are sufficient to explain how affairs may have come into their present posture. But, in our opinion, the front of the offending chargeable on Anne Boleyn will be found in this want, not only of the dignity of demeanour proper to a queen, but of that prudent self-respect which should be found in every married woman. We have no evidence against her like that supplied by her own language; and that language, while betraying much which it is painful to read, does not imply guilt—especially when viewed in connexion with the strong and unvarying terms in which she asserts her innocence.

Cranmer is kept out of the investigation.

Cranmer was much indebted to the queen. He had also the highest opinion of her worth, and was deeply interested in the ecclesiastical reforms which had become associated with her name. Care had been taken, accordingly, to keep him out of these proceedings, until the investigation should be complete, and the course to be taken should be settled. On the day after the arrest of the queen at Greenwich, the archbishop received a message from Cromwell, requiring him not to be absent from his palace until he should hear further from the king. By this time rumours of all sorts were abroad. On the following morning, unable to remain longer silent, Cranmer wrote his memorable letter to Henry. It was a perilous thing to seem to oppose a course to which his majesty appeared to be committed. But the best that he could do to serve the friendless queen, without incurring the displeasure of the angry king, was done. Here are some of his words: 'I am in such a perplexity that 'my mind is clean amazed. *For I never had better* 'opinion in woman than I had in her; which maketh 'me to think that she could not be culpable. And 'again, I think your highness would not have gone so 'far unless she had surely been culpable. Now, I 'think that your grace best knoweth, that, next unto

His letter to the king—opinion of the queen.

'your grace, I was most bound unto her of all 'creatures living. Wherefore I most humbly beseech 'your grace to suffer me in that which God's law, 'nature, and also her kindness bindeth me unto; that 'is, that I may, with your grace's favour, wish and 'pray for her that she may declare herself inculpable 'and innocent. I loved her not a little for the love I 'judged her to bear towards God and his gospel; so, 'if she be proved culpable, there is not one that loveth 'God and his gospel that ever will favour her.'*

Cranmer is invited to the Star Chamber—his postscript.

It so happened, that before this letter was sent to the king, the chief members of the cabinet invited Cranmer to a meeting in the Star Chamber. In that interview they made known to the primate such things as the king thought should not be kept from him. As the result, Cranmer adds, in a postscript to the letter—'I am exceedingly sorry that such faults 'can be proved by [against] the queen, as I heard of 'their relation.' The case, as stated, was no doubt a bad one. How far the statements made were trustworthy Cranmer had no direct means of judging.†

Henry writes to Anne—her letter in reply.

On the Friday of the week in which the queen was sent to the Tower, Henry wrote to her, or sent her a message, holding out the promise of forgiveness, if she would confess the truth—that is, if she would confess herself guilty. This called forth a letter in reply, which has become an important historical document. In this letter, Anne begins by observing, that if the overture which the king had made to her had been really friendly, it would hardly have been made through a person who was her known enemy; that in regard to confessing the truth, she was quite prepared so to do, but that the truth in her case must be that she was an innocent and a deeply-injured wife; that inasmuch as it had been purely his fancy that had raised her from so humble a station to a throne, she had always feared that some other object would come

* Burnet, i 364–367. † *State Trials*, i. 416, 417.

ere long into her place; that her worst apprehensions in this respect had been realized, and that she could name, as the king well knew, the person whom he had taken to his affection in her stead; that she prayed God to forgive him his great sin in aiming to accomplish his desire, by subjecting her, not only to death, but to infamy; and that if a fair trial were granted to her, and men who were not her enemies were allowed to be her judges, it would be an easy thing to establish her innocence.*

Henry, not at rest after this failure, made a second attempt of this nature, but with the same result. The king, she said, had raised her to much honour on earth, and now, by her martyrdom, would raise her to the place of a saint in heaven! †

Nothing could have been more natural than the language of these documents, if we suppose the queen to have been innocent. Nothing more unnatural, supposing her to have been guilty. The tone of expression, and the allusions, are such as might well come from a heart too full from its sense of injury to be governed by great caution, even where life itself was concerned.

Trial of the queen.

The trial of the queen and of her brother should have taken place before the house of peers. But it was decided that the place of meeting should be the Tower, and that the whole house should not be summoned. The number of peers present was twenty-seven.

Her defenceless state.

From the time of her arrest, Anne does not appear to have been allowed a moment's conference with a

* The objections that some have taken to the authenticity of this letter are not of the slightest weight. It was found, or at least a copy of it, among Cromwell's papers. That it should be there as a forgery, is in every view incredible. When excited, Anne could express herself in clear and strong terms, and often in terms which passed the bounds of prudence. The letter, both in its strength and weakness, is just such as Anne Boleyn may be supposed to have written.—*State Trials*, i. 426, 427.

† Strype, i. 436, 437.

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single person friendly to her interest. The most sedulous efforts had been made by the government for weeks past to array evidence against her, but not the slightest facility would seem to have been permitted for the production of evidence on the other side. The queen, accordingly, fell, alone and powerless, into the hands of her prosecutors, from the moment of her arrest at Greenwich, to that in which she rose in the presence of this commission of peers as her judges. Such, in fact, was the dismay which the known will of the court had produced, that it manifestly paralysed all opposition. Unhappily, the terrors of power have wrought such effects too often in history to allow of our being greatly amazed at them in this instance. The people had their thoughts and their utterances about these proceedings, but there was not a man of any position whose soul did not seem to be scared into speechlessness, and dwarfed below the level of manhood, by the known intention of the government.

The queen before her judges.

'When the queen entered the hall in which the peers were assembled, she appeared without an advocate, and without a single male attendant. She took the chair which had been provided for her, and bent courteously, and with apparent cheerfulness, to several of the noblemen near her, retaining, even in that humbled state, the manner which became her as queen. The indictment setting forth her alleged guilt was read. The queen's reply to this impeachment was in few words; but we learn from reliable authority, that 'both the city magistrates, and several 'others who were there, said, *they saw no evidence* '*against her:* only it appeared *they were resolved to be* '*rid of her.*'*

Opinion of men who heard the evidence.

Sentence pronounced.

The peers, when questioned concerning their verdict, all answered *guilty*. When sentence had been pronounced, Anne rose, and addressed words to the

* Burnet, *Hist.* i. 367–369, part iii. 204.

Language of the queen to the peers.

following effect to her judges: 'My lords, I will not 'say that your sentence is unjust, nor presume that 'my opinion ought to be preferred to the judgment of 'you all. I believe you have reasons, and occasions of 'suspicion and jealousy, upon which you have con-'demned me; but they must be *other than those which* '*have been produced here in court;* for I am entirely 'innocent of all these accusations; so that I cannot 'ask pardon of God for them. I have been always a 'faithful and loyal wife to the king. I have not 'perhaps at all times showed him that humility and 'reverence that his goodness to me, and the honour 'to which he raised me, did deserve. I confess that I 'have had *fancies and suspicions of him, which I had* '*not strength nor discretion enough to manage;* but 'God knows, and is my witness, that *I never failed* '*otherwise towards him; and I shall never confess any* '*other at the hour of death.* Do not think that I 'say this on design to prolong my life: God has 'taught me to know how to die, and will fortify my 'faith. I know that these my last words will signify 'nothing, but to justify my honour and chastity. As 'for my brother and those others, who are unjustly 'condemned, I would willingly suffer many deaths 'to deliver them; but since I see *it so pleases the* '*king,* I must willingly bear with their death, and 'I shall accompany them in death with the assu-'rance that I shall lead an endless life with them in 'peace.'*

Lord Rochfort.

Of what passed on the trial of lord Rochfort, we only know that he pleaded not guilty, and that the result was a verdict of guilty. The belief of the time attributed the fate of this nobleman to his wife, a depraved woman, who was to come to a bad end.

* Burnet, part iii. 205. This report is given by Burnet from Meteren's *History of the War in the Netherlands.* It was furnished by a French gentleman at that time in England, who felt much interest in these proceedings, and wrote concerning them with apparent impartiality.

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She had grown jealous of her husband's affection for his sister, and was said to have dropped much evil in the hearing of the king. Rochfort's guilt was so improbable, that there was heavy betting in favour of his being acquitted.*

Execution of the four gentlemen.

Two days after the trial of the queen, Rochfort, Brereton, Weston, and Norris were beheaded. Rochfort asserted his innocence.† The other three had pleaded not guilty, and they never recalled that plea. On the scaffold they restricted themselves to vague confessions of sinfulness, which by some was interpreted suspiciously. But others were heard to say, that if the gentlemen had been guilty, the confession would surely have come out at last. Anne spoke of their death as a sufficient vindication of her good name. It was one of the very bad features of those times, that state criminals were controlled by the terrors of the government even in sight of the block. More and Fisher, the last men we might have supposed to have been thus influenced, allowed their conduct at the place of execution to be dictated by the power which sent them to their doom. In cases of treason, it rested with the crown to say whether the punishment should be by decapitation, or by the degrading and barbarous process of hanging and quartering; and to determine also whether the families of the victims should inherit their name and property, or be reduced to infamy and poverty. To have died protesting against the course of the government, would have been construed as a defiance. Praises of the king upon the scaffold, accordingly, were so common in this reign, says Sir Henry Ellis, as to suggest that they must have been 'directed by the government.'‡ 'When any great

* Burnet, part iii. 205. 'For there were that said that much money would be laid that day, and great odds, that lord Rochfort should be acquitted.' — Constantyne, 66.

† *State Trials*, i. 425.

‡ *Letters*, 1st Series, vol. ii. 65, 66.

'man is put to death,' says Tyndale, 'how his confessor entreateth him concerning what he shall say 'when he cometh to the place of execution—I could 'guess at a practice that might make men's ears 'glow.'*

The question comes, moreover—What was the value to be attached to the verdict of juries in the state trials of those days? 'If juries,' says one of the wisest and most trustworthy authorities of the times, 'do pronounce not guilty upon the prisoner, against whom 'manifest witness is brought in, the prisoner escapeth; 'but the twelve are not only rebuked by the judges, but 'also threatened to punishment, and many times commanded to appear in the Star Chamber, or before the 'privy council, upon the matter. I have seen in my 'time that an inquest for pronouncing one not guilty 'of treason, contrary to such evidence as was brought 'in, were not only imprisoned for a space, but a large 'fine set upon their heads, which they were fain to pay, 'and the inquest for acquitting another, beside paying a fine, were put to open ignominy and shame.'† In the same year in which the juries of Kent and Middlesex were panelled to do the will of the government in the Anne Boleyn case, we read of a jury in

* *Practice of Prelates.* Constantyne's *Memorial*, which I have more than once cited, is a document in which the writer professes to send to Cromwell the substance of certain conversations in which he was said to have spoken dangerous things. He is justly described by his editor (53) as a 'shrewd, bustling, intriguing' person. He had practised as a surgeon in Brabant, had subsequently taken holy orders, and was servant to Sir Henry Norris at the time of his arrest. But he learnt nothing from his master, or from any other source, about the queen's affair, beyond common rumour. He was present, however, when Norris and the other gentlemen were executed, and as they did not repeat the assertion of their innocence on that occasion, he appears to have thought them guilty. But it should be remembered that the government side of this case was to suppose the queen guilty, and, in a document addressed to Cromwell in defence of his loyalty, Constantyne would have been slow to say the contrary.—*Archæologia*, xxiii. 50–78. Strype speaks of Constantyne as a man without principle.—Cranmer, i. 263.

† Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, bk. iii. c. 4.

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Gloucestershire which had convicted two men as traitors, but had acquitted a third, as being summoned by Cromwell to appear 'before the king's most 'honourable council in Star Chamber;' and of similar proceedings as contemplated towards a jury in Yorkshire.* No marvel if juries were willing, in such circumstances, to shift the responsibilities of a verdict from their own shoulders to those of their superiors. The power which dictated false judgments after this manner, was regarded as the power which virtually delivered such judgments.

Cranmer's interview with the queen—the divorce.

Cranmer saw the queen the day after her trial, as her confessor. The feeling of the archbishop was strongly on the side of saving the doomed life. In the course of confession, Anne was encouraged to make disclosures about a pre-contract of marriage, or something of that nature, before her marriage with the king. The primate appears to have seized on this communication, in the hope that, if a divorce might be founded upon it, the king, on being thus legally free to marry again, might possibly be disposed to spare the life of his victim. Certain it is, that a divorce was formally pronounced. In the then state of the law concerning engagements and marriages, Anne might have confessed enough to give a colour of legality to a proceeding of this nature, without having been in any serious degree culpable.† She appears to have had some expectation, that on the ground of this confession, the sentence passed upon her would be remitted, and she spoke to Cranmer of retiring to Antwerp. But whatever may have been the encouragement given to such hopes, they were to end in disappointment. It is not enough now that the king should be released from

* *Observations on the Statutes of the Reformation Parliament*, by Andrew Amos, Esq. 167, 168.

† It is possible that Anne understood her connexion with lord Percy as involving a contract, though his lordship, as earl of Northumberland, declared on oath, and on the sacrament, that he had not so understood it. If he had not been prepared so to swear, his head would have been the forfeiture.

Anne Boleyn as his wife—her blood must be shed. Affection, such as it was, has become hatred and cruelty.

A glance at life in the experience of Anne Boleyn.

What lights and shadows belong to the life of this now unhappy woman! Little more than three years had passed since the towns of Calais and Boulogne were crowded with strangers, and filled with unwonted gaiety. What the wealth and taste of France could contribute towards the brilliancy of a court ceremonial was to be seen then in the town of Boulogne; and what rival splendour of that nature could be produced by England was to be seen in the town of Calais. Henry had his reasons at that juncture for wishing to have an interview with Francis, and the two kings were disposed to vie with each other in the extent and pomp of their equipage, and in the skilful invention of court pastimes. The great lady in the French court was the queen of Navarre, sister to the king; the lady who filled that position in the English court was Anne Boleyn, now known as the marchioness of Pembroke. Our old chroniclers have shown how the rank and chivalry of France and England did its homage at that time to the lady, who, though not then queen of England, was the queen elect, and was recognised as such.*

The pageantries at Calais and Boulogne.

The coronation ceremony.

When six more months had passed, Anne and Henry had been for some time married, and town and country had become full of talk and bustle concerning the approaching coronation of the new queen. Memorable was the holiday and sunshine of that season. The queen was at Greenwich when the preparations for this grand spectacle were in process; and never did the city companies seem more intent on throwing the splendour even of a Venice festival into the shade, than on the day when it was left to them to escort Anne Boleyn upon the Thames from Greenwich to the Tower. Fifty barges dropped into their place, at

The river scene from Greenwich to the Tower.

* Hall, ad an.

given distances from each other, on the river, within sight of the palace, all with their flags and streamers floating in the air, with their gold and gay colouring everywhere about them, and sending forth peals of music, and shouts from merry voices.

At three o'clock the queen made her appearance. She wore a dress brilliant with gold, and descended to the barge in waiting, with a train of ladies. Near to her person, in barges of their own, were many noblemen and bishops. The minstrels now began to play, and the gay flotilla, extending far down the river, was put in motion. As the procession passed, the trading ships, moored up on either shore, greeted it with cheering and with cannon. In front of all was a vessel constructed in the form of a huge dragon, with the figures of wild men rising up from her sides. The dragon was kept always in motion, and dragon and men were made to send forth flame, and monstrous noises, as if to scare the very fish in the river out of the path of the great festive company at hand. Next came the barge of the mayor, on the left of which was another fancy vessel, exhibiting a white falcon crowned with a wreath of white and red roses on the summit of a mountain, with virgins indulging in music and play below. On the right floated what was called the bachelor's barge, which kept its place by the side of the queen, and which her majesty 'took great 'pleasure to behold.' For in this barge were trumpeters, and others who played on pleasant instruments, while her decks, and sail-yards, and top-castles were all hung with costly draperies in silk and gold. On her foreship, also, at her stern, and on her castle-work, were flags with the arms of the king and queen skilfully wrought into them. On either side, thirty-six shields were seen, with their emblazonments, with many flags and banners, devised for the occasion by the company of Haberdashers and Merchant Adventurers. As the queen approached the Tower, a gun was fired, which gave a louder signal than had ever

been heard from those old walls. Anne landed at the water-stairs. There Henry met her and kissed her. The queen made acknowledgment in fitting words to the mayor and the companies for their good service. None, we are told, who were not present at that sight, could imagine the multitudes of people that were brought together to behold it.

The city spectacle.

The spectacle through the city did not take place until more than a week later. When it came it was found to be even more gorgeous and elaborate than the display on the Thames. The streets leading from the Tower to Temple Bar were all overlaid with gravel. One side was railed off, and within that rail the city companies were marshalled, extending from Gracechurch-street, where the ancient Stillyard men stood in their order, to the end of Cheapside, where the aldermen had their place. The opposite line along those streets was fenced off by a chain of constables, all carrying staves, and dressed in silk and velvet. The mayor, clothed in a crimson velvet gown, and otherwise richly decorated, rode to the Tower to tender his services to the queen. The sheriffs accompanied the mayor on this errand, and his lordship was attended by two footmen in white and red damask. The sheriffs then returned, mounted their horses, and placed themselves at the head of the force expected to ensure order. Before her majesty left the Tower, Gracechurch-street and Cornhill were hung with scarlet, crimson, and other variegated cloths, and in some places with rich arras, tapestry and carpeting; and along the greater part of Cheapside, the houses were made brilliant with many of the richest productions which the looms of that age could furnish, while all the windows were filled with ladies and gentlemen, and every available place for seeing what all were intent to see was crowded with the populace.

In the procession, the first place was ceded to twelve gentlemen in attendance on the French ambassador. The trappings to the horses of these gentlemen were

of blue sarsenet, powdered with white crosses. They wore themselves tunics of blue velvet, with sleeves of yellow and blue. In the train of these equestrians followed their knights and esquires, two and two. Then came the judges, the knights of the Bath, abbots, barons, bishops, earls, and marquises; then the archbishop of York and the Venetian ambassador; the archbishop of Canterbury and the French ambassador; and then the mayor of London, followed by the earl marshal, and by the high constable of England. Nearly all these noblemen and lords were draped in crimson velvet; and all the queen's servants, and officers in arms, appeared in scarlet. Immediately before her majesty, rode the chancellor, uncovered. Then came the queen, the great object of interest,—young, beautiful, graceful in all her recognitions of the popular feeling. She rode in an open car, overlaid in all parts with white and gold, drawn by two palfreys, with white damask housings dropping from their heads to their feet, and led by footmen. The queen wore a dress of white cloth of tissue, and a mantle of the same, fringed with ermine. Over her head a superb canopy was borne, which was committed to the care of sixteen knights; the knights discharging their duty in rotation, four at a time. Then came many chariots with ladies of the court; and then, as the pageant passed from point to point along the given path, schoolboys recited verses, and companies exhibited their emblematic shows by the aid of a curious mechanism. At length, the queen reaches the great hall at Westminster, and there returns her thanks to the people for the manner in which they had shown their good affection to her sovereign lord and to herself.*

The coronation.

All this took place on the Saturday, and the ceremony to which all this was only preliminary was fixed for the following day. Between eight and nine o'clock on that morning, the magnates of the city, and the

* Hall, 798–802.

splendour of the court, had come together in Westminster Hall, where the queen stood for awhile under a cloth of state. A path leading through the palace and the sanctuary to the high altar in the abbey had been railed off and laid with cloth. Along that path, monks and abbots, judges and knights, prelates, ambassadors, and nobles, move again in their order. The canopy over the queen is borne by four wardens of the cinque ports. Her dress is a robe of purple velvet, the train of which is borne by the bishops of London and Winchester. On her head is a white circlet, glittering with precious stones. Then come her long train of ladies. From a chair near the choir she is led to the high altar, where she kneels while Cranmer read certain offices, and being conducted again to the elevation provided for her, the crown of St. Edward is rested on her brow, a sceptre of gold is placed in her hand, and then all the quire sing *Te Deum.**

Past and present.

Such was the taste of England in such matters under the house of Tudor, and such to Anne Boleyn was the May of 1533. We have just seen what the May of 1536 was to bring to her. In the May of the latter year, there was a spectacle at Greenwich, and a voyage from Greenwich to the Tower. But the sequel of the later holiday was an arrest, not a coronation; and the next landing at those water-stairs, was not to be under the eyes of the jubilant multitude Anne had once seen there, but in the presence of a few old faces wonderfully changed, and without a single heart to which she could look for the help needed in that hour of agony. In her state of sudden alarm and uncertainty, she feared that she might be sent to some dungeon cell; but, to relieve her from that feeling, she was informed that the apartments allotted to her were those she had occupied at her coronation. The same rooms—but their occupant, how little the same! The

* Hall, 802–804.

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men, too, who were to be her judges in the hall of that prison, were all men who had been at her side, and at her feet, in the sunny days of the past. The same again—and yet how little the same! Anne Boleyn is condemned, confessed, divorced,—she has only to die.

The last hours.

Knowing this, she sent for Kingston, the constable of the Tower, to be present when she took the sacrament, and to hear her speak concerning her innocence. She said to that officer, 'I hear say I shall not die 'afore noon, and I am very sorry therefore, for I 'thought to be dead by this time, and past my pain.' I told her there would be no pain, it was so subtle, and then she said, 'I heard say the executioner is very 'good, and I have a little neck,' she added, putting her hands about it, and smiling. 'I have seen many 'men, and also women, executed,' said the constable, 'and they have been in great sorrow; and to my 'knowledge this lady hath much joy and pleasure in 'death.'* It was arranged that the place of execution should be the greensward within the Tower wall, not on Tower Hill. Nor were the public more than partially admitted. But the city magistrates were there, with some gathering of people; and the duke of Richmond, the duke of Suffolk, the chancellor, and Cromwell, are said to have been upon the scaffold.

The last scene.

The queen ascended that platform, and passed to the front with a firm step. Under admonition, or from the prompting of her solicitude in behalf of her daughter Elizabeth, she appears to have determined that her last words should not be words of accusation. With a cheerful countenance, and an unfaltering voice, she said:—

'Christian people, I am come to die; and according 'to law, and by law, I am judged to death, and there- 'fore I will speak nothing against it. *I am come 'hither to accuse no man, nor to speak anything of that 'whereof I am accused and condemned to die.*

* Kingston to Cromwell Singer, 461.

'But I pray God to save the king, and send him 'long to reign over you, for a gentler and more merciful 'prince was there never, and to me he was ever a good, 'a gentle, and a sovereign lord. If any person shall 'meddle of my cause, I require him to judge the best. 'And thus I take my leave of the world and of you, 'and I heartily desire you all to pray for me.'*

As she knelt to the block, and bowed her head with the feeling that her last moment had come, she was heard to say, 'Lord have mercy on me. To Christ I 'commend my soul. Jesus receive me.' Then the stroke was given—and that great gun, which had once told all London and the country round, that the queen had placed her foot in state upon the Tower stairs, now told to that city and country what had befallen the head that had worn a crown! The body and the head of Anne Boleyn, the queen of England, were 'thrown into a common chest of elm tree, made to 'put arrows in,' and were thus buried before twelve o'clock in the chapel within the Tower.†

Guilty or not guilty?

So did pageantry and tragedy succeed each other in the history of Anne Boleyn. Even if Henry believed her guilty, his course towards her was such as might well cause humane men to blush for their manhood. But we have yet to learn that he had a right to think her guilty. She had indeed shown herself to be wanting in the sense of dignity becoming her exalted station, and even in good womanly discretion. But Henry himself was not, in any view, a man of refinement. The coarseness of his feeling was often patent to every one. He was not a man to have a right to complain of some want of delicacy in a woman so much under his own influence. He may, however, have had some real suspicion in regard to the conduct of the queen, especially after his own affections had become viciously ensnared in another direction; and the feeling of jealousy once admitted, soon imparts its

* Wyatt, in Singer's *Cavendish*, 448. † Burnet, i. 371–374.

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one colour to all things. His determination to marry Anne Boleyn, in preference to any other woman, was the result, as the queen intimates, of a mere fancy. It rested on no principle; and when the charm of such an attachment should pass away, as pass away it probably would, it was to be expected that there would be a desire of change. Henry's passion for Jane Seymour disposed him to listen to tales against Anne Boleyn, and the rest followed. It is true, said Sir Thomas More, his majesty is very gracious with me, but if my head would give him another castle in France, it would not be long before it disappeared.* This witness is true. The character of the man is in that utterance concerning him. To see the sovereign of a great people deliver his wife into the hands of the headsman, would, in any circumstances, have been sufficiently revolting. But that such a course should have been taken upon evidence which so manifestly refuted itself, is a chapter in the history of human nature, which, happily, has few parallels. But what are we to say of the ministers, the juries, the convocation of peers, who all gave the king their assistance in so doing? We can only say that they did in this case as they did in too many beside.

Henry had been a humoured and spoiled piece of royalty from his boyhood upwards. It may be mentioned, also, as a further misfortune to him, that through his whole reign his life continued to be so precious to his people, that they were prepared to sustain him under any endurable maladministration of his power. The earnest religious men of the country, regarded him, with all his faults, as the great stay between them and the consuming tyranny of Rome.† The Nationalists, at the same time, never ceased to

* Cayley's *Life of More*, 91.

† George Constantyne was a sort of Lutheran, and, speaking of the king, he says, 'What matter for my life, or twenty thousand such, for the preservation of his life.'—'It grieved me at the heart to see his grace halt so much on his sore leg.'—*Memorial*, 75, 76.

look on him as the representative and security of their cause. While to the intelligence of the country generally, it was abundantly clear, that if anything should happen to him, there might at once be disputes about the succession, civil wars, and miseries such as no man could anticipate without horror. Some kings would have made a good use of the extraordinary powers which passed thus into the hands of this monarch. But it was in the nature of Henry that he should often make the worst use of such advantages. The need of his presence was the great secret of submission to his oppressive rule.

Concerning the experience which might be expected to come to ministers of state when they ceased to do the pleasure of the crown, sufficient warning had been given in the fate of Wolsey and of Sir Thomas More.* The resistance of juries in state prosecutions was hardly to have been expected, when the modest hesitancies of cabinet ministers, and even of devout prelates, could be dealt with in such fashion. The peers, in common with the juries, seem to have soothed their conscience with the thought, that there had been indiscretion, if not sin; and that any sentence they might pronounce would leave it with the king to determine the punishment proper to the case; and what could be more safe than to leave the penalty that should be borne by a wife, to be adjudged by her husband? Such shiftings of responsibility are among the most common devices of humanity. Among all the parties who were concerned in bringing Anne Boleyn to the block, there was not a man who did not see, that any attempt to save the head of that victim would be made at the hazard of his own. It is no doubt true that men even in those times should have been

* Roper informs us that the duke of Norfolk, expostulating with More, said—'By the mass, Mr. More, it is perilous striving with princes; therefore I would wish you somewhat to incline to the king's pleasure, for, by God's body, Mr. More, *indignatio principis mors est.*' The duke was not alone as so thinking in those days.

honest—brave to the death. But the Nationalists generally were not men of that mould. They could face any foe in the field; but to face the frown of power nearer home in that resolved temper, was left to those more religious men whom that class of religionists were often busy in sending to the dungeon, the rack, and the stake. In reality, the king had done all that was done; and if anything more were needed to show the temper in which he had done it, we see it in what immediately followed. Henry wore white on the day of Anne's execution; and is said to have hailed the sound of the Tower gun which told that the executioner had done his work, as the signal for starting his hounds at Epsom. On the following day, in conformity with the welcome advice of his council, and of the peers, he was married to Jane Seymour. One of the first requisites in a courtier is to know how to anticipate the wishes of a sovereign.

The northern insurrection—its religious character.

The pleasure of Henry in the society of his new queen was soon overshadowed by the death of the duke of Richmond, his natural son, to whom he was much attached. As the autumn advanced, the great northern insurrection broke upon him. The little cloud in the horizon soon became a tempest, wide and dark. The discontents in which this movement originated were various; but the recent ecclesiastical changes, and especially the suppression of the monasteries, were the great matters of complaint. The historical significance of the rising, known, from its religious character, under the name of 'Pilgrimage of 'Grace,' is considerable.

Hatred of Cromwell.

Cromwell appears to have had a special share in the resentment of the insurgents. He had encouraged the impious ecclesiastical innovations. He had caused the alienation of the abbey lands. He had dispersed the monks. By putting an end to the abbey charities he had produced a wide state of mendicancy. Certain hardships which had come from the government proceedings about tenures, and from the old policy of the

gentry in enclosing common lands, and in absorbing small farms into greater, were all laid to his charge. The grievances of the people, in many forms, were sufficient to justify discontent. But to the real faults of the government, the malcontents added faults that did not belong to it. Living in the midst of so much manifest change, they had become apprehensive of change without limit. If the abbeys could be suppressed, why should the cathedrals and the parish churches be thought secure? To account for the strength of such feeling in the north, it should be remembered that clergy and laity, rich and poor, in those parts, were in a condition of rudeness and isolation unknown in the south.

The outbreak in Lincolnshire.

The first sign of disorder was at Louth, in Lincolnshire, where, on the arrival of some of Cromwell's commissioners, the people rose, and soon became a multitude in arms. The furies in this movement were the priests, and the recently-ejected monks. But a large portion of the gentry became committed, willingly or unwillingly, to the enterprise. At the end of the third day from their rising at Louth, the men of Lincolnshire had reduced their demands on the government to a series of written articles. These were—that the religious houses should be restored; that the subsidy lately imposed should not be raised; that the firstfruits and tenths should be no more paid to the crown; that the meddling with tenures according to the 'Statute of Uses' should be abandoned; that low blood should have no place in the privy council; and that the heretic bishops—meaning Cranmer, Latimer, and such men—should cease to be bishops, and be brought to due punishment. At a meeting in a field near Horncastle, where these articles were agreed to by acclamation, the chancellor of the diocese, who had been dragged from his sick bed, was exhibited on horseback. On seeing him, the 'parsons and vicars' greeted him with yells and groans, and amidst their cries of 'Kill him! kill him!' the poor man was drawn from

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his horse, and, while upon his knees imploring mercy, was beaten to death with staves. His clothes were torn from his person and appropriated by the murderers.*

Henry's reply to the demand of the rebels.

Henry replied to the demands of the rebels in emphatic and haughty terms; rebuking them for their presumption, in supposing that they knew more about the matters in question than himself and his parliament; and admonishing them, as they valued their lives, their goods, and the future of their families, to return at once to their allegiance.† Within a week, the infection of the revolt had so seized upon the people, that the men assembled are said to have amounted to between fifty and sixty thousand.

Measures of the government—loyalty of the south.

In the meanwhile, the king and the government were prompt in their measures. The midland and eastern counties were slow to move; but the counties of the south and west—Middlesex, Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Gloucestershire—were ready the hour the summons reached them. Not more than eight days had passed since the disturbance at Louth, when the duke of Suffolk found that he had more loyal men at his disposal than he knew how to employ. And as the army of the government became strong in numbers, the army of the insurgents became weak through division, and other causes. The rising, though something of the kind had been long intended, had taken place without concert. After a few days, provisions began to fail, and multitudes dropped away, and returned to their homes. The ground, moreover, on which the commons and the gentlemen engaged in the quarrel was considerably different, and jealousy soon rose up between them. Hence it happened, that within a fortnight, the Lincolnshire outrage had run its course. The government army came upon the district by forced marches, and a week had scarcely

The insurrection suppressed.

* Froude, iii. 101–106. † *State Papers*, i. 463–466, 468–473.

passed since these men left their homes in the south, when they entered Lincoln, the stronghold of the rebels, without a battle, or even a skirmish with the enemy. So the insurrection was quelled, but the country remained full of sullen disaffection.*

Rising in Yorkshire.

The news of Suffolk's success had scarcely reached London, when Cromwell received a despatch, bearing the inscription 'In haste, post, for thy life!' It told the minister that all Yorkshire was up, and with exactly the same cry that had been raised in Lincolnshire. Lord Darcy, who had the charge of the West Riding, had written in an indefinite and unsatisfactory manner. All was rumour. 'The matter hangeth yet 'like a fever, one day good, another bad.'† It was even so. Soon after the nightfall of the day on which Suffolk entered Lincoln, alarm-bells were heard pealing from parish to parish over the length and breadth of Yorkshire. Signal lights were seen in the sky in all directions. From hill to hill beacon fires gave answer to each other. Most men knew what these signs meant. Some of the wiser heads regarded this action as premature. The moment was not favourable. It was a juncture when assistance was not to be expected from abroad. But the plans of the Yorkshiremen were precipitated by what had taken place in Lincolnshire; and the pent-up feeling becoming once outspoken, seemed to pass like a flood over the whole country. The few who were known as adherents to the government might well tremble for their safety. The great majority were loud in their denunciations of the men who had counselled the king to do grievous harm to the commonwealth; to bring in many 'new 'inventions contrary to the faith of God;' to rob the religious houses of their wealth, the plunder of the abbeys being, of course, only preparatory to a destruction of the churches.‡

* *State Papers*, i. 463, 468, 471. Froude, iii. 101–120.
† *State Papers*, i. 468. ‡ *State Papers*, i. 466–526 et seq.

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Robert Aske.

Such was the substance of an address which suddenly appeared on all church doors, and in all public places, bearing the signature of Robert Aske. The person known by that name had come of a good Yorkshire family, of some standing, and honourably connected. He was a barrister, in practice as such in Westminster Hall, and was comparatively a young man. How his name came to be used thus early and thus prominently is somewhat of a mystery. According to his own account, he had been connected with the Lincolnshire rising through accident, and the Yorkshiremen pressed him into their service. However that may have been, when he had once put his hand to the undertaking, he stood prepared to hazard anything in its favour. The leadership in this perilous movement passed into his hands. The earl of Northumberland was sick and in his bed, and otherwise refused to be a party to these proceedings. But there was scarcely another name of any consideration in the north which was not, either by choice or force, committed to them. Truly formidable in numbers, in organization, and in equipment was the enemy which declared itself willing to obey the orders of Robert Aske, and which the men of rank were willing to see so commanded.*

Measures of the king and the government.

Henry saw the danger as it was. He knew that it menaced his throne. But his exertions were proportioned to the exigency. Orders were issued to collect treasure by all available means. His own plate and jewels were offered as a contribution.† The duke of Norfolk, chief in command, was urged to move with caution. It would be better to retreat for awhile than to hazard an engagement where victory might be doubtful. Every fortified place in Yorkshire, except the castle of Skipton, was in the hands of the insurgents.‡

* Froude, iii. 121 et seq. † *State Papers*, i. 478–484, 488.

‡ This fortress was retained for the king by two of Aske's brothers, Christopher and John. The rebels possessed themselves of the persons of several ladies, and of three young children, belonging to the family of the earl of Cumberland, owner of the castle, and they informed the besieged

Lord Hussey, who was in the charge of Lincolnshire, had been faithless. Lord Darcy, lieutenant of the West Riding, had been found wanting. Nearly all men of similar position in those parts seemed to have followed these examples. Even Norfolk, though his loyalty might in the main be relied upon, was suspected of being in sympathy with the men he was sent to subdue, especially on religious matters.

Meeting at Doncaster.

The principal division of the rebel force was assembled at Pomfret, and marched from that place to Doncaster. There the king's army was encamped. The followers of the duke did not exceed seven or eight thousand men. Aske, and the disaffected nobles, were at the head of four or five times that number. The river Don separated the two armies, leaving the bridge as the only point of communication.

Negotiations.

And now the question came to be, shall there be fighting, or shall there be negotiation? Norfolk on the one side, and Aske on the other, were in favour of negotiation, and the scale turned in that direction. But no deliberation at Doncaster could be final. The insurgents, confident in their strength, proposed their terms without abatement. It was deemed prudent that these demands, extravagant as they were, should be sent to the king. Weeks now passed, and no answer was returned. Henry was then prevailed upon to grant an amnesty in full, and without exception, and to promise that a parliament should be assembled in Yorkshire in the course of the next summer. The king would meet the parliament, and the occasion should be graced with the coronation of the queen. Norfolk, who had brought the king to this conclusion with great difficulty, appears to have gone beyond his commission, and, intentionally or otherwise, led the insurgent

that on the morrow they should see the ladies 'enforced by knaves' under the walls, and the children in front of a storming party, if they did not surrender. Happily, these religious warriors were foiled, for that night Christopher Aske, by a piece of most chivalrous daring, succeeded in effecting a deliverance for the ladies and little ones.—Froude, iii. 140-142.

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Pacification.

delegates to believe that much more than had been directly promised might be expected. The armed men, having suffered much from the severe winter weather, had become desirous of home, and dispersed more or less satisfied.*

Fate of Darcy, Constable, Aske, and others.

The men who had been most conspicuous in this dangerous experiment were lord Darcy, Sir Robert Constable, and Robert Aske. The amnesty passed, Henry invited these persons to see him, that he might converse with them on what had happened. Constable could not trust himself in the king's hands; Darcy pleaded sickness; but Aske, with the frank and honourable temper which characterized him, accepted the invitation.† Months, however, passed, and the promised changes came not. Cromwell was still in office. Henry was found to adhere pertinaciously to his ecclesiastical reforms. There was no prospect of the promised parliament and pageantries in Yorkshire. From these causes the minds of many were again unsettled. Treasonable things continued to be said and done. Sir Francis Bigod, who took no part in the former insurrection, was now weak enough to attempt something of the sort after his own fancy. In the confusion which ensued, new signs of disaffection were alleged against Darcy, Aske, Constable, and others, and all who were accused, with one exception only, were found guilty.‡ Darcy was beheaded on Tower Hill; Constable was hung in chains at Hull, the place of which he had been governor; and Aske was dragged upon a hurdle through the streets of York to perish on the gallows. Such was the fate to which this remarkable man, the great captain of the great insurrection,

* *State Papers*, i. 493 et seq. † Ibid. i. 523–526.

‡ The government were careful to publish that the proceedings against these parties were not at all on the ground of old offences, 'but for those treasons which they have committed again since.' In the new disturbances which followed, it was difficult for such men to keep clear of treason, as the law concerning treason then stood. But their case seems to have been a hard one.—Hardwicke's *State Papers*, i. 45.

was abandoned.* Of all crowds, insurrection crowds are the most treacherous, especially to those who have had most dependent on them. Nor is it the crowd only that has fallen away. The stream has turned. Peer and gentleman, peasant and artisan, have gone back to their old courses of sport or toil as though nothing strange had happened.

Intention of the insurgents—effect of their enterprise.

It was well, however, that the cause taken up by these men was to prove a failure. Had they been successful, their great work would have been to displace some bad laws by much worse. The headsman would have had to do their bidding freely, and religious persecution would have become general. The fires of Smithfield would have been kindled about such victims as Cranmer and Latimer. Every good influence with which the English reformation was fraught would have been imperilled.

From the preceding narrative it will be seen, that in 1536, Nationalism, to say nothing of real Protestantism, was far from being everywhere ascendant in England. It will be seen, also, that the great religious revolution in process was, to a large extent, a question between north and south. But those who had been pledged to the reformation before, were now pledged to it treble-fold. What a new ascendancy of Romanism would bring along with it, had been placed beyond doubt, by the proclamations and demands of the men of that faith in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire.

With the summer of 1537 the north became quiet. Its lesson had been learnt, and was to be remembered. But the spirit of treason was still at work, and in quarters where the king had a right to expect a dif-

* *State Papers*, i. 555–559. The priest to whom Aske made confession writes to Cromwell, he said, 'that my lord privy seal [Cromwell] sundry times promised him a pardon of his life, and at one time he had a token from the king's majesty of pardon, for confessing the truth. This he showed to no man in these north parts, as he said, but to me only, which I have and will ever keep secret.'—559. This sort of treachery, in such cases, was only too common in those days.

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The Pole family—Reginald Pole.

ferent state of feeling. Margaret, countess of Salisbury, sister to the unfortunate earl of Warwick, was generously treated by the Tudors—the more so, we may suppose, from an uneasy remembrance of the wrongs that had been done to her family.* Henry VII. gave her in marriage to a Welsh gentleman, named Pole, a distant relation of his own. Margaret was left a widow with four sons and two daughters, and she then withdrew from society, that she might devote herself to the careful training of her children. Reginald, her third son, was to become a conspicuous person in English history. In Oxford, he evinced a decided love of letters, and numbered Linacre and Latimer among his instructors. Henry VIII. was disposed to be even more liberal than his father toward Margaret and her children, and especially towards Reginald, from whose learning and ability much was expected. Writing to Henry at a later period, this distinguished representative of the house of York, said—'Among all your nobility it was 'your pleasure to select me, that I should be carefully 'instructed in virtue and letters from my childhood. 'If my improvement has been small, the fault has 'been wholly mine, your kindness has assuredly been 'very great. No royal father could have done more 'in this way for his son.'† In 1520, when not more than nineteen years of age, Pole expressed a wish to prosecute his studies in Italy. Henry readily consented. But the young scholar was disposed to live expensively. Again and again he applied to Henry for means to defray the cost of his establishments, and the means were always granted. After an interval of five years, passed in associations where flattery in every form awaited him, Pole returned to England.‡ But the juncture was unfortunate. The divorce question soon came into general discussion. Henry naturally

* See page 58.

† *De Unit. Eccles.* 120.

‡ Beccatelli's *Life of Pole.*

hoped, that a man on whom he had lavished his patronage, would be found ready to further his wishes on a point to himself of so much interest. But he was disappointed. It has been affirmed that Pole secretly aspired to the hand of the princess Mary, and so to the throne itself.* The divorce, once carried, Mary would cease to be heir to the crown. But it must be remembered that Pole's residence in Italy had filled his mind with an enthusiastic admiration of everything papal, and with priestly notions of the most extreme complexion. It soon became manifest, that whatever may have been his motive, Pole had taken, not the National, but the Romanist side on the divorce controversy. That there might be no more uncertainty about his opinion on that point, Pole resolved, with his usual self-confidence, that he would see the king, and state to his majesty in person, his views, and the reasons of them. Henry, ignorant of the purpose of this visit, received him so cordially, that this sage monitor of his sovereign found it difficult to bring his tongue to perform the unwelcome office he had assigned to it. He, however, recovered his self-possession, and said what he had meant to say. Henry was much moved, changed colour, fingered the dagger in his belt, as his manner was when excited, and said afterwards, that it was with great difficulty he had abstained from punishing the presumptuous ingratitude of the man on the spot But he subdued his feeling, and dismissed his censor, saying he would think of what had been said, and give him an answer another time.†

* Beccatelli's *Life of Pole.*

† Beccatelli, 362. Pole, it seems, committed his thoughts on this subject to writing about the year 1530, and the paper was sent to Cranmer, by the earl of Wiltshire, for his judgment upon it. It is not known to have been seen by Henry. Cranmer's account of it is, that its author lacked judgment, but that the argument was so eloquently set forth, that, if published, it would be assented to by most people.—Strype's *Cranmer*, c. 2. Ap. 1.

But the divorce came; the measures of the Reformation Parliament followed; and then the indignation of Pole became full to overflowing. Henry appears to have had a sincere affection for this man, and to have looked upon him as a gifted, impulsive, inexperienced person, who should be borne with as far as possible. Even so late as 1536, two learned men were appointed to communicate with Pole in regard to the course of affairs in England, in the hope of bringing him to a more moderate way of thinking.* But Reginald Pole was a man to know little of moderation. He was to see nothing but the hand of Satan in the changes which to so many intelligent and devout Englishmen were signs of the finger of God.

Pole's *De Unitate Eccles.*

Pole removed in 1532 from France to Italy, and until the summer of 1536 continued to subsist on the bounty of Henry, and to be in apparently friendly communication with him. It is a fact, however, that this subject of the king of England, living by his means, was eagerly engaged, at that time, in urging the pope and the emperor to an immediate adoption of the most hostile measures against his sovereign; and that in the spring of 1535 he had finished the composition of that enormous libel upon Henry and his government, which was ultimately published under the title of the 'Unity of the Church.' Such was the nature of the correspondence between Pole and the agents of the king up to May, 1536, that they were hopeful, even then, of his being won over to the cause of their master.† But on the 23rd of that month, Pole's treatise was presented to the king, by the request of its author. And what was the purport of that treatise? It regarded Henry as responsible for all the reforming measures of his parliament; it denounced all those measures as so many monster

* Strype's *Mem.* i. Ap. lxxx.
† Ibid. i. 445 et seq. and App.

crimes; it declared that the king of England, by those Satanic proceedings, had forfeited all right to the crown, all claim upon the allegiance of his subjects, all place in the Christian Church, and all hope of the kingdom of heaven; and it called upon all Christian potentates to proceed at once to the duty of deposing and punishing the grand delinquent, no work that could be done against Jew, Turk, or infidel being comparable in virtue to such a work against such an offender.

Pole assured Henry that this treatise was a confidential document, which no other eye had seen. But that statement he knew to be untrue. From his own letters, which show the traitor life he had been living for a long time past, it is clear that the work had been read by his friend Prioli, and by the cardinal Contarini; that Pole himself had submitted it to the judgment of the pope, and at a time, moreover, when he knew the emperor to be in Rome. It is certain, also, that before the production ceased to be professedly a private document, copies of it were known to be in the hands of official persons in Spain and in Flanders.* The whole cast of the composition, addressed as it is to the people and princes of Europe, as much as to Henry, abundantly shows, that it must have been intended from the first for the widest possible publicity. This the writer himself afterwards confessed. Whatever may have been Pole's conscientiousness, and it would be hard to suppose that he did not possess a strong feeling of that nature, it is manifest that it was not such as to secure him against a course of conduct characterized by insincerity where the interests of his church were concerned, nor against utterances not in accordance with truth.†

* Pol. *Ep.* i. pp. 438-451.

† His treatise was finished in the spring of 1535; his correspondence with Dr. Starkey extends to the spring of 1536. To that time, as intimated, Starkey had hope of him! Strype's *Memorials*.

Value of Pole's testimony.

It is the more important to mark these facts, inasmuch as the injurious assertions in Pole's treatise have been regarded by a large class of writers as statements that could not have been addressed thus directly to the king if they had not been known to be true. Had these statements been all really so addressed the inference would not be warranted.* Passionate men, when they find a story to their purpose, feel that such stories *ought* to be true, and Pole was a man of that temperament. His self-complacency and arrogance, moreover, were such as prompted him to say almost anything which it was agreeable to him to say, and to any persons. He was, in fact, one of a class of men who seem to think that they have been sent into the world to assume the tone of the infallible, and to bid other men give place to them.† So little capable was he of taking the place of an opponent, and of seeing with the eyes of such a person, that he rarely calculated with any tolerable accuracy on the effect likely to be produced by his own writings. He professed himself amazed that persons should see anything beyond a fitting expression of honest thought, in a work charged from beginning to end with the most rancorous assumption and bigotry. So ready was he to account Romanists as angels, and Reformers as fiends, that against

* The foul charge that Henry had been criminal in his relations with the elder daughter of lady Boleyn before marrying the younger, is not alluded to in the manuscript copy of Pole's work, which still exists. But this story has its place among the embellishments and seasoning of the performance as printed in Rome some two years later.—Froude, iv. Ap.

† Take the following passage, addressed to Henry, as a sample: 'But what are the mysteries of which I speak? From whom have I received commandment? What sovereign has commissioned me to utter these things? The same Only Ruler who is common Lord both to me and thee, Christ, I say, he has commanded me to write these things!'—*De Unit. Eccles.* 145. Could the man be sane when thus writing? But the book teems with such language—'Many infamous crimes are recorded in scripture, but I find no atrocity there like thine—thy sedition against the church exceeds that of Dathan and Abiram in wickedness; for to words of the utmost sedition and arrogance thou hast added the atrocious deeds.'—Ibid. 91, 92.

the latter, scarcely any calumny was so monstrous as to be incredible, or so foul as to lack description. Happily, the same powers of hatred and of invective rarely fall to any man.

Pole's views of his own schemes.

When the Pilgrimage of Grace commenced, Pole had become a cardinal, and was at Liège, in the capacity of papal legate, watching with the deepest interest the course of a conflagration which he had spared no pains to kindle. To his eager imagination the work was done. He saw a perfidious king vanquished—a seduced people reclaimed. Bitter was his disappointment. His impassioned nature alternated between hope and despair. But hope, after awhile, became again ascendant. No disciple of Origen could be more expert in wresting scripture to his purpose by means of a childish allegorizing, than this man who aspired to the great practical work of governing churches and nations; and no hill-side covenanter could be more free in making the facts of Old Testament history to speak in favour of the schemes of his church-militant, than this accomplished scholar, this high-bred churchman. Israel, he said, had been twice defeated when she went up against Benjamin, though God had commanded her to go. But the third effort was not to be a failure. So another attempt should be made against our revolted church and nation, and that would prevail.*

It must be remembered that we have now reached the juncture when Pole's book, hitherto a manuscript, was to be printed, and, including its new infusions of slander and vituperation, was to be sent in great numbers from the printing presses of Rome to all parts of Christendom. Now, too, the pope was to abandon his affected forbearance towards the king of England, and his long-suspended denunciations were to be launched against the grand culprit in language hardly less outrageous than that of Pole himself. New

* *Epist.* Reg. Pol. ii. 158 et seq.

attempts, moreover, were to be made to organize disaffection in England, simultaneously with new efforts to dispose Charles to become the invader of this devoted country. Pole was sent to Spain on this errand. Ireland, also, was to be at the same time in arms under the earl of Desmond, as viceroy to Charles or to his Holiness; and the king of Scotland was to be the new Defender of the Faith, as the reward of his expected services in the conquest of England.

But the government of England was in the hands of men who knew the character of the enemy against whom they had to keep their ground. The special hatred of Cromwell, avowed by Pole, and by all men of his class, was a natural result of the skill and success with which that statesman tracked the path of conspiracy, even in its most secret haunts. It was while the grand scheme above mentioned was in process, that the government arrested a man named Holland, at Southampton, on suspicion of his having been the bearer of treasonable communications between Pole and his family. It happened, that Geoffrey Pole, the younger brother of the cardinal, saw this man, as the officers were conducting him to London. Geoffrey learnt enough from Holland to become aware that other arrests would speedily take place, and, hastening back to the metropolis, he volunteered evidence against the suspected persons, even against the members of his own family, on condition that his own life should be spared. Among the persons accused by this base man, steeped himself beyond the rest in treason, were his own brother, Henry Pole, lord Montacute, Sir Edward Neville, representing the great Warwick influence, and the marquis and marchioness of Exeter, whose power through Devonshire and the west was known to be formidable. That all these parties were disaffected, and that their disaffection had led them to indulge in much treasonable talk, and in something more, especially as a Spanish invasion became probable, was well known to the government. But evidence of a more

direct kind than had been obtained was desired, and such evidence Geoffrey Pole was prepared to supply.

All the men named were represented as having been in communication with Reginald Pole, as approving his plans, and as contemplating nothing less than to raise another person to the throne.* Exeter himself, it seems, hoped to be the future king. The marquis had said—'I trust once to have a fair day on the 'knaves about the king:—and I trust to see a merry 'world one day.' On this evidence, all the men named, and several others, were tried, condemned, and executed. Such was the issue of Pole's third attempt, and which was to be no failure. One brother he saw delivered to the executioner, another to infamy. But some such end of all this plotting was to have been expected. The schemes of Paul III. were singularly imbecile. The dreams of the cardinal were what they had always been, the dreams of a man whose passions took the place of his judgment. And the emperor was not likely to risk much along with such co-adjutors.† The next year Charles abandoned all thought of attempting anything against England, and Pole then began to have new impressions concerning his majesty of Spain, as well as about his majesty of England, and seemed to despair of everybody.

If the heart of the cardinal was burdened with the memory of what had befallen his brothers, there was

* Montacute was charged with saying, 'I like well the doing of my brother cardinal Pole, and I never liked any doing of the king. I would we were over the sea with the bishop of 'Luke,' for this world will one day come to 'stripes.' A time will come. I fear we shall not tarry for the time. If we may tarry for the time, we shall do well enough. It must needs come to this pass some day, and I fear me we shall lack nothing so much as honest men. I had rather dwell in the west parts than at Warblyngton, for in the west parts the lord marquis of Exeter is strong. I am sorry that lord Bargavenny is dead, for if he were alive, he were able to make ten thousand men.'—MS. *State Paper Office, Baga de Secretis*, pouch xi. bundle 3.

† Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. Burnet, i. 445–452, Ap. Froude, iii. 305–334.

one person in whose end, as the result apparently of his own restless treason, he should have seen much to affect him still more deeply. His mother, the aged countess of Salisbury, had been arrested with the marchioness of Exeter, and both had been sentenced by attainder as guilty of treason. The marchioness was pardoned, though she had been a meddler with doubtful matters from the time when the Maid of Kent began to talk her treason. But the countess was not pardoned. She remained a prisoner in the Tower nearly two years. Her reception of the earl of Southampton, when sent to question her after the arrest of her sons, was such as a proud, brave man, conscious of his innocence, might have been expected to give him. His lordship's first impression was, that her ladyship must really have kept aloof from the dangerous proceedings going on in her family.* But search being made, documents and letters were found of a nature to justify suspicion, and one letter, without a signature, but evidently from the countess to lord Montacute, appears to have contained the matter on which the proceedings against her were mainly based. It was generally supposed, however, that a sentence so long suspended would never be executed. What led the king and the government to take another course is to this day unknown. The presumption is, that some new cause for complaint had arisen. But, on the other hand, the presumption is no less strong, that if any such new cause had existed, it would not have been allowed to remain a secret. In that grass court of the Tower, where Anne Boleyn had met her fate, the countess ascended the scaffold. But she refused to place her neck upon the block. It was for traitors thus to confess their treason. The attendants were obliged to force her body into the required posture, and her last words were—'Blessed are 'they who suffer persecution for righteousness' sake.' So died Margaret, countess of Salisbury, when more

* Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. 110–114.

than seventy years of age, a near relation to the king, and the nearest descendant of the Plantagenet line of princes. The defiant pride which had characterized this lady through life she evinced in death. That she approved the course of her son abroad, and had encouraged a similar policy on the part of her sons at home, can hardly be doubted.*

Causes of this extreme antagonism.

Religion was at the root of all this antagonism—of these plottings and risings against law, and of this free shedding of blood in the name of law. It is natural to deplore that scenes so appalling should have come up in connexion with a cause so sacred. But these scenes have a meaning of which the student of history should be observant. They nearly all belong to the first ten years after the meeting of the Reformation Parliament. They show the strength of the feeling opposed at that time to the reformed faith. They reveal to us, also, that only a strong hand could have been equal to the mastery of such a resistance. They suggest, moreover, that it would not be exactly reasonable to expect, that the hand capable of counteracting such subtle, unscrupulous, and insurgent forces, should be a hand to be stayed in all instances at the right point. In religious revolutions, the earnestness necessary if right is to be done, will always be an earnestness liable to excess—liable to pass into wrong. And it is scarcely needful to add, that the restrictions on personal freedom, and the severe penalties of law, which would be so much crime in a highly civilized state of society, may be so much wisdom and virtue in states of society much less advanced. The end of government is protection, and the measure of authority, and even of terror, necessary to that end, may be said to be always ceded by the principles of rectitude. Happy the people for whose safety the mildest possible

* Herbert, *Ep. Poli*, iii. 76. *State Trials*, i. 479–482. The countess had been condemned by attainder, with the usual injustice pertaining to that form of proceeding in such cases.

action of the power above them is found to be sufficient. Those laws of Henry VIII., which regarded opinion as crime, and shut men up to the alternative of self-conviction or perjury, were of the essence of wickedness, and were as impolitic as they were immoral. We cannot look on the dreadful spectacles with which Henry made his subjects familiar during those ten years, without feeling their frequent cruelty. But Henry knew that the parties who were so intent on chasing him from his throne, were not themselves restrained by nice feeling of any description; and he had evidently learnt to think, that it did not become him to deal softly and delicately with enemies whose policy knew nothing of such qualities, and who would be sure to misinterpret them if allowed to have any place in his own course of proceeding. Pole and his friends accounted themselves religiously right. So did Henry and his government. It was the supposed sanctity of their cause that gave such intensity to their passions; and the huge, complex mass of secular interests which had become blended with the religion of the time, contributed to bring the influence of both worlds into the strife. With Romanism, moreover, there could be no compromise. That system would be supreme or nothing. The point to be settled between the crown and the papacy accordingly was, who should be victor, and who should be vanquished. The chiefs felt this to be the issue, and so did their followers. Religion, when it becomes socially corrupt, presents the worst form of social corruption, and when it is socially pure, it presents the best form of social purity. Of all reforms, the reform of religion is the most momentous, and it ought not to occasion surprise if such changes are found to be especially difficult to realize, and especially costly in the process. Social elevation is the natural result of faith in a future which is purer than the present. The ideal is always older than the real. Some model of excellence always precedes the realization of excel-

lence. The aim of Nationalist and Protestant was towards a more rational freedom, and a more true religion, and as the end was seen to be pre-eminently good, so the affection due to it was felt to be great, and the sin of resisting it was accounted great.

Henry will not be accounted a Protestant.

We have seen that Henry, while introducing so many changes into the English church, was forward to repel the charge of having ceased to be a Catholic. Even in his attempts to league himself with the Lutherans, he negotiated on grounds of his own. The disciples of Luther, it was presumed, should submit to him. It was not to be expected that the most learned king in Europe should submit to them. The great majority of the clergy had moved in favour of innovation only so far as the pleasure of the king had compelled them to move. In the spring of 1536, the two houses of convocation set forth a series of nearly sixty errors or heresies current among the people, which it became the authorities of the church to suppress. Henry, with the assistance of his divines, prepared a document, which was presented by Cromwell to the two houses of convocation, under the title of a 'Book of Articles.' In these articles, the people were expected to see the care that had been taken to leave the doctrine of the Catholic church undisturbed. Such, however, was not the impression produced by them. 'The very same opinions about pilgrimages, images, 'and saints departed, and about instructing the people 'in the principles of the Christian religion in the 'vulgar tongue, for which the Lollards were not long 'ago either burnt, or forced to abjure them, were now 'set up by the king's authority. From which they 'concluded, that whatever the king might say about 'his maintaining the old doctrine, he was now changing 'it.'* But every incumbent was bound to read these articles to his parishioners, and during some months to come, no clergyman was to preach without a special

Book of Articles.

* Burnet, i. 409–412.

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licence from a bishop. The next year the king issued the short treatise intitled '*The Institution of the Christian Man*,' in which he reiterated his belief in the leading Catholic doctrines; declared that there could be no salvation where the true sacraments were not duly administered; and placed resistance to the royal authority, in any conceivable circumstances, among the deadly sins.

Restraint on preaching.

1537.

Suppression of the great abbeys.

On the suppression of the northern rebellion, Henry resolved to put an end to the great abbeys which had been spared by the commissioners in that year. Some of the abbots surrendered their establishments into his hands, in the hope of being liberally treated; and others were displaced on the ground of disloyalty, immorality, or gross superstition. These proceedings, however, were not more than partially approved. Many of the ignorant were shocked, and some who were not ignorant alleged, that the many had been made to suffer for the sins of the few. To justify themselves, the government exposed the immoralities, and especially the superstition and fraud, connected with the worship of images and relics which they had detected. The revelations of the latter description which were made, show the degraded state to which the popular belief had been reduced.

Exposure of monastic fraud and popular superstition.

The monks of Reading were in possession of an angel with one wing, who had preserved the spear with which the side of our Lord was pierced. The religious men of the abbey at Bury St. Edmunds exhibited some of the coals on which St. Lawrence was roasted; and parings from the toes of St. Edmund; also the penknife and boots of St. Thomas à Becket, with many pieces of the true cross. They had also relics enshrined which could give rain, and hinder the growth of weeds. In one monastery, a vial was exhibited which was said to contain some of the blood shed by our Saviour. When the worshipper was to account his prayer as answered, the vial, otherwise opaque, became transparent, and the blood could be

seen, and the brethren had their means of causing the opaque side to be presented until the offerings of the devotee reached the satisfactory point. At Boxley in Kent, there was a famous crucifix which was seen to move its eyes, to bend its brows, and to shake its head, to the great wonder and dismay of the people. Hilsley, bishop of Rochester, placed this image before a large congregation, preached about it, and then exposed to the people the wires and mechanism by which these profane tricks had been performed. The land was full of such things. In Wales, this heathenism under a Christian name, was, if possible, of a still grosser description. Many of these sacred things were now removed, and burnt or destroyed by authority. The shrine of Becket himself was thus desecrated. Becket, said Henry, was a man whose life showed no signs of sanctity. He brought his death upon himself by his insolent demeanour towards the men who slew him. He died under the guilt of treason. The votive offerings at the tomb of Becket had come to be of inestimable value. The money contributions to his shrine in one year amounted to 954*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.* of the money of that time, while not a penny was presented at the shrine of the Saviour, and only 4*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* to that of the Virgin.*

With the fall of the religious houses came an end to the abbots as spiritual peers. The ecclesiastical power in the upper house was thus diminished by more than one half, while the secular power was much increased by the new disposal of the abbey lands, which favoured the rise of new families, and of families pledged to the side of reform.†

* Burnet, i. 427–445; v. 237, 238.

† Sixteen mitred abbeys had revenues exceeding 1000*l.* per annum. The value of some, as Westminster and Glastonbury, rose to between three and four thousand. All estimates of the aggregate wealth of these foundations are more or less conjectural. The lowest amount named is about 150,000*l.* per annum; but to double that sum would probably be to approach nearer the truth, and that amount must be calculated according to the value of money at that time.

English Bible to be placed in churches.

Tyndale—his end.

In the year 1536, Cromwell, in the name of the king, required every parish priest to supply his church with a copy of the whole Bible in English for the public use. It should be mentioned, that the copies thus provided, were all largely based on Tyndale's translation, and that the year which thus saw the hope of that good and brave man's life realized, saw him perish by strangling and by fire at Antwerp.* In 1531, an agent of the English government named Vaughan, was employed to decoy the exile into England, where he would soon have been added to the list of destroyed heretics. Tyndale, 'with the water in 'his eyes,' said to this man, 'If it would stand with 'the king's most gracious pleasure to grant only a 'bare text of the scripture to be put forth among his 'people, be it the translation of what person soever 'shall please his majesty, I shall immediately make 'faithful promise never to write more, nor abide two 'days in these parts after the same; but immediately 'to repair unto his realm, and there most humbly 'submit myself at the feet of his royal majesty, offering 'my body to suffer what pains or tortures, yea, what 'death his grace will, so this be obtained.'† So spoke one of the firmest, most self-reliant, and devout spirits in English history. To accomplish his object, Tyndale had given himself deliberately to homelessness, labour, poverty, and danger through life, with the full expectation that the end would be a martyr's death. The shadows resting for the most part over his years of solitary wandering, make the glimpses we obtain of him only the more impressive, leaving the unknown in his career to fill the imagination as with the picture of a remote ideal heroism. That admirable English in

* This was the Matthews' *Bible* first printed in 1537, and the reprinting of which was attempted in Paris three years later. Matthews was the name assumed by the translator and editor. His real name was Rogers, and he lived to become the first martyr under Mary.—Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 115–120, Ap. No. xxiii.

† Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. 202.

which he clothed his conceptions, now sounded through all the churches in this English land, giving expression to thoughts much higher, and much dearer to him, than his own. Cromwell and Cranmer knew his danger, for he was a prisoner nearly two years before he suffered, and might have been expected to do something towards saving him. But they did nothing —perhaps dared not do anything. Now, in 1538, Cromwell sends the primate a copy of a new and improved edition of the English Bible; the primate receives the book with abundance of gratitude and joy; and the king issues new injunctions enjoining, not only that it shall be made accessible to all people in all churches, but that all shall be encouraged to read it, 'as being the true living word of God, which 'every Christian should embrace and follow if he 'would be saved.'*

Henry is checked in his reform tendencies by the taunts of the Romanists.

Nothing could seem to be more promising for the cause of reform than such proceedings. But much remained which taught good men to rejoice with trembling. Henry found that every new step taken on the side of innovation, brought upon him a new volley of taunts from Rome, and from her adherents over Europe. The king of England, said these opponents, has become more than ever a schismatic, has separated himself more manifestly than ever from Catholic Christendom, and has degraded his ancient crown to the level of a vulgar Lutheranism. Henry was not sufficiently enlightened to be insensible to such reflections. His pride was wounded. His feeling towards those who separated from the Church of Rome further than himself, became at times most bitter and intolerant.

* Burnet, i. 452–455. Anderson's *Annals of the English Bible.* Coverdale, and Grafton the printer, writing to Cromwell concerning the progress of this version, say—'We follow not only a standard text of the Hebrew, with the interpretation of the Chaldee and Greek, but we set also in a private table the diversity of readings of all texts, and such annotations in another table as shall doubtless elucidate and clear the same.'—*State Papers*, i. 576, 578. Strype's *Cranmer*, i. 115 et seq.

Among the more influential of his own subjects there were many who were ingenious in their modes of awakening and strengthening such feelings. The majority of the peers, and of the bishops, had never been in favour of anything like a separation from Rome, and the powerful duke of Norfolk was at the head of this formidable body of discontented persons. In the spring of 1539 the influence of this party with the king proved to be very great, and the effect of that influence became memorably mischievous.

Parliament —committee to settle religious opinion.

In the parliament of that year the lords appointed a committee to consider the diversities of opinion in the country; and to check the licence then abroad, by determining certain great points of doctrine which no man should dare to impugn. But the prelates on this committee differed so greatly and so tenaciously from each other, that nearly a fortnight passed in warm discussion and nothing was settled. Norfolk, who acted as chief minister in the lords, urged the king to take the matter into his own hands. Henry went to the house, reasoned long in support of some of the most obnoxious tenets of the Church of Rome, and succeeded in compelling Cranmer and his friends to feign assent to opinions which in their heart they repudiated.

The Six Articles.

It was under such influence that the act known by the name of the 'Six Articles' was passed. On the eucharist, this act determined that the natural body and blood of Christ are present under the forms, but not in the substance, of bread and wine; that communion in both kinds is not necessary to salvation; that married life in the clergy is contrary to the law of God; that vows of chastity, whether taken by man or woman, should be accounted binding; that the custom of private mass should be continued; and that auricular confession to a priest should be used as in former times.

Severe penalties.

To render these decisions effective, it was provided, that if any person should preach, dispute, or write

against the doctrine of transubstantiation, it should not avail him to abjure, he should certainly forfeit goods and lands to the king, and die as a heretic; that any person offending in like manner against any one of the other five articles, should, for the first offence, forfeit lands and chattels for ever, and suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure, and for the second offence should die; that priests or nuns who had married should at once separate, or be dealt with as felons; and that priests or nuns living carnally with the other sex should suffer imprisonment and forfeiture on the first conviction, and death on the second. Truly the people of those days did well in designating such articles, to be enforced by such penalties, as 'the bloody six articles.' Cranmer did what he could to make them less atrocious. But Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, succeeded in making them what they were. It is said, and with apparent truth, that Henry himself was opposed to the severity of these punishments, though holding strongly to the prescribed opinions. But he assented to the act. It was therefore in reality his own.*

Ascendancy of the reactionists.

The passing of this act was a triumph to the duke of Norfolk, and bishop Gardiner, as representatives of the parties favourable to the old faith; over Cromwell and Cranmer as representatives of the national party, and as known to be inclined towards Lutheranism. The party which now became ascendant were disposed to make a prompt and a full use of the terrible instrument which seemed to be placed at their disposal. But Henry, to whose proclamations parliament was pleased to give an authority proper only to statutes of the realm, placed a check upon the zealots, and made them feel that his own pleasure was to take precedence of the amiable law to which they had given so cordial a welcome. For Cranmer, Henry seems to have felt something more than esteem, and the services of

* 31 Hen. VIII. 14.

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Cromwell had not ceased to be valuable. Indeed, it was at this juncture that the king raised the lord privy seal to a higher rank, and Cromwell became known as earl of Essex.

Arrest of Cromwell.

Twelve months and ten days had passed since the Six Articles became law, when the duke of Norfolk rose at the council table and said—'My lord of Essex, 'I arrest you of high treason.' Witnesses were at hand, to swear on the spot, that they had heard his lordship utter treasonable words; and others were ready to show that the minister had done many things without law, and many things contrary to law. Cromwell felt that resistance in this stage of the conspiracy against him was impossible. He became a state prisoner. The startling rumour that the great minister had been sent to the Tower, and with no prospect of restoration, was rapidly spread through the country, arresting all men's thoughts, employing all men's tongues. Grandees assembled in baronial halls, and news-hunters in city, and borough, and village, were full of it. The genius of Cromwell had been so omnipresent, so self-sustained, so potent, through so many years of change and storm, that to common minds his fall was hardly conceivable. The question everywhere was—What can have brought it about? To us, also, the same question is natural.

Effect of this proceeding.

Causes of the fall of Cromwell.

Cromwell was not, like Wolsey, a churchman. But like Wolsey, he had risen from a humble origin; and in power, had taken precedence of men boasting of the highest heraldic greatness. He knew, as Wolsey had known, that the pride of birth was against him; and like his former master, he did not always study to conciliate feeling in the case of such persons, but was rather disposed to return scorn for scorn. What these ministers did without the sanction of law, they did, for the most part, believing it to be for the good of the commonwealth, and in accordance with the wishes of the king. But such a plea, though it ought to have been of weight with the sovereign, could be of no

weight in any court of judicature. Both had always hoped that they should find a friend in the king if other friends should fail, and both hoped in vain. In the view of his enemies, Cromwell was not only an upstart, but a violator of the law, and a heretic. Nearly everything the king had done as an ecclesiastical innovator—the severance from Rome; the abridgment of the secular power of the clergy; the suppression of the monasteries; the exposure and discouragement of popular superstition; the detection of conspiracies; and the sharp punishment of traitors—all were largely attributed to the influence of this man. It was well known, also, that Cromwell had often checked the persecuting tendencies of magistrates and priests; had not unfrequently taken their victims out of their hands; and by every such act, if he made himself friends, he had also made himself enemies.

Of late, moreover, the policy of the minister had not been successful. Charles and Francis had suddenly become great friends. The emperor had paid a visit to his Most Christian brother in Paris, in the most confiding manner. Pole was doing his utmost to direct the hostility of the papacy, of Spain, of France, and of the Netherlands against England. Such a combination, it was said, would compel the king of England to retrace his steps, or to resign his crown. Meanwhile, Henry's treasury had not been so economically managed as to furnish the means that might be necessary to meet such a posture of affairs. It was this aspect of foreign politics, taken along with the papal reaction at home, which made Cromwell especially desirous that an alliance might be formed between England and the Lutheran states of Germany. Hence came the unhappy engagement of the king of England to marry Anne, sister to the duke of Cleves. What the Anne Boleyn affair had been to Wolsey, the Anne of Cleves affair became to Cromwell. Henry found his betrothed, when she came to England, to be anything but the person that had been described to

Anne of Cleves.

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him. His aversion to the unfortunate princess was such as nothing could remove: But a quarrel with Germany was not to be hazarded when hostility was bristling up almost everywhere beside. Henry suppressed his feeling, and consented to be married. But Anne never became his wife. The man who had become enamoured of Jane Seymour before resolving to dispose of Anne Boleyn, now became the lover of Katherine Howard while standing in the relation of a husband to Anne of Cleves. Katherine was niece to the duke of Norfolk, and that nobleman, on his return from a visit to Paris, assured the king that there was no probability of any cordial action between Charles and Francis. So the motive for seeking a German alliance, a policy which had always been distasteful to Henry, and never thought of except to meet some difficulty, had ceased to operate.

It is easy to see how all these influences would be made to bear against Cromwell. The evil of this ill-fated marriage, and evil in a hundred directions beside, was laid to his charge, and the king seems to have allowed him to become a scapegoat to bear away a multitude of sins—sins which, in many instances, were more those of the master than of the servant. All this had happened before the day on which Norfolk and his friends congratulated each other on the success of the toils which they had been secretly placing about the path of their victim for a long while past.

Charges against Cromwell.

The charges preferred against Cromwell were, that he had released persons imprisoned on conviction or suspicion of treason; that he had enriched himself with bribes, granting licences to merchants contrary to law for such considerations; that he had sent out commissions in his own name, saying that 'he was 'sure of the king;' that he had infringed in many ways on the rights of his majesty's subjects; that he had threatened, should the lords take measures against him, to chastise them as men of their order had never been chastised before; that being full of heresies, he

was always in league with heretics, discharging them from prison, rebuking their prosecutors, and encouraging the distribution of their writings; that he had said, after listening to the false and unlawful teaching of Dr. Barnes and others, 'that if the king should 'turn from it, he would not; and if the king did turn, 'and all his people with him, he would fight in the 'field in his own person, with his sword in his hand 'against him, and all others;' that, unsheathing a dagger and brandishing it aloft, he said he would so do, 'or let this dagger thrust him to the heart;' and that if he should exist only another year or two, it should not be in the power of the king to resist the reformed doctrine if he should be so disposed.*

Ground of the judgment against him.

To suppose that Cromwell really uttered such language, and made such an exhibition of himself, would be to suppose that England during the last ten years had been in the hands of a maniac. Cromwell was prime minister fifteen months after he is said to have played the madman in this fashion. Could the king have been left so long in ignorance of such conduct; and if Cromwell must have ceased to be Cromwell in so committing himself, must not Henry have ceased to be Henry, in seeming for a day to have been insensible to what had happened? We know next to nothing of the evidence on which the above series of accusations was founded. Much of it might be sound, much of it was beyond doubt worthless. It may be true that Cromwell accepted bribes, and often acted unduly on his own authority; that he befriended reformers, and imposed restraints upon their persecutors; that he at times spoke strongly against the enemies whom he knew to be plotting his destruction; and that he had been known to declare that if the king should abandon the reformed faith, he would not himself abandon it. Supposing all this to be true, it remained to be shown that there was treason in it.

* Burnet, i. 505, 506.

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The government proceed by attainder.

But whatever might have been the evidence, Henry should assuredly have ceded the chance and right of a fair trial, to the man who during so many years had rendered him service such as no living man beside could have rendered. Depositions were taken; they were deemed sufficient by the partisan officials before whom they were made; and parliament was summoned to pronounce judgment, without seeing a single witness, or hearing a word from the accused in his own defence. Unhappily, Cromwell had been concerned in dealing such hard measure to others. Six weeks after his commitment to the Tower, he closed his career on the scaffold, the 'ragged knave,' says Hall, who officiated as headsman, performing his office most villanously.

Execution of Cromwell.

As usual, attempts were made to extract a vindication of the proceedings of the government from the last words of its victim. In what purported to be a speech uttered by Cromwell on the scaffold, he was made to confess that he died according to law, that he had been seduced into error, but that he had repented, and died a Catholic. It was convenient that something of this nature should be credited.* But a prayer which this sagacious and bold statesman appears to have drawn up for his use in the Tower, and which he repeated on the scaffold, has been preserved by those who were concerned that justice should be done to his memory. It is the prayer of an enlightened and devout Protestant, such as Luther himself might have offered.†

His last prayer.

His character.

Cromwell, indeed, appears to have been one of that class of men to whom it is given to see the truth of things clearly, in matters of opinion and in affairs, but whose moral susceptibilities, while cultivated and right in the main, form the weaker part of their nature. He was sincerely opposed to the priestly encroach-

* This spurious confession may be seen in Foxe, v. 402. But it is taken from Hall, and did not appear in Foxe, as there given, until the edition of 1562.

† Ibid.

ments of the papacy, and to the manifold superstitions which that power had taken under its protection. He looked on Henry as destined to free England from the usurpation and the corruption which had come from that source; and so momentous in his estimation was this work, that the arbitrary and violent proceedings associated with his name, were regarded as justified by the magnitude and sacredness of the object to be accomplished by them. With him, the safety of the reformation was always present as the supreme law. His intentions were patriotic and benevolent. He was a refuge to not a few under oppression—a strength to many in their weakness. He would have made the English church, not only all she became under Elizabeth, but an institution much more liberal. He would have subdued the Romanist party more speedily, by leaving less room for division among Protestants. The great puritan schism, which has issued in severing half the nation from the established church, would have proved less formidable, from being made less reasonable. The *via media* course chosen in those days was plausibly wise, not really so. Romanists could no more be at one with Nationalists than with Lutherans.

Persecutions.

Cranmer, who knew Cromwell well, pleaded his cause when all beside had deserted him—as he had pleaded for Anne Boleyn, in similar circumstances, four years before. He knew that he must not seem to doubt the guilt of any one whom the king regarded, or affected to regard, as guilty. But he could not forbear to assure his majesty, that his impression of Cromwell had always been, that no king could possess a more able, diligent, or faithful subject. Even Cranmer, however, had now ceased to be safe. He owed his life to the personal feeling of Henry towards him.*

Two days after the execution of Cromwell, Dr.

* Strype's *Cranmer*, c. 27. See p. 227 of this volume.—Note.

Barnes of Cambridge, Garret, whom we have known in Oxford, and a clergyman named Jerome, died at the stake as heretics. The three sufferers met their trial by fire firmly and faithfully, and fill an honourable place in the band of martyrs who were to contribute so largely towards the liberation of their country. Such proceedings might suggest that Henry was about to retrace his steps towards Rome. But to preclude all suspicion of that nature, three priests opposed to the late changes were executed as traitors.

Romanist zealots in London.

In the heat of this reaction, the bill of the six articles was so 'branched' out by certain zealots in London, that within a fortnight after it became law, some five hundred persons in the metropolis were brought within its network, under the charge or suspicion of heresy. But Henry cancelled these proceedings, and sent those who were in prison to their homes. He knew well that if this course were taken, one half his subjects might be employed in making prisoners of the other half.* While the feeling which passed this act continued strong, powers for carrying it into effect of a very dangerous description were conferred on the clergy. But in 1544 an act was passed, which placed the subject when charged with heresy under the full protection of the magistrate. 'To prevent

Dangerous powers entrusted to the clergy, and withdrawn.

* Hall, 828. 'At the time that these six articles endured, which was eight years and more, they brought many an honest and simple person to their deaths. For such was the rigour of the law, that if two witnesses, false or true, had accused any, and vouched that they had spoken against the supremacy, there was then no way but death; for it booted not to confess that his faith was contrary, or that he said not as reported; for they would believe the witnesses—yea, and sometimes certain of the clergy, where they had no witness, would procure some, or else they were slandered.'—Ibid. Among the persons who fell into the hands of these people was Anne Ascue, the daughter of Sir Thomas Ascue, of Lincolnshire. Her crime consisted in her inability to believe in the doctrine of transubstantiation. She was a young lady whose deep religious feeling and conviction could brave the rack and the fire without dismay, self-sustained and saint-like in all things to the last. Great effort was made to bring her, by promises and by the rack, to implicate ladies connected with the court, but without effect.—Foxe, v. 443, 537–548.

'corruption and malice,' it was provided that no man should be indicted as a heretic, except 'in open and 'manifest courts, by the oaths of twelve indifferent 'persons, according to good equity and conscience,' the justices and the accused parties having the right to challenge the jurors, 'as in other cases.'*

Close of the Reformation under Henry VIII.

This middle course, at about an equal distance from Romanism and Lutheranism, Henry pursued to the end of his reign. To that time the six articles remained on the statute book as expressing the doctrine of the English church. The penalties connected with some of the minor points were softened, and the enforcement of the statute was impeded and moderated by the intervention of the crown, but the terror which its existence could hardly fail to inspire was always present. In the polity and ritual of the church, and in many things beside, Henry had introduced great reforms, and he adhered to those reforms to the last. But the church he left, while so sternly Protestant in many of her aspects, continued rigidly Catholic in doctrine. Transubstantiation, the mass, the confessional, and the sacredness of religious vows remained as they had been. But such a footing could not of course be long retained. A change for better or worse there must soon be, and the cost of going forward must be small, compared with the cost inseparable from going backward.

Decline of the party in the government opposed to reform.

From the fall of Cromwell, the leaders of the Romanist party in the government and in the court were the duke of Norfolk, his son lord Surrey, the bishops Gardiner and Bonner, and Wriothesley, the lord chancellor. If the zeal of these parties had been more discreet, their cause might have had a better prospect of success. But, in their confidence of power, they attempted to number such men as Cranmer and Latimer among their victims. Their conduct towards persons who were less capable of self-defence, was in

* 35 Hen. VIII. cap. 5. Gibson's *Codex*, i. 413–423.

many instances harsh, unjust, and cruel. Even the members of the king's household, and the queen herself, were not, it seems, secure against their insinuating and malignant policy.* At the time of the king's death, Wriothesley was the only man among those above-named who retained position and power. Lord Surrey hoped to become regent in the event of the king's death, and probably something more, and paid the penalty of his ill-regulated ambition on the scaffold. The duke of Norfolk could not plead ignorance of his son's rash proceedings, and was concluded to have been more or less a party to them.† The duke was under sentence of attainder when the king died. Gardiner had fallen so much under Henry's displeasure, as the consequence of his intriguing policy, that his name was erased from the list of persons appointed to act as his majesty's executors, and as guardians of the realm on a new accession. Bonner shared in the suspicion which his colleagues had brought upon themselves, and which had left them so powerless. Henry's leanings, after the first triumph of this party, were not in favour of their proceedings. Latimer and others, when assailed by these men, made the king their refuge. Henry still clung to the doctrine of transubstantiation. On other points Gardiner's inquisitors did not find it easy to obtain convictions. And those who best knew the final sentiments of the monarch, affirmed, that had his life been spared another twelvemonth, he would not have left a mass to be said in all England.

Popular intelligence and feeling in regard to religion on the accession of Edward VI.

Under the surface of these struggles of faction at home, coupled with war abroad—war with Scotland,

* Foxe, v. 553.

† The indictment of Surrey in the *State Paper Office*, pouch xiv., affirms, that certain arms, commonly known as those of Edward the Confessor, have been always appropriated exclusively by the persons of the royal family, that Surrey had assumed those insignia, and had therein betrayed his treasonable intentions, meaning 'the disinheritance of the said prince Edward to his right and title.' *State Papers*, i. 891, 892.

war with France, war with Ireland—the crippled powers of the men disposed to become persecutors, were stoutly overmatched by the rising spirit of the people. So many years of access to the English Bible, sent by tens of thousands through the land; such a free use of English prayers, full of scriptural ideas, breathing so much scriptural feeling, and provided by command of the king; and such a profuse distribution of books, licensed and unlicensed, on religious subjects—all had tended to set the mind and utterance of the nation at liberty, so that every man had his share to bring to the wisdom or folly, the moderation or excess, of the common strife. To such a degree had this polemical spirit taken hold of the people, that the unseemly brawls said to be taking place in churches, in public places, and even in alehouses, about the meaning of scripture texts, led the king and the parliament to forbid the reading of the scriptures in English, except by persons known to be of some education.* But the floodgates had been taken away. No hand could replace them. The mind of a nation never changes as the mind of the English nation was then changing without generating some such excesses. They are among the signs of wakefulness and life. Trivial observances, and superstitious dreams without end, which had covered the land for some eight centuries, were passing away like the night-mists which

* Here is the language of our statute book on this point, and some others in 1542—'Recourse must be had to the Catholic and Apostolic Church for the decision of controversies; and all books of the Old and New Testament in English, being of Tyndale's false translation, or comprising any matter of Christian religion, articles of faith, or Holy Scripture, contrary to the doctrine set forth since 1540, or to be set forth by the king, shall be abolished. No women, or artificers, prentices, journeymen, serving men of the degree of yeomen or under, husbandmen, nor labourers, shall read the New Testament in English. Nothing shall be taught or maintained contrary to the king's instructions. And if any person shall teach anything contrary, he shall for the first offence recant, for the second abjure and bear a faggot, and for his third, shall be adjudged a heretic, and be burned, and lose all his goods and chattels.'—34 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

float across the valleys, and off from the distant hills, before the morning light. The severance from Rome was complete. The limitations which had been imposed on the power of the clergy were large and wholesome. The suppression of the monasteries, and of a vast amount of imbecile and degrading superstition connected with them, had cleared the way for many beneficial changes, both social and religious. If the recognised doctrine of the English church remained too much the same, nothing else remained the same. Our cautious Nationalists, indeed, had not intended that the people should learn all they were learning. But the providence of God was larger than the foresight of man.

CHAPTER V.

ENGLAND UNDER THE FIRST REFORMATION.

England as it passed into the hands of the Tudors.

SOCIETY in England, as England passed from the hands of the Plantagenets to the Tudors, was society with nearly all that had once been characteristic of it exhausted, disorganized, and in decay. Feudalism had lost its best, and had entailed its worst. The same may be said of the English church. Anarchy in politics, and the lowest corruption in religion, had come in together. The old relations of things had been disturbed, and were passing away, and the new had not settled in their place. The legal basis of property continued as it had been, but little beside so continued. It has been common to attribute the mass of social evil found in England under the Tudors to the bad government of those princes, and especially to the religious innovations for which they were so greatly responsible. But there is scarcely a form of that social evil which cannot be shown to have come to the Tudors as a bad heritage from more feudal times. If there was to be a regeneration of England, the great processes of change which are conspicuous in our history under the house of Tudor were indispensable. The errors in administration under those sovereigns were nearly all traditional. They were accepted from the past. And if the new policy seemed at times only to aggravate the old disorders, such effects were by no means unnatural. The new suffering was often no more than had become necessary

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if disease was to be removed, and health restored. It happened, not always because the things broached were so new, but often because they were not new enough; or because the new men had not risen to the level of the new principles by which they professed to be governed. We shall have to speak of much that was then done as being neither wise nor humane, but the evils to be dealt with were for the most part old grievances, and they would have been removed sooner, if the remedies applied to them had not been so often the old remedies. To describe England under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. as a country which had deteriorated, if compared with what had preceded, is to discourse unreasonably, ungratefully, and untruly. In this chapter an attempt will be made to show how far the state of society under Henry VIII. had its roots in the past, and the manner in which the old was affected by the new. Our history has been a growth —a growth in all things.

The Feudal system.

It is possible to exhibit the feudal system as embracing so much compactness, completeness, and splendour as to fascinate the imagination in its favour. Such a network of relations, found everywhere, descending from the high to the low, based in all connexions on vows of mutual fidelity, and directed avowedly towards a high and common object, seems to bespeak the presence of no ordinary measure of intelligence and of social virtue. But, in fact, the system was not so much a combination between the high and the low, as a combination of the strong against the weak. Centralized as it was, it did not suffice to preclude local disorder, but tended rather to create it. It was in contentions of that nature, more than in hostilities between one nation and another, that feudalism found outlets for its martial temper. Only under such a system could the wars of the Roses have been possible. Feudalism despised commerce. It bestowed but a partial encouragement even upon agriculture. It cannot be said to have been a friend to

literature. The highest style of man in its estimation was man in arms. To a large extent, it was a combination by which men who had weapons extorted services from those who had none.

It is true, in those days, nobles were often checks upon kings, and kings were often checks upon nobles, and the classes below sometimes profited by these quarrels between the men above them. But the mass of the people felt that those fighting men were their masters, and that the service to which they were doomed by those strong hands was often a hard bondage. Beneath the shadow of this system, the villain and the serf were wronged and depressed in every way possible. Such men could plead no right, could possess no property, but were in reality slaves in the hands of the owners of the soil. Among the evils of those times were the cruelties inflicted in defence of the forest laws; the robberies perpetrated under the name of purveyance; and the arbitrary dealing with the property of heirs and heiresses during their minority, and in respect to marriage. The chivalrous glitter seen on the distant surface of this state of society is deceptive. Beneath it was a deep and dark flood of social evils which time was to bear away. The preamble to a law in the time of Richard II. describes a large portion of England as overrun with bands of armed men, who plundered the people, murdered without scruple, carried off women, and had become so bold as to take possession of estates by no other title than their swords.*

These were the disorders which Henry VII. sought to remove by making the armed following which had been so common among the feudal nobility unlawful.†

* 2 Ric. II. c. 6. A severe law was passed under Henry VII. against this forcible abduction of women.—Bacon's *Hen. VII.* 488.

† 'The king our sovereign lord remembereth how by unlawful maintenance, giving of liveries, signs, and tokens, and retainers by indenture, promises, oaths, writings, or otherwise, embraceries of his subjects, untrue demeanour of sheriffs in making of panels, and other untrue returns, by

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In the time of his successor, the fruit of his wise and firm policy in this respect had become manifest. The influence of the commons and of the crown had come to be powerful enough to awe the temper of the nobles, and had made that vigorous action on the part of the government possible without which there could have been little progress.

Military training.

Until very recently, we have been so much accustomed to think of military training as belonging only to men who are soldiers by vocation, that to realize the England of the past in this respect requires some effort of imagination. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, all men liable to be taxed by the state were expected to qualify themselves for appearing in arms in its defence. The soldier was combined with the yeoman, or with the citizen, in the person of the freeman. The men holding so much property were to be armed after one manner, those holding less after another, but all persons above the lowest, even the servants in ordinary households, were to be enrolled and equipped in some form for military service.* The Englishmen who acquitted themselves so well at Flodden field, had been suddenly summoned to the strife from those village greens and town neighbourhoods where they had been wont to give the fragments of their time to exercises in arms. Every locality had its military organization. Every village was to provide 'a paire of butts,'—an archery ground for bow practice. Laws were passed to suppress 'unthrifty games,' and to encourage the people to seek their

taking of money by juries, by great riots, and unlawful assemblies, the policy and good rule of this nation is almost subdued.'—3 Henry VII. c. 1.

* 'With regard to the land forces, speaking of the infantry, or the soldiers serving on foot, these would indeed be innumerable, if we took into account all those who, in case of need, would rise for the defence of the kingdom, remote as they are. For, in one county alone, of the thirty-nine into which the kingdom is divided, viz., that called Yorkshire, it is said, for this service are enrolled 70,000 men or more. The vulgar notion goes as far as 100,000.'—Micheli's *Report from England*, 1557; Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, ii.

amusements on Sundays and holidays in the use of the sword, the pike, or the bow. France confided most in her men-at-arms, Scotland in her pikemen, England in her men with the longbow. It was this last weapon that had given the English their victories at Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt. So strong and steady was the arm of the Englishman in the use of this implement, that he could send an arrow from it with fatal effect to the distance of more than two hundred yards. Men-at-arms had sometimes only to look on, while the bowmen brought the enemy down by hundreds, and ensured victory before the hand-to-hand struggle became possible.*

The king comes into the place of the feudal chief in military affairs.

While the feudal system was in its vigour, these local organizations stood related for the most part to the local nobility and gentry, and were commanded by them. But the wars of the Roses prepared the way for their being brought into a more direct relation to the crown, by means of the authority vested for that purpose in the sheriff. From that time, the oath of the armed man was no longer the oath of the vassal to his lord, but the oath of the subject to his sovereign. This great transition could hardly have become so complete in so brief a space, had it not been hastened, and made imperative, by the civil wars. The crown, however, did not become at once so powerful in the support of these usages as the nobility had been, who had divided the work between them, and who had each his personal interests to secure by attention to it. Hence, in the time of Henry VII., men did not use the longbow as their fathers had done; and a law

* 3 Hen. VIII. c. 3; 6 Hen. VIII. c. 2; 13 & 14 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 6. 'In my time,' says Latimer, 'my poor father was as diligent to teach me to shoot as to teach me any other thing; and so I think other men did their children. He taught me how to draw, how to lay my body in my bow, and not to draw with strength of arms, as other nations do.'—*Sermons*. 'Not a nation in the world,' says Micheli, 'esteems danger and death more lightly than the English.'

was passed which reminded the people that 'the long-bow had been much used in this realm, whereby 'honour and victory had been gotten against outward 'enemies, the realm greatly defended, and much more 'the dread of all Christian princes by reason of 'the same.' On the accession of Henry VIII. new enactments on this subject were published every four or five years. No pains were spared by the king to ensure that his subjects should be found brave and skilful men in the face of an enemy, whether upon the land or the deep.* Happily, an army so constituted was better adapted to defensive than to aggressive war. It could not be relied on for the prosecution of foreign service. On the continent, mercenary troops were coming rapidly into the place of forces of this order. But in England, the sword was not to pass more than very partially from the hands of Englishmen. In this reign the arquebuse—the first form of the musket—came into frequent use. We have seen at Flodden, the execution that could be done with English cannon. Subsequently, the English ordnance was often made of brass. All the headlands of the coast, and the high places in the interior, had their beacon stations, whence, in times of danger, the signal-mark by day, and the fire by night, could send forth a quick summons to arms.

* Down to the time of Cromwell, the nobles were known to have large supplies of arms at their disposal. Cromwell, describing to Henry a visit that had been paid him by the marshal de Castillon, says, 'I took him into my armory, and showed him such store of armour and weapons as I have, which he seemed to esteem much, and I told him that there were other particular armories of lords and gentlemen in this realm, more than the number of twenty, as well or better furnished than mine; whereat he wondered, and said, that he thought your grace the prince best furnished thereof in Christendom.' — MS. *Cott. Titus*, B 257. 'Of men of property who would voluntarily come forward, it is thought by competent judges, that, in the hour of trial, when a general effort was to be made, a body of twenty or twenty-five thousand might be raised, all furnished with cuirasses and polished arms, that is to say, if to those which the court could arm, those of the gentry and particular barons were added.'—Micheli's *Report*.

The foreign policy of England under the Plantagenets, was restricted, for the most part, to negotiations and efforts having respect to the territory of the English in France. The national feeling in regard to foreigners consisted especially in a feeling of hostility to that country. Wolsey, as we have seen, took up this feeling, and made his use of it through the greater part of his administration. The interests of English trade were strongly on the side of an alliance with Spain and the Low Countries. The fact that Catherine, the wife of prince Arthur, and afterwards of Henry, was aunt to the emperor, was also favourable to Spanish influence in England. The cardinal, during the greater part of his career, conformed himself to these circumstances. He aimed to perpetuate friendship between Henry and Charles, and to secure weight to England as the natural umpire in disputes between the rival powers of the continent.

The foreign policy of the Plantagenets and Tudors.

With the battle of Pavia came a new complexion of affairs. It was then to become manifest, that the tendency of the course pursued by Henry and Wolsey, had long been, to give a dangerous ascendancy to Spain; and that the power which England had done so much to aggrandize, was utterly indifferent to English interests. The feeling of Henry towards Charles ceased to be what it had been; and Wolsey had his private reasons for encouraging the new policy dictated by this new feeling.

Effect of the battle of Pavia on the political relations of Europe.

Next came the question of the divorce, and the startling events which followed. The pope, on whose friendly services Henry had so much depending, proved intractable, and intractable from being a mere puppet in the hands of Charles. For awhile, the king of England became an ally of France, and even of the Protestants of Germany, and little disposed to cultivate the friendship of his holiness or of the emperor. But in that interval men not favourable to Henry's reforming policy came to have their place about him, and Charles was prepared to make the change subservient to

Effect of the divorce controversy on such relations.

New motives to new combinations.

his policy. The asperities which the divorce controversy had called forth were gradually softened. Francis was found to be as little grateful, and as little scrupulous as his great rival. Hence the relations of England, during Henry's later years, become, through many contradictory influences, perplexed, uncertain, and such as no sagacity could have foreseen. Francis, intent on making acquisitions in Italy, persuaded himself that the sultan might be a more useful ally than the king of England. The pontiff, and his more passionate adherents, were inclined to look on an alliance with Mohammedan or pagan as more tolerable than any friendly relation with the schismatic power recently set up in this country.

In 1542, Spain and France were at war, and the high-handed policy of Francis, and his repudiation of his English debts, led Henry to meditate taking part with the emperor. Scotland, in the meanwhile, faithful to her traditional policy, is found ready to take side with France against the English. But the French faction in the Scottish government were to find their reward in the defeat at Solway Moss—an event the shame of which broke the heart of their king. Long negotiations followed that disaster. But the national party, under the able and artful guidance of Cardinal Beaton, succeeded in frustrating the plans of the English party, which was dependent at that time on the feeble, perhaps the insincere, policy of the earl of Arran.

Henry allies himself with Charles—progress of opinion.

It was not before the opening of 1543 that the contemplated treaty between Henry and Charles was brought to a conclusion. It was a treaty in which the contracting parties pledged themselves to the assistance of each other, should their territories be invaded in the name of prince or pontiff. Neither was to think of any settlement with France without the concurrence of the other. Great care was taken to guard this compact against an unsatisfactory issue, by giving the greatest possible explicitness to its terms, and by a mutual renunciation of all diplomatic finesse or artifice in the interpretation of them. Should

Francis reject the demands about to be made upon him, Henry and Charles were to join in an invasion of France. Great was the consternation produced in Paris and in Rome by this appearance of amity in quarters where it was so little to have been expected. Francis was now called upon to desist from all hostility against Charles, to pay his debts to England, and to cease to be a 'confederate with the Turk.' So did circumstances affect religious thought and feeling in that age. The 'Most Christian king' could dare to send his subjects to fight side by side with the disciples of Mohammed in their onslaughts upon Christians; and the crowned head which was to be taken beyond all others as representing soundness in the faith, does not fear to become allied openly with the monarch who had presumed to account the bishop of Rome as bishop of Rome, and no more; had rejected him as head of the church; and had assumed that title as his own. We wish we could speak of these proceedings as indicating the progress, not only of public opinion, but of public virtue. But we cannot so do. As the war fluctuated, Charles seized his moment for making a separate treaty, contrary to his most solemn oath, leaving his good brother, the king of England, to obtain such terms as he best might single-handed. France now collected a formidable armament. England was to be invaded and conquered. But the favour of Providence, to which we have been so often indebted when thus menaced, was with us. Our shores were defended skilfully, bravely, and successfully. The peace extorted left England tranquil until Henry VIII. had breathed his last.*

Duplicity and selfishness of the emperor.

War among civilized nations is largely a battle of exchequers. France was not wealthy. Charles found more difficulty in raising money for the prosecution of his schemes of conquest than is commonly supposed, and his hand was always more or less paralysed by the religious differences which had become so formi-

Position of England in the system of Europe in the later years of Henry VIII.

* *State Papers*, ix. passim.

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dable among his German subjects. England, amidst all her unsettledness, grew in productive power. But, as the reader has seen, until the accession of Henry VIII. her foreign policy had been limited almost entirely to her measures with a view to retain or to extend her conquests in France. She now has her position as part of a great European system, and her influence, in these new relations, is not only to be perpetuated, but is to be felt as a constantly increasing influence.*

Parliament under Henry VIII.

We have seen, that Wolsey, and Henry under his management, almost dispensed with the use of parliaments during the first twenty years of this reign. Within that space, parliament was assembled five times. Seven years had passed since the last was dissolved, when that of 1523 was summoned. Another seven years intervened before Englishmen were to see the next meeting of their legislature. This was a widely different course of proceeding from what had obtained under Edward III.—when parliaments were convened, on the average, even more frequently than once a year. But amidst the disorders of the fifteenth century, they had been assembled, or dispensed with,

* In a memorial by a Venetian ambassador, written a little before the accession of Henry VIII., and recently published by the Camden Society, we have the impression of an intelligent foreigner concerning England and the English people at that time. Our ancestors in those days, it seems, possessed a strong feeling of nationality—a feeling which our neighbours sometimes intimate is still in excess among us. 'The English are great lovers of themselves, and of everything belonging to them; they think that there are no other men than themselves, and no other world but England; and whenever they see a handsome foreigner, they say, 'He looks like an Englishman,' and that 'it is a great pity he should not be an Englishman;' and when they partake of any delicacy with a foreigner, they ask him whether such a thing is made in *their* country.' Speaking of culprits who, on leaving sanctuary, are obliged to leave the kingdom, the writer remarks—'It is not unamusing to hear how the women and children lament over the misfortune of these exiles, asking how they can live so destitute out of England, adding that 'they had better have died than go out of the world,' as if England were the whole world.'—*A Relation of the Island of England*, 20, 21, 35.

according to the exigencies of faction; so much so, that the churchmen who came into power on the accession of Henry VII., seemed to have had scarcely any idea of the real nature of the English monarchy, and would have sustained almost any stretch of authority in the king.

Illegal attempts to raise money.

The expenditure of Henry VIII. was large. But the fixed revenue from the customs, and from many other sources, was also large. We have seen, also, the attempts made by Wolsey to raise money illegally, in the form of benevolence and loan. The popular protest, in city and country, against such exactions, did more to save the right of parliament in matters of taxation, than anything done by the parliament itself.*

Henry is empowered to defraud his creditors.

When the Reformation Parliament was convened, Henry was greatly in debt. One of the services rendered to him by that house of commons, as a part of the understood price of his compliance with their reform policy, was to relieve him from difficulty in that form, by empowering him to repudiate the claims of all persons from whom he had obtained loans of money. The plea set forth in the preamble to this memorable enactment is, that the sums so obtained had been honestly expended in the cause of his holiness, 'The Head and Prince of the World;' in repressing 'a damnable schism;' in imposing a check on the 'inordinate ambition of those who aspired to the 'monarchy of Christendom;' and in assuring safety, rest, and property to his majesty's own subjects. But, plausible as this language might sound, its fraudulence becomes palpable when compared with the words of the king to the money-lenders. 'We, Henry VIII., 'by the Grace of God King of England and of France, 'Defender of the Faith, and Lord of Ireland, *promise* 'by these presents, *truly to content and repay* unto our 'trusty and well-beloved subject, A. B., the sum of '———, which he hath lovingly advanced unto us by

* See pp. 48–58.

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'way of loan, for defence of our realm, and maintenance 'of our wars against France and Scotland. In witness 'whereof we have caused our Privy Seal to be set 'and annexed —— day of ———, fourteenth year 'of our reign.'* That the money so lent would be honestly applied was of course supposed, and could be no reason for evading the repayment which had been thus solemnly pledged. It was competent to the house of commons to levy a tax that would enable the king to pay these debts; or, seeing that all such modes of raising money for government purposes were manifestly illegal and dangerous, they might have left the borrower and the lenders to adjust their affairs between themselves; but to pass such an act, was to use their supreme power to perpetrate a public fraud. That what was done would be thus regarded must have been foreseen. 'When this release of the loan,' says a contemporary, 'was known to the commons of the 'realm, Lord! how they grudged and spoke ill of 'the whole parliament! For almost every man 'counted it his debt, and reckoned surely on the pay-'ment of the same, and, therefore, some made their 'wills of the same, and some other did set it over to 'other for debt; and so many had loss by it, which 'caused them sore to murmur. But there was no 'remedy.'†

In one view, the effect of this proceeding would be wholesome. It was well for the liberties of the country that the credit of our kings as borrowers should not stand very high, and after this event it could hardly stand lower. We should be glad to think that a motive of this description had something to do with the conduct of these thrifty commoners, but we have no evidence to that effect. In 1544, indeed, there was a recurrence to a measure of this description; and in 1545, a large benevolence was solicited, which was in effect as compulsory as a regular tax. It is true the

The benevolence exacted in 1545.

* Hallam, *Constitutional Hist.* i. 26.

† Hall.

country was then in great danger. Charles had treacherously deserted Henry, and had left England exposed to formidable hostilities from France and Scotland. But these circumstances were hardly an excuse. Any reasonable supply might have been obtained through a parliament; and if an immediate loan was necessary, it was not necessary that it should have been in the form of personal assessments, or of what were virtually such. But such modes of raising money had strong recommendations to a king of Henry's temper. It made resistance the act of private persons, and every such person found himself exposed single-handed to the whole strength of the government. Reed, an alderman of London, refused, on constitutional grounds, to contribute to the loan of 1545. With an arbitrariness worthy of the Grand Turk, Henry sent him to serve against the Scotch on the border, with instructions that he should be exposed to the severest hardships and dangers of camp life. Nevertheless, the money so extorted was described as a 'benevolence'—as money given from a good will. Persons whose will did not happen to be good, were expected to remember the city alderman, and to be wise.

Crown revenue under Henry VIII.

The revenue of the crown under Henry VIII. came from the port dues called tonnage and poundage; from fines imposed on merchants, traders, and persons in various occupations, for permission to follow their respective callings; from imposts levied upon amusements and dress; from the appropriation, after the separation from Rome, of the first-fruits and tenths from all livings; from the spoils of monasteries; from the forfeited estates of persons convicted of treason; from the Statute of Uses, which gave a tribute on lands, in place of the feudal profits on wards and marriages; from the old feudal domains of the crown; and from exchanges, and new appropriations of lands, under various pretexts. Added to all these sources of wealth, were the fines incurred by offences—and before the close of the present reign, all such fines came to

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the crown from the whole kingdom, the county palatine jurisdiction, which had allowed many of the nobles to enrich themselves by such means, being abolished. Henry often boasted of having spent large sums from his private income for public purposes, and with an income so vast, and so ill-defined, it would be strange if he had not so done.*

Treason—laws and proceedings in relation to it.

We have seen how the law of treason was expanded under Henry VIII., writings, or words, affecting the king's title or dignity, being made treasonable; and a refusal to take prescribed oaths, or to answer official questions, being in that high sense criminal. We have seen, too, that the injustice and cruelty which characterized the essence of these laws, were matched by the same qualities in the administration of them.† The state trials of this reign present a succession of the most revolting exhibitions. The known pleasure of the king decided the fate of such victims. The

* The records of parliament show that ten subsidies were granted during this reign. Attempts to raise money by loans or benevolence were exceptional, even under Henry.—*Parl. Hist.* i. 535–566. 'The liberty of this country is really singular and wonderful; indeed, there is no other country in my opinion less burdened and more free. For they have not only no taxes of any kind, but they are not even thought of; no tax on salt, beer, wine, flour, meat, cloth, and other necessaries of life, which in all parts of Italy especially, and in Flanders, are the more productive, the greater is the number of inhabitants who consume them. But here every one indifferently, whether noble or of the common people, is in the free and unmolested enjoyment of all he possesses or daily acquires, relating either to food or raiment, buying or selling, except in those articles which he imports or exports in way of traffic.'—*Report* by Micheli, the Venetian Ambassador in 1557. Ellis's *Lett.* 2nd Series, vol. ii. This passage gives the impression of a foreigner concerning the state of the 'commonalty' in England in regard to taxation. The position of our ancestors as islanders saved them from much of the danger of invasion, and from much of the expenditure that would otherwise have fallen upon them. Subsidies, when they were said to amount to a fifteenth or a tenth upon a man's substance, seem to be a heavy burden; but it must be remembered that these were generally paid in instalments, extending over years, and it is certain that the property returns made to the commissioners were generally at a rate much below reality. This was one among the many common frauds censured by Latimer.

† Pp. 58–61.

effect of proceedings of this nature on the mind and manners of the people must have been deeply demoralizing. Before them, was the constant presence of a single will, over-riding principle and law, as caprice or passion, under the plea of conscience, might determine.*

Legislation delegated to the crown.

The policy which ceded this sway to the crown, was carried so far as to delegate a power of legislation to the sovereign, contrary to the old law maxim, that 'a delegate cannot delegate.' For the Reformation Parliament did not scruple to leave certain of its enactments to be enforced or suspended according to the royal wisdom; and decided formally, that a proclamation by the king in council between the sittings of parliament, should have the force of one of its own acts.†

Proclamations allowed the force of law.

Criminal justice under Henry VIII.

The severe temper which characterized the proceedings of the legislature and the government against state criminals is observable, more or less, in all the laws relating to crime during this reign. But this was a necessity bequeathed by the past. The amount of vagrancy, idleness, and of offences of all kinds in England, at the close of the fifteenth century, is almost incredible. An intelligent foreigner, resident in this

* Of the readiness with which the crown was disposed to multiply treasons, we have evidence in a law of Henry VII., which made it treason to 'conspire the death of any of the king's council, or of a lord of the realm.'—Bacon's *Hen. VII.* 594. The violent temper generated by the late wars furnishes the only explanation of such an enactment.

† Numerous instances may be seen in Rymer of power given to the king by the Reformation Parliament to dispense with particular statutes of that and of former parliaments. Henry presumed that some power of this kind always belonged to the crown, and also that his proclamations might be enforced with penalties according to his pleasure. In one instance, he commanded the members of parliament to go to their homes in the country, on pain of being punished, as should be 'thought convenient.'—Amos *on the Reformation Parl.* 65. 'Your most high court of parliament have full power and authority, not only to dispense, but *to authorize some elect person or persons to dispense* with those and all other human laws of this your realm.'—25 Hen. VIII. c. 21; 31 Hen. VIII. c. 8; 34 Hen. VIII. c. 23.

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country in the time of Henry VII., says—'There 'is no country in the world where there are so many 'thieves and robbers as in England; insomuch that 'few venture to go alone in the country, except in 'the middle of the day, and fewer still in the towns at 'night, and least of all in London. People are taken 'up every day by dozens, like birds in a covey, and 'especially in London; yet for all this they never 'cease to rob and murder in the streets.'* These strong forms of social disorder had come in part from the mistaken charities of the monks, generating idleness, the parent of crime; and in part from the feudal violence with which the land had been filled during the civil wars. In not a few instances the penalties imposed seemed much to exceed the offence.† To sell a horse to a Scotchman, was to assist an enemy, to the detriment of the kingdom, and was made felony.‡

Gypsies,

Gypsies were very numerous in those days, and, judging from the course taken towards them, it is surprising that any of the race should have survived. They are described as 'an outlandish people, calling

* *Relation of the Island of Britain*, 34, 36.

† The temper abroad affected clergy as well as laity. By a law of Henry VII., a clerk convicted of a criminal offence was to be burnt in the hand, 'that he might taste of corporal punishment, and carry a brand of infamy.'—Bacon's *Henry VII.* 594.

Jerome Cardan, writing in the time of Edward VI., states that during the reign of Henry VIII., not less than 72,000 persons were executed, principally, it would seem, for theft. The authority given by Cardan for this statement is the bishop of Lisieux, in Normandy, who was then in this country. From Cardan the statement was taken by Harrison, the author of the account of the state of England introductory to Holinshed's *Chronicle*, and from Harrison it has passed into the pages of our historians. Mr. Froude (vol. iii. 408) does not at all credit the statement. But it does not seem to me to be incredible. England and Wales include fifty-two counties, and an average of a little more than forty executions for each county in a year would give the specified number for the whole reign. From what we know of the number of executions in later and less severe times, we can suppose the work of the hangman under Henry to have made a much nearer approach to what the bishop has stated than Mr. Froude is inclined to admit.

‡ 23 Hen. VIII. cap. 16.

'themselves Egyptians,' who deceive people as fortune-tellers, and rob them in every way possible. According to one enactment, if apprehended after a day named, these people forfeited such goods and chattels as they possessed, half of which went to the magistrate, and half to the king, and they might be imprisoned indefinitely. In another instance, we learn, that persons of this description found in certain counties, after a certain day, were to be hanged, whether men or women, without scruple.* Heavy fines were levied on poachers, and the offence was sometimes punished with death. The reason assigned for such enactments was, that eggs, and young birds, were so commonly seized by such depredators, that the large households and liveries of noblemen and prelates, and the common markets, were not supplied with such means of subsistence as formerly. We must suppose, however, that one object of these laws was to secure the sportsman his privileges, though it was not expedient to make that reason prominent.†

Poachers.

But none of the laws of this period were so relentless in their temper as the laws against vagrancy. The disorder in this respect had become great, and was viewed as demanding a strong remedy. Impotent persons might obtain a licence to beg within certain districts, but were imprisoned in the stocks for two days and two nights if found beyond those limits. A cripple begging without a licence was to be stripped naked to the waist, and scourged. Ablebodied men or *women* found begging, were to be sent to the next market town, and to be publicly whipped at the cart's-tail, until the body should 'be bloody by reason of 'such whipping.' Obstinate offenders might not only be further whipped, but might be sentenced to have the upper part of the gristle of the right ear cut wholly away, as a perpetual token of their condition;

Punishment of vagrancy.

* 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 10.

† 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 11; 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.

and on the third conviction, the crime became felony, and might be punished with death. Weighty fines were imposed on the functionaries who hesitated to execute these laws, and also on those who should encourage 'valiant vagabonds' by voluntarily relieving them.*

Change from serf labour to free labour.

The old relations of master and serf disappeared with those of lord and vassal. The lower classes, with rare exceptions, were thus placed in a comparative independence which did not tend at once, and in all instances, to their advantage. When landlords became unfeeling, or when inclination prompted, labourers often became wanderers. It was observed of this class, that such as had once seen war scarcely ever went back to steady occupation. In those days, it was a comparatively new thing for a labourer to be at liberty to take his labour to any market, according to his humour, and many abused their liberty in roaming from place to place. Becoming homeless, they often became penniless, and in the end criminal; and the man who had once entered on such a course of life was rarely reclaimed from it. This transition from serf labour to free labour is a great fact in the history of society during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; and it was a change, which, though good in its end, was sure to be costly in its process.

Seizure and disposal of children and young persons.

To check the supply of vagabonds, it became law that the justices of the peace should be empowered to seize all children between the age of five and fifteen who were growing up in idleness, and to assign them to the charge of husbandmen and tradesmen, so that they might be made to acquire habits of honest industry. If any of these parties, between the age of twelve and sixteen, should desert such service, without a reasonable cause, they were to be 'openly whipped 'with rods,' and compelled to resume their employment. The officer failing to inflict this punishment when commanded by a magistrate, was to be sent to

* 22 Hen. VIII. cap. 12; 27 Hen. VIII. cap. 35; 31 Hen. VIII. cap. 7.

the stocks, and fed on bread and water. It must be confessed, we think, that the idea of society suggested by these facts is not of a very romantic or agreeable description. If we are not to account these measures as greatly wanting in wisdom and humanity, we must regard the habits of the lower classes of the people as deeply disordered.

The poor-box.

One of Henry's later thoughts was, to institute a poor-box in every parish, that the beggar might be relieved to a certain extent, and placed in the way of finding employment. But the supply in the box was left to voluntary contribution, and afforded but small assistance. The fines imposed on those who failed to cut the gristle of the ear close, or to flog women until the blood came, attest very plainly that the cruelty of the king was often rebuked by the humanity of his subjects. It does not seem to have been suspected, that to fix the mark of a vagabond upon a man for life, was to make him a vagabond for life. This principle holds in all such punishments—they wed the degraded to his degradation. And what are we to say of the government which hands over young children to servitude—to a virtual bondage, after the above fashion?

Administration of criminal law generally loose and arbitrary.

In all departments, the administration of criminal law under Henry VIII. was loose, arbitrary, and more or less oppressive. The custom of proceeding against state criminals by attainder, suspended some of the first principles of justice in favour of the crown, and to the injury of the subject. For the parliament, as we have seen, in pronouncing its judgment upon offenders after that form, did so on the report of depositions by witnesses whom they had never seen, and in the absence of the accused persons whose lives were in their hands. Nor was there a single apparent security to which persons charged with treason could look with confidence, inasmuch as the terrorism exercised by the government sufficed to ensure the most servile submission, both from judges and juries. It was

left to a statute under Edward VI. to enact explicitly, that in cases of treason there should be two witnesses placed face to face with the person accused.*

Court of the Star Chamber.

An instrument which contributed not a little to make the power of the crown thus formidable was the court of the Star Chamber. This court came into the place of the old council of ministers and nobles, which from the conquest downwards had been supposed to be always at the call of the king. An act in the third year of Henry VII. gave a legal and settled basis to this authority in regard to the sort of offences which fell within its province.† 'It is the 'effect of this court,' says a contemporary, 'to bridle 'such stout noblemen or gentlemen as would offer 'wrong by force to any manner of men, and cannot 'be content to demand or defend the right by order 'of law. It began long before, but took augmenta- 'tion and authority from that time that Cardinal 'Wolsey, archbishop of York, was chancellor of 'England, who of some was thought to have first 'devised that court, because that he, after some inter- 'mission, by negligence of time, augmented the autho- 'rity of it, which was at that time marvellous ne- 'cessary to do, to repress the insolency of the noble- 'men and gentlemen in the north parts of England, 'who being far from the king, and the seat of justice, 'made almost as it were an ordinary war among them- 'selves, and made their force their law, binding them- 'selves, with their tenants and servants, to do or 'avenge an injury one against another as they listed.'‡ Henry, it is added, often summoned such delinquents before him in this court, imprisoned the refractory,

* 5 Edward VI. c. 11. No person shall be convicted of treason 'unless accused by two lawful accusers, which said accusers at the time of the arraignment of the accused, if they be then living, shall be brought in person before the party so accused, and avow and maintain what they have to say against the said party.'

† Bacon's *Henry VII.* 594.

‡ Sir Thomas Smith's *Commonwealth of England*, bk. iii. c. 4.

and bound them to more orderly behaviour. Such an authority was no doubt expedient in that age, as in times long past. But it is no less clear, that it was in the nature of such an institution that it should encroach on the province of the laws which it was originated ostensibly to sustain. This court, as now constituted, took under its cognizance, not only questions concerning the retainers and the conduct of the nobles—sheriffs empanelling juries, and juries in giving their verdict, were held responsible to it. But Sir Thomas Smith, on mentioning the conduct of the Star Chamber in punishing jurors for their verdicts, states, that such proceedings, even at that time, were accounted 'violent, tyrannical, and contrary to the liberty 'and realm of England.' That there were instances in those days in which juries were bribed or perjured through self-interest or party feeling, is not to be doubted. Indeed, the complaints generally made are complaints against the corruption of jurors, more than against the dishonesty of witnesses. But it was not probable that the oversight of the Star Chamber would be restricted to the conduct of jurors in cases of treason. John Tyndale, brother to the martyr, and Thomas Patmore, merchants, were sentenced by Sir Thomas Ware, in this court, to ride round the city with their heads to their horses' tails, with papers round their heads, and to be fined at the king's pleasure. The crime of these merchants consisted in their receiving and distributing Tyndale's Testaments. Part of their punishment consisted in their being made to commit the books in their possession to the flames in Cheapside; and in the matter of the fine, it was the king's pleasure, it seems, to take from the merchants some two thousand pounds in money. One man is sent to the pillory for uttering 'slanderous words' about the council, and another is sentenced to have his ears nailed to that instrument. These instances are enough to indicate the range of offences which

came within the cognizance of this Erastian Inquisition.*

Benefit of clergy, and rights of sanctuary.

Among the great impediments to the administration of justice in the Middle Age, were the benefit of clergy, and the rights of sanctuary. Clergymen, and even laymen who could read, might claim, when charged with offence, to be exempt from the authority of the magistrate until tried by an ecclesiastical judge. The reader has seen that the Reformation Parliament did much towards putting an end to such distinctions, and towards placing all persons on the same level in the sight of the law. But the rights of sanctuary survived the other privileges of this description, and passed in a diminished form from the time of the Tudors to that of the Stuarts. Anciently, every church was a sanctuary. But certain places were especially privileged as such. The Hebrew cities of refuge, which were the precedent adduced by the clergy in support of these institutions, were available only to the manslayer. The Christian sanctuaries were thrown open to offenders of all grades—even to debtors. In course of time, much was done to abridge these rights, as they were called. In the reign of Henry VII. statutes were passed which denied this privilege to traitors, pirates, or servants. Sanctuary in a parish church was limited to forty days, after which time the fugitive must surrender himself for trial, or abjure the realm. The privilege offered by some of the greater sanctuaries might be enjoyed for life, and the men in such places were often the perpetrators of much crime in the neighbourhood of their respective homes.† By a law of this reign, sanctuary men, if chargeable with

* In 1529 we find the Star Chamber enacting very stringent regulations for the conduct of foreign artisans.—21 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

† 'A villain who, for some great excess that he has committed, has been obliged to take refuge in one of these sacred places, often goes out of it to brawl in the public streets, and then, returning to it, escapes with impunity for every fresh offence he may have been guilty of.'—*Relation of the Island of England*, 34, 35.

murder or felony, might be branded in the hand, and made to leave the kingdom. But an inconvenience followed from the action of this law. These exiled offenders, it was said, were often 'expert mariners, and 'apt for the wars, so that the strength and power of 'the realm was greatly diminished; that others of the 'abjured had instructed foreigners in archery, to the 'great increase and fortification of outward realms, 'and had disclosed their knowledge of the commodities 'and secrets of this realm.' It was enacted, accordingly, that in future, such persons should not be exiled, but be restricted, on pain of death, to their particular sanctuaries.* But what must the state of society have been, when its exiled murderers and felons were so numerous, as to make their influence to be thus felt among the seamen and soldiers of other states? Shut off thus from the general community, these masses of moral putridity became of course more putrid every hour. The fall of the great abbeys diminished the number of these plague districts. But even the Reformation Parliament allowed two large settlements of this description to flourish close by their own place of meeting in Westminster. In rude times such places of security had often shielded the weak against the strong. But, as commonly happens in such cases, the institution survived when its evil had come to be greater than its good.

The use of torture.

Our lawyers assure us, that the use of torture to extort evidence from a prisoner is unknown to our law. But in this respect prerogative has been above law. Lord Coke says, the rack was first brought into the Tower in the time of Henry VI., contrary to law. We know that it was used only too frequently in the time of Henry VIII., and that it had not become obsolete under James I. Cromwell felt no hesitation about subjecting offenders to such experiments. His Anglo-Catholic rivals in the government were as little

* 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 19; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

scrupulous. The following extract is from the journal of Anne Ascue. The lieutenant of the Tower and his servants refused to subject that heroic woman to farther suffering; and the passage shows who supplied their lack of service. 'They did put me on the rack, 'because I confessed no ladies or gentlemen to be of 'my opinion, and therefore they kept me a long time. 'And because I lay still, and did not cry, the lord 'chancellor, and Master Rich, took pains to rack me, 'with their own hands, till I was nigh dead.'* This is the employment to which a solicitor-general, and a lord chancellor of England, could give themselves in the reign of Henry VIII. It is proper to add, that this lord chancellor was the lord Wriothesley, and that this 'Master Rich' was the one witness produced against Fisher and More. The instrument of torture known in after time by the dreaded name of the Scavenger's Daughter was an invention of this reign, and so called from Sir William Skevington, who was lieutenant of the Tower when it came into use. It stretched and doubled up the body alternately in the most horrible manner.

The enclosure grievance an old one.

We have heard much of late concerning the popular discontent under Henry VIII., and especially under Edward VI., occasioned by the disposition of landlords to enclose the common lands, to convert arable land into sheep-walks, and small farms into great ones. The sale of the abbey lands, and the revolution which led to that measure, have been described as the great source of these disorders. The truth is, however, these changes were rife, and these murmurings were loud, very long before an acre of church land had passed into the hands of the laity. Henry VII. had looked on these evils in his time with considerable apprehension. He saw the yeomanry, the strong middle class in the rural districts, becoming, from

* Anne's narrative in Foxe—a document which has every mark of authenticity.

these causes, fewer than formerly. His fear was that the nation, apart from the towns, might soon come to consist of two classes only, the wealthy, and an abject class far below them. Such, observes lord Bacon, was the state of society in France and Italy, to the great detriment of both countries; and such, if not checked by wise laws, it bid fair to become in England. Hence, so far back as 1489, it had been enacted, that every farmhouse, having not less than twenty acres of land attached to it, should be kept up as such, that so the small farmers—the stout yeomen of the land—the class that should have place between the rich and poor, might not die out, but be perpetuated as a great element in the nation's strength.* Men did not see it, but, in fact, it was the commercial prosperity of the country which had brought up this difficulty. Land had become too valuable to be left unenclosed. The clothing trade, moreover, had become so productive, as to call for a large space of sheep-walk, that there might be an adequate supply of wool. Wool was then to the commerce of England what cotton is now. Commercial men became purchasers of land. 'The merchants,' says Edward VI., 'become landed 'men.' They take their place among the gentry, and expect, says the king, to be made magistrates. Not only abbey lands, but land generally, passed considerably into new hands. These changes no doubt diminished the value of labour in some forms, but they would ensure a greater value to it in others; and we are tempted to think that the unemployed must have consisted, for the most part, of the more helpless of their class, or of idlers who were such from choice. It was not in the power of the legislature to impose anything more than a partial check upon a social tendency of this nature. But with the ideas then prevalent, it was natural that something of this kind should be attempted.

* Bacon's *Henry VII.* 596.

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The nation, in the judgment of Henry VIII. and his senators, was by no means competent to walk alone. The landlord was not to do as he pleased in letting his land. The farmer was not to be left to his discretion in the cultivation of his farm. Employers and employed were not to be accounted the best judges in regard to their mutual interests. And to have left the prices of commodities to regulate themselves, would have been, it was thought, to neglect one of the most humane and patriotic duties of a government. The statute book of this reign, accordingly, is crowded with enactments relating to these subjects. Tillage land, it was reiterated, was favourable to population. Small farms, it was maintained, were necessary to multiply the number of substantial yeomen. By fixing the price of labour, the labouring classes were to be fairly remunerated, but in fact were placed in the hands of the classes above them.* In settling the price of commodities, if there was some care for the poor, there was care also for the heads of large feudal establishments, who hoped by such means to obtain convenient supplies on convenient terms.

Condition of the labouring classes.

What the state of the labouring and artisan classes really was, as the effect of this intrusive policy on the part of the government, is a question of some interest. It is, we think, quite clear, that it has been a great mistake to assume that the conduct of the legislature in meddling with the labour market proceeded from a generous wish to protect and befriend the labourer. The language of all our statutes on this subject, from the time of Edward III. downwards, is against such a

* Sir John Mason, writing concerning this way of attempting to make food cheap, says—'I have seen so many experiences of such ordinances; and ever the end is dearth, and lack of the thing we seek to make good cheap. (*A bon marché.*) Nature will have her course; for who will keep a cow that may not sell the milk for so much as the merchant and he can agree upon?'—MS. *Rolls Office*, Dec. 4, 1550. It is strange that so obvious a principle should not have obtained recognition until after so many more blundering 'experiences.'

supposition. It was not enough to tell the labourer that he must be content with a certain rate of payment, it was provided that he might be coerced into working on the prescribed terms.*

It must be remembered, that the rate of wages can never be justly determined apart from the current price of commodities. Hence, to make wages permanent, and to leave the price of provisions to fluctuate, must often have entailed a cruel injustice. It is true, attempts were made to settle the price of food. But such efforts were necessarily vain. The scale of value in the market rose and fell continually, sometimes above or below the ordinary level far beyond anything known in recent times. But if we take the fixed rate of wages in those times, along with the average rate of prices in the market, it will be found, we think, that the wages of the common male labourer were about eight shillings a week of our present money, and not, as recently stated, double that sum. In the statute of labourers two scales of payment are given, a scale of payment by the day, and a scale of payment by the year. Taking the former scale as our guide, the wages paid rise so high as to become on many grounds incredible. Following the latter, which would certainly seem to be the safest course, the rate of payment is reduced one half, which comports far better with what we know in relation to this subject from other sources.† The fair conclusion seems to be, that

* In one of Henry's laws on this subject it was considerately provided, that if there were shires in which a lower rate of wages had obtained than was now fixed by statute, such shires should be empowered to exact labour at that lower rate,

† Froude, i. 23–6. The Statute on Wages in 1514 provides that 'a chief hind, carter, or chief shepherd' shall receive 1*l.* for his yearly wages, and 5*s.* for his clothing, in addition to his diet. For a common servant, the payment was 16*s.* 8*d.* for the year, and 4*s.* for clothing. According to the scale of those times, the proportion of charge for 'meat and drink' was as one-third to the wages; so that the entire wages of the above persons, if not boarded, would be, for the first class 1*l.* 15*s.*, and for the second, 1*l.* 9*s.* Reckoning the penny then, upon the admitted

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the higher wages were in harvest time, almost the only time when engagements were made by the day. And some distinction of this kind may be supposed to have obtained among the craftsmen, whose daily wages are rated, in some instances, considerably above what would seem to have been the ordinary standard.

Diet of rich and poor.

An authority of the time gives the following account of the diet of rich and poor in the time of Elizabeth, when the country will hardly be supposed to have deteriorated. 'The bread throughout the land is 'made of such grain as the soil yieldeth, nevertheless 'the gentility commonly provide themselves sufficiently 'of wheat for their own tables, while their households 'and poor neighbours in some shires are forced to 'content themselves with rye and barley bread, and 'in time of dearth, many with bread made of beans, 'peas, or oats, or of all together, and some acorns, 'of which scourge the poorest do often taste.'* In

scale, as equal to a shilling now, the first of the above classes would receive in all 18*l.* a year, or at the rate of 6*s.* 11*d.* a week, according to the present value of money; and the second, 15*l.*, and at the rate of 5*s.* 9*d.* a week.—*Brit. Quart. Rev.* No. liv. pp. 310-314; Eden, i. 81 et seq. Concerning the state in which the lower class of the people were left by the policy of Henry VHI. some judgment may be formed from the fact that a law was passed in the first year of his successor which required that any runaway servant, or any person living idly for the space of three days, should 'be marked with an hot iron on the breast, and be the *slave* of him who should bring him, for the next two years, who should cause him to work by beating, chaining, or otherwise;' and should he desert his employer, he was to be branded on the forehead with the letter 'S,' and to be the slave of his master for ever! In this merciless act the word 'slave' is repeatedly used, and the victim might be ironed about the neck, arms, or legs.

* Harrison's *Description of England*, 317. Latimer, in one of his sermons, speaks of bacon as a portion of food which the labourer 'may not lack.' On which a good authority upon such matters has remarked—'I have no doubt, however, but that it formed a very inconsiderable portion of the labourer's fare; and that even at the latter end of the fifteenth century, he lived, as the peasants of the north do now, on oat and rye-bread, milk and pottage. I apprehend that the substantiality of diet for which the sixteenth century is renowned, was confined chiefly to the tables of persons of rank.'—Eden, i. 116. The discharged husbandmen who rose in insurrection in 1526, when questioned by the duke of Norfolk as to who was their leader, answered in the person of one John Green—'My lords, since you

those times, as in our own, the wages of artificers in towns were no doubt much higher than the wages of the peasants in the country; but we see no room to suppose that the difference was greater than at present, or that the more favoured class was in greater comfort than the same class among ourselves. What the artisans and trading classes were in the towns, the yeomen, or small landholders, were in the country. Both were comparatively well-conditioned, and together formed the strength of the nation.

State of agriculture.

But the agriculture of those times was something very different from our own. During the Middle Age, industry in this department struggled on with little sign of improvement. To make land somewhat more than usually productive, was only to subject it to special burdens from the short-sighted cupidity of some feudal neighbour. The civil wars during the latter half of the fifteenth century were especially unfavourable to the labours of the husbandman. When the country became more settled, recovery from the depression of the last fifty years was slow and unequal. In the time of Henry VIII. the yeoman found a portion of his winter employment in making his own implements. There was little skill in manuring. Marl was the substance chiefly used for that purpose, and in disposing of it care was to be taken that the wind should be 'westerly,' and the moon in the 'wayne.' Great virtues were attributed to salt, but there was great difference of judgment about the kind of salt that had virtue. The advantage of diversifying crops on the same soil does not appear to have been much observed before the close of the sixteenth century.

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ask who is our captain, forsooth, his name is Poverty, for he and his cousin Necessity hath brought us to this doing; for all these persons, and many more which I would were here, live not of ourselves, but of the substantial occupiers of this country, and they give us *so little wages* for our work that scarcely we be able to live, and thus in penury we pass our time, we, our wives and children. The duke was sorry to hear their complaint, and *well he knew that it was true.*'—Hall, 700.

Crows were supposed to be greatly injurious to corn, and parliament called on the people to destroy them utterly, not knowing that by removing that evil they would be making way for a greater. The legislature further required that a certain proportion of land should be sown with hemp, that there might be a supply of that article for the fireside spinning-wheel. We have seen, also, that great effort was made to encourage tillage. The intention of these laws was good, but the fair price of corn in the market did more than the prescribed penalties to secure a measure of obedience to them. A work entitled *A Boke of Husbandry*, published by Sir A. Fitzherbert, in 1534, may be said to be the oldest work belonging to the literature of agriculture in our language.* In that day, every substantial farm or country house was a little settlement in itself. The linen of the house, and much that was worn as clothing, was homespun. So with articles of consumption. The estate, in the hands of a thoughtful owner, and of a good housewife, supplied nearly everything that appeared upon the table; and the husbandman did much towards repairing his own

* 'England is all diversified by pleasant undulating hills and beautiful valleys, nothing being to be seen but agreeable woods or extensive meadows, or lands in cultivation, and the greatest plenty of water springing everywhere.' But the same writer says elsewhere, 'The population of this island does not appear to me to bear any proportion to her fertility and riches. I rode from Dover to London, and from London to Oxford, and it seemed to me to be very thinly inhabited; nor was there any variety in the report of those who went to Bristol and Cornwall.' . . . 'All the lands of the nobility are not in cultivation; great portion lies barren and waste.' The writer had received an exaggerated account of the number of parks in England at that time. 'Agriculture is not practised in this island beyond what is requisite for the consumption of the people, because were they to plough and sow all the land capable of cultivation, they might sell a quantity of grain to the surrounding nations. This negligence, however, is atoned for by an immense profusion of animals.'—*A Relation of the Island of England*, 10, 20, 31, 39. The population of England at this time would seem to be somewhere between four and five millions. The men in the country capable of bearing arms in 1575 were 1,172,674.—Harrison's *Description of England*.

tools, and keeping his cottage and the farm buildings in order.

Laws to settle prices.

We have said that attempts were made to fix the price of commodities as well as the rate of wages. The doctrine of the English parliament during the reign of Henry VIII. appears to have been, that there could never be any want of commodities in the market, at a reasonable price, and of good quality, if men disposed to forestall could be brought to punishment for such wickedness, and if deceitful dealers could only be made honest. Great effort accordingly was made, to reach these two classes of offenders, who were regarded as the root of so much social evil.

An act of 1534 provided that persons rearing cattle and refusing to sell them to butchers at prices to be assessed by a justice of the peace, should be bound to appear in the Star Chamber, and to suffer such punishment as should 'be thought convenient.' In like manner, merchants were made to sell their wines, or to incur heavy penalties. Butcher's meat, poultry, cheese, butter, all had a government price fixed on them. But these legislators often found that there were circumstances to which these laws could oppose no effectual resistance. In 1534, an act recites, that meat was sold at a price so 'excessive,' that his majesty's needy subjects could not gain by their labour 'salary 'sufficient to pay for their convenient sustenance.' The butchers, accordingly, were put under new and more stringent regulations. But the butchers rebelled. During three years the conflict went on between the butchers and the parliament. In the end the butchers prevailed, a law being passed which said that his highness, 'considering the dearth of all means of 'victual by reason of floods and unseasonable wea-'thers, and that if former statutes were put into 'execution, the butchers would not be able to live, nor 'his commons be well served, by his accustomed good-'ness is contented, that, during four years, all but-'chers, and others selling flesh by retail, may lawfully

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'sell beef, pork, mutton, and veal, at their pleasures and 'liberties.'* It was not in the way of these legislators to see that the causes which had made it impossible to settle the price of meat, were allied with causes making it impossible to settle the price of anything. But though the parliament was slow to confess its folly in this respect, we should err greatly in our estimate of the condition of the people in this reign, if we accepted the prices of provisions settled by statute, as having been uniformly the real prices. Other causes besides 'floods and unseasonable weather,' were in constant operation to baffle such a policy. The precious metals are said to have increased fourfold within a century after the discovery of America; and in the face of this disturbing power prices were to be stereotyped!

Office of 'searchers.'

To ensure that goods brought to the fair or market might be what they should be, 'searchers' were appointed, with an authority resembling that of the modern exciseman. Too often, however, the men deputed to mount guard upon the supposed culprits became culprits themselves. So even that expedient was to a large extent a failure. The presumption of the government seemed to be, that the nation was made up of two classes—the sellers, who were all rogues, and the buyers, who were all fools. On this ground, it came in with its own good offices, to curb the wickedness of the one class, and to protect the simplicity of the other.†

* 24 Hen. VIII. c. 3; 33 Hen. VIII. c. 11.

† Most of the large towns in England had their annual or half-yearly fairs, where nearly all articles not of daily consumption were purchased. The corporation of London in the time of Henry VII. would have obliged their citizens to sell only in the London marts. Against this restriction the citizens rebelled, petitioned parliament, and alleged that the effect of such a regulation would be to destroy the fairs in the provinces, to the great inconvenience of his majesty's subjects. In setting forth their case, the petitioners mention some of the articles sold in those fairs. They were, it seems, the common resort of all classes 'to buy many things which be good and profitable, as ornaments of holy church, chalices, books, vestments, and other ornaments for holy church aforesaid; and also for

Jealousy of foreigners.

The remaining features in the trade policy of Henry VIII. had respect mainly to the supposed desirableness of converting nearly all trades into monopolies, and to the duty of precluding foreign from coming into competition with native industry, by subjecting the former to every sort of disadvantage, or by shutting it out altogether. It will not be denied that there might have been good reasons for a policy somewhat of this nature in that age. But the extent to which it was carried was so rebuked by experience as to render it inexcusable even in those days.

In the preambles to many laws concerning trade in this reign, it is alleged that multitudes of people in this country lacked employment, and in consequence became vagrants and rogues; and that the cause of this evil was to be found in 'the great number of 'wares and merchandize made and brought out of all 'parts beyond sea into this realm, ready wrought by 'manual occupation.' In this manner, it was said, foreign countries are enriched and England is impoverished. In other words, Henry VIII., who regarded Englishmen as capable of competing with any nation under heaven in arms, despaired utterly of their power to compete with the foreign trader in their own markets—more strange still, this abject ground was taken by the popular feeling. It could not rely on its own skill and manhood, it could hope to be prosperous only as heavy taxes should be imposed on foreign produce.

Apprentice riot on May-day, 1517.

It was this feeling, which, on May-day, 1517, led to a memorable rising of the Londoners, and especially of the London apprentices. Not only, said the mal-

household, as victual for the time of Lent, and other stuff, as linen, woollen cloth, brass, pewter, bedding, iron, flax, and wax, and many other necessary things.'—*Statutes*, 3 Hen. VII. c. 9. The preamble to this dry statute enables us to picture to ourselves bishops and barons, knights and priors, and every grade of persons, crowded together in Bristol, Coventry, and elsewhere, to make their purchases, and to enjoy the festive pleasures common on such occasions.

contents, are the most costly silks and cloths now in use, and preferred by purchasers, almost wholly of foreign manufacture, but goods of every description, down to saddles, stools, and nails, exposed in our markets or elsewhere for sale, are not of our home production. So have these aliens multiplied in this city and in its neighbourhood, that they have large settlements to themselves in Holborn, in Southwark, in Westminster, in St. Martin's, in St. John-street, in Aldgate, in St. Catherine's, at Temple Bar, and on Tower-hill. The men whom we thus harbour among us forestall every market, and 'Englishmen want and 'starve, while foreigners live in abundance and 'pleasure.'

One of the men who spoke thus, named John Lincoln, prevailed on a Dr. Bell to indulge in invective of this nature in a sermon preached before the citizens in the Spital church. The text of the preacher was, 'The heavens are the Lord's, but the earth hath he 'given to the children of men;' and the drift of the discourse was to show 'how this land was given to 'Englishmen; and as birds defend their nests, so 'ought Englishmen to cherish and maintain themselves, 'and to hurt and grieve aliens, for respect of their com-'monwealth.' This was on the Tuesday in Easter week. It now began to be whispered, that on the approach-May-day, an onslaught would be made upon the foreigners. Wolsey sent a caution to the city corporation. On the evening preceding May-day, the aldermen met, and a little before nine o'clock each alderman was sent to his ward to enjoin that no person should be absent from his home after that hour. It happened, that as Sir John Mundy was returning from his ward through Cheapside, two young men were fencing with their weapons, and others were looking on. The alderman called upon them to desist and disperse. The young men wished to know why? Whereupon, the magistrate would have them sent to the Compter. But the apprentices on the spot inter-

posed, and shouted ''prentices, 'prentices, clubs, clubs.' In answer to this call, multitudes, not only of 'prentices, but of servants, watermen, and others of better condition, rushed forth from every lane, court, and doorway, and the city passed suddenly into the hands of a riotous mob. The first object of this multitude, was to release some persons from prison, who had been committed a few days before for maltreating foreigners. Next they directed their steps to the houses of the obnoxious strangers, where they committed much havoc. Fortunately, the owners had been made aware of their danger, and had fled. Towards three or four o'clock in the morning the rioters began to disperse, and many were then seized and imprisoned. So formidable was the disorder, that the lieutenant of the Tower had discharged several pieces of ordnance against the city in the course of the night.

Some days later, a number of the rioters were brought to be tried. Several were sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered. A moveable gallows was provided, that the executions might take place in the different localities which had been the chief scenes of the outrage. But after diffusing no little terror by this means, Wolsey used his influence in favour of the culprits, and they were all pardoned, with the exception of Lincoln, who was hanged.* It should be added, that this jealousy of foreigners had come down with the history of English industry from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. It was not surprising that the feeling should still exist. But it was little creditable to the age that time should seem to have done nothing to abate it.†

* Hall.

† 21 Hen. VIII. c. 16. Lord Herbert (*Hist.*) and Anderson (*Hist. Com.*) say that an act was passed in 1531, which, after the example of a similar law in the time of Richard III., and which was certainly renewed under Henry VII. (3 Hen. VII. c. 8), provided that all money taken in England by the foreign merchant should be expended in English commodities. But I do not find any trace of such law in the statutes of this reign. See 32 Hen. VIII. c. 16, for a summary of the restrictions imposed on aliens.

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The monopoly policy.

It was quite natural that the policy designed to guard Englishmen so rigorously against the inconvenience of competition with the foreigner, should be extended to protect them against competition among themselves. Monopolies in the home trade, were only a natural corollary to such a system of restriction in regard to foreign trade. In the time of Henry VII. the company of Merchant Adventurers presumed to take the whole foreign commerce of the country into their hands. Heavy complaints were made by enterprising men. Parliament was induced to look at the grievance.* But the utmost that could be done was to make the licences issued by the company to private traders less costly, and less difficult to obtain. The great Stillyard company, consisting of foreigners who represented the Hanseatic League, still existed, and retained its privileges. The jealousy between this company and the company of Merchant Adventurers, as may be supposed, was great. The discovery of the way to the East by the Cape had affected the power of the league, and confederacies disposed to act independently of it had made their appearance on the continent.† In 1520, the English company prevailed on Henry to appoint a commission to inquire concern-

* From the petition of these non-content merchants it appears that they had been accustomed to vend their commodities in France, Normandy, Brittany, Spain, Portugal, Venice; also in Brabant, Zealand, Holland, Flanders, Dantzic, and many other places.—*Statutes*, 12 Hen. VII. c. 6. Soon after the accession of Henry VIII. ships of a large build began to leave London, Bristol, and Southampton, for the purposes of traffic around the whole coast of the Mediterranean, and some extended their voyage as far as the Canaries, Guinea, and Brazil. A trade voyage to the Mediterranean was rarely accomplished in less than twelve months.—Hakluyt.

† Towards the close of the fifteenth century, Venice was the great emporium through which the products of the East came to the West. But merchants who obtained those commodities by means of an extended land transit, could not long contend against rivals who made their way to the country of those products in ships by the Cape. Portugal rose, in consequence, into a great power, and Antwerp took the place of Venice as the mart for the rich merchandise from the Eastern world.—Anderson's *Hist. Com.*

ing the grievances alleged by them against the strangers. But nothing decisive was done before 1551, when the Stillyard men were declared in a court of law to have forfeited their privileges, and were reduced to the level of other traders from foreign ports. But the Merchant Adventurers retained large privileges for some time to come.

Effect of corporate monopolies in Worcester, York, and Bridport.

In the time of Henry VIII. York was celebrated as producing coverlets for bedding. Worcester was a great clothing town. Bridport was famous for its rope yards, the best cables for shipping being made there. But the restrictions imposed by the magnates in those places on the manufacturers with small capital, caused many such to migrate from the towns to the adjacent villages, where they could prosecute their industry more economically and more freely. In all these instances, the chief men in the several manufactures petitioned the parliament against these irregular proceedings, alleging that the articles so produced were of an inferior description, and that the effect must be, that the reputation of the staple would be lost, that the poor people would soon be without employment, that the towns would fall into decay, and that the credit and wealth of the kingdom would be diminished. The parliament credited these representations, and the great manufacturers, who had driven their fellow-workers into the country by their restrictions, had now the pleasure of seeing them driven back again by act of parliament. Much to this effect was the condition of nearly every branch of trade in the kingdom.* In some instances, the intention of this policy was good. In others, it owed its origin to private cupidity—cupidity on the part of the trader, who wished to be a monopolist; and cupidity on the part of the government, which was concerned to enrich itself by granting licences for such purposes. It seems natural to

* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 12; 25 Hen. VIII. c. 13. Anderson's *Hist. Commerce*, i. 359, 363, 372.

suppose that the statements found in preambles to acts of parliament should be true; but during this reign such compositions were often only the case of the successful side. One showing being accepted, the contrary rarely comes to the surface.

The English navy.

Until the accession of Henry VIII. the navy of England consisted of merchant vessels, hired and armed according to occasion by the government. Henry, two years after he came to the throne, built the Great Harry, which was the property of the crown, and exclusively a ship of war. The history of the British navy, in the sense we now attach to that expression, dates from the launch of that vessel. Two years later, the Regent, a ship of a thousand tons, and capable of carrying seven hundred men, including the crew, was sent to sea. The Grace de Dieu, subsequently built, was still larger, and more powerful. Much was done, in many ways, by Henry, to ensure efficiency to everything connected with the maritime power of the country. The corporation of the Trinity House was instituted by him.* But to the decease of Elizabeth, the English navy consisted largely of hired vessels. Henry's ministers, however, in their correspondence with James V. of Scotland, declared to that monarch, that in the event of a war he would find that England was mistress of the seas, and the assertion passed unchallenged. It was in this reign that guns were first discharged from the port-holes of armed vessels. Hitherto they had always been placed on the deck or the poop.†

It is certain that the industry and wealth of the country increased considerably during this reign. The mischiefs done by bad laws were neutralized and surmounted by natural causes which acted in defiance of them.‡ But it is remarkable, that one of the most

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* Anderson's *Hist. Com.*

† Herbert. Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. 353.

‡ 'The riches of England are greater than those of any other country in Europe, as I have been told by the oldest and most experienced mer-

common and grievous complaints of this period was the complaint of the decay which had come upon a large number of once flourishing towns. Beautiful houses had not only crumbled in great numbers to the ground, but the cellaring being left open, had become charged with filth, greatly offensive to the inhabitants, and dangerous to health. Laws were passed to remedy this evil, some threatening to transfer the land thus neglected to the lord of the manor if not rebuilt upon by its owners.

Decay of towns.

To account for these facts without supposing a decay of industry, it must be remembered that there are always causes in action to ensure that trade will pass, after awhile, from place to place; that until recently, the unsettled state of the country had compelled merchants and artificers to seek safety for their persons and property within walled towns; that with the decline of feudalism, and the more settled power of the crown, the open country had become more secure as a place of residence than it had been at any time in our history; and that the monopolist policy of the more wealthy classes in the great centres of trade, naturally tended, as we have seen, to scatter a large portion of the population into villages and other towns. Eminent merchants, who had often joined in the lament over the ruin of towns, when they became sufficiently wealthy, began to rear their stately halls in the country, and felt an honest pride in placing the aristocracy of wealth, in this manner, by the side of the aristocracy of birth.*

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chants, and also as I myself can vouch from what I have seen. This is owing, in the first place, to the great fertility of the soil, which is such that, with the exception of wine, they import nothing from abroad for their subsistence. Next, the sale of their valuable tin brings in a large sum of money to the kingdom; but still more do they derive from their extraordinary abundance of wool, which bears such a high price and reputation through Europe.'—*A Relation*, &c. 28.

* Similar complaints were made concerning the decay of seaports. The causes were the same in both cases. Ports which were the seats of monopoly took precedence of others, and prospered at their expense. Yarmouth,

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London and its environs.

But if the prosperity of nearly all other towns and cities was fluctuating, the course of things in London was one of steady advancement. The London of those times, however, was not the London with which we are familiar. About the middle of this reign acts were passed which required that the road over Holborn-hill and through St. Giles's, and that leading from Temple Bar to Westminster, should be paved—made hard with stone of some description. Gray's Inn-lane, Chancery-lane, Fetter-lane, and Shoe-lane are all described as thoroughfares where the roads are 'very 'foul, full of pits and sloughs, very perilous and 'noisome for all the king's subjects, as well on horse-'back as on foot and in carriages;' and the inhabitants are required to cover the space before their respective houses with fixed stones. The sides of the great road from the bottom of Snow-hill to Tyburn, were then only partially built upon. The same was the case with the space now known as the Strand.* But if the streets and lanes of London were much less agreeable as thoroughfares in that age than in our own, the Thames was much more attractive to pleasure-seekers than at present. The city was not then so large as to affect its purity, the traffic upon it was not so great as to leave small space to those who would float upon its surface in holiday seasons; while on its bosom

Southampton, Poole, and even Plymouth and Portsmouth, are among the places which suffered from this artificial influence.—Anderson's *Hist. Com.* i. 365, 370, 371, 374. Our first registration of marriages, births, and burials dates from this reign.—Ibid. 367. Also the first law recognising the loan of money on interest, and fixing the rate of interest.—Ibid. 375. Everything of this nature before, was done by an evasion of law in some form or other. The maximum allowed was ten per cent.

* *Statutes*, 3 Hen. VIII. c. 11; 32 Hen. VIII. c. 17; 34 Hen. VIII. c. 12. The streets had conduits for the supply of fresh water, but they were not well drained nor well lighted, and Latimer attributed much fatal sickness to the custom of burying within the walls of the city. A lanthorn on the steeple of Bow church was kept lighted that the people might 'not miss their ways.' The fees of watermen were fixed, and there were grounds set apart for public washing near the river. Every mart had its swindlers, and thieves had their slang dialect very much as at present.

some two thousand swans might at times be seen, keeping *their* holiday, and bearing upon them the mark of belonging to the king, or to the great city companies. That royal bird was then accounted a dainty dish, and was brought to table where the richest fare was expected.*

Architecture.

The houses forming the streets of London were such as they had been long before, and such as they continued to be long afterwards. Roofs steeply pointed, stories one projecting over the other, with a plastered surface worked into arches, panels, or according to some other notions of ornament, and the corners beneath the floor of each story, supported often by obtruding figures, of very rude and unsightly workmanship. In ordinary buildings, the use of brick may be said to have been unknown. The cottages of the peasant class were described by a foreigner as formed of 'sticks and dirt,' that is, of wood and clay; and buildings of a superior description were rarely constructed of material more durable than wood and plaster. The narrowing space formed by these ancient houses, projecting, as they rose in height, might suggest that the object of the architect was to secure large floorings at a small ground rent; and as ground within a walled town was always so valuable, it is not improbable that they were somewhat influenced by that consideration. But so long as they were obliged to build with such perishable material, no other form could have been so well adapted to protect the surface against weather. Erasmus complains that the windows, which should have permitted ventilation, were generally fast, while the walls, which should have precluded wind and weather, too often allowed inconvenient access to both. In common houses, chimneys were only partially in use even at the opening of the sixteenth century.†

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* *A Relation of the Island of England*, 10, 11.

† 'Although London has no buildings in the Italian style, but of

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Social change indicated in the history of architecture.

In the change which came over the higher order of domestic architecture about this time we see signs of the change which was rapidly taking place in the structure of society. Castles built of stone, and designed as fortresses, cease to make their appearance as in past times. Those which exist are for the most part dismantled, or gradually become more domestic than military in their aspect. It belongs to the king and the government to rear and perpetuate places of strength, not to the subject. The halls of nobles, and even the palaces of the sovereign, are valued as models of taste, more than as places that could stand a siege. These were the signs of a momentous revolution. They proclaimed everywhere, that feudalism had done its work—that a new and better order of society had been inaugurated. What is called the Tudor style in architecture is not easy to describe. It was not classical—it was not Gothic. It was a fanciful mixture of both, including elements which had been imported from the East. Native and foreign artists made their contributions to it. From this time, no one attempted to rival the grand specimens of pure Gothic, which, in our cathedrals, had done so much credit to English taste during the Middle Age. Only partial imitations of the past, in that respect, are to be expected from the time to come.

Influence of religion on the estimate of art.

The Gothic, though Rome itself does not include a vestige of it, seems to have been regarded as standing

timber or brick, like the French, the Londoners live comfortably, and, it appears to me, that there are not fewer inhabitants than at Florence or Rome. It abounds with every article of luxury, as well as with the necessaries of life; but the most remarkable thing in London is the wonderful quantity of wrought silver. In one single street, leading to St. Paul's, there are fifty-two goldsmiths' shops, so rich and full of silver vessels, great and small, that in the shops in Milan, Rome, Venice, and Florence put together, I do not think there would be found so many of the magnificence that are to be seen in London. These great riches of London are not occasioned by its inhabitants being noblemen or gentlemen; being all, on the contrary, persons of low degree, and artificers who have congregated there from all parts of the island, and from Flanders, and from every other place.'—*A Relation of the Island of England*, 42, 43.

in a special relation to Romanism, and the great reaction against the religion of the Romanized states upon the continent, came to be a reaction, in some degree, against the tastes, as well as against the faith, of those nations. It was seen how the arts had been allied with a debasing superstition, especially in Rome, and never more than within the last hundred years; and not a few felt towards them as Hezekiah felt towards the serpent of brass, that 'brazen bauble' which his subjects were bent upon worshipping. England had now some weighty duties to discharge, both towards God and humanity; and until certain great results on which the significance of religious and social life was dependent should be secured, the external refinements and ornamentations of existence were left comparatively to bide their time. It was not that the Englishmen who had imbibed the reforming spirit were deficient in culture. It was rather that their culture was of too high an order to terminate in art. Their minds had become intent upon the beautiful and the grand in the region of realities, not in the region of mere imitations. The fine arts do not make nations great. They come in the wake of greatness, and have often contributed their share towards bringing that greatness to an end. They were at their highest when the wave of Greece crested and disappeared. It was so with old Rome. For the moderate patronage bestowed on art in this country during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, there are reasons to be assigned which no Englishman need blush to avow.

General knowledge.

But what was the general state of knowledge and of literary culture during the reign now under review? In these respects we have not a favourable report to make.

State of knowledge and of literary culture.

Great events had preceded the accession of Henry VIII. Columbus had discovered the new world. Vasco de Gama had made his memorable passage to India by the Cape. The coasts of North America had been explored by the Cabots of Bristol. The French and

Spanish monarchies, after centuries of weakness and conflict, had been consolidated. The weakness, the treasures, and the fame of Italy, had attracted the cupidity and vanity of diplomatists and potentates. The commerce and policy of England were powerfully affected by those events, but their influence on the knowledge and literary culture of our ancestors was not so great as might have been expected. For a time, as we have seen, a hopeful impulse was given to the mind of this country by the new learning. But the uncertainty and violence of the king's temper grew with his years; and his unsettled policy, and the many cares which he brought upon himself, left him little power or inclination to make himself felt as a patron of literature. Before his death, the learning of Oxford and Cambridge had sunk very low. Some attempt was made to revive it under Edward; but revival can hardly be said to have taken place until some while after the accession of Elizabeth.*

The progress made in physical science was very limited. Alchemy, and astrology, and belief in other occult influences, remained much as in the past. In all countries, indeed, the age was, in this respect, the age of Paracelsus and of Cornelius Agrippa. Mathematics and medicine were mixed up with such influences. But the signs of improvement were most visible in those studies. Even in geography, it is justly said, that 'the acquaintance of Europe with the rest of the 'world, could as yet be only obtained orally from Spa-'nish or Portuguese sailors or adventurers, and was 'such as their falsehood and blundering would impart.'†

Mental speculation was somewhat less stationary than natural science. The extraordinary genius of

* One of Cromwell's mandates to Oxford was, that the 'subtle' doctor, Duns Scotus, should be no more studied there. His agent writes to him that his commands had been so well obeyed, that he had himself seen the quadrant of one of the colleges strewed with the leaves of 'Dunce's' works. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*

† Hallam's *Literature of Europe*, i. 658.

Machiavel appears to have come as a new influence in the domain of politics. Men like Cromwell and Pole were evidently familiar with the writings of the great Italian. More's *Utopia*, imaginative as it is, and inconsistent as it is, both with itself, and with the known principles of the writer, indicates a strong movement of thought in the direction of some better construction of society. The treatise under the title of the *Governor* by Sir T. Elyot, might have been expected to furnish additional evidence as to the conception possible to an intelligent Englishman in that age on the science of government. But his work does not accord with its title. It has been rightly described as treating of education rather than of government. What our ancestors were capable of *thinking* on political questions, in the time of Henry VIII., we shall best learn by observing what they did in relation to them.

Literature —prose.

The great characteristic of our prose literature during this period consists in its simplicity. Nothing could be more natural. In verse men might be fantastical without limit; but it seems to have been tacitly understood, that in prose, authors were to write as they were accustomed to speak. The pedantries and conceits so observable in our prose literature under Elizabeth, had no place in it before that time. Dudley, the colleague of Empson in his extortions, was a man of learning, had been speaker of the house of commons, and wrote a treatise in prison intitled, *The Tree of the Commonwealth*, which shows what good English prose was at the beginning of this century. But the man holding the first place as a prose writer in this age is Sir Thomas More. Dispense with the old orthography, and his English, especially in some of his letters, shows that our language had then become nearly all we now find it. It is the English of the time of Henry VIII., and eminently the English of Tyndale, that has become familiar to us in our Bibles, and in the Book of Common Prayer.

BOOK VI. CHAP. 5.

Poetry—Skelton.

In poetry, we have the names of Skelton, Wyatt, and Surrey, as belonging to this period. Skelton, though a priest, was a severe censor of the manners of the clergy. His invectives against Wolsey obliged him to seek refuge in the sanctuary at Westminster, where he ended his days. No poet since Chaucer had delineated character with the same freedom, vigour, and reality. But Skelton was mainly a satirist, and a coarse one,—coarse even for the time in which he lived.* The transition is great in this respect, from his pages to those of Wyatt and Surrey. Of these writers it is said, that 'they modelled their poetry on 'the same originals; they cultivated the same class of 'subjects, and were the first to treat the passion of love 'in a refined and courtly spirit. Their sympathies 'carried them in the same direction, and led them to 'prosecute the same ends; and in both there was a 'purity of taste and morals which rejected alike the 'corruptions, pedantries, and licentiousness of their 'age. To these circumstances may be referred the 'homogeneity of character which has linked their names 'together almost as inseparably as those of Beaumont 'and Fletcher. . . . . The comparison between 'them on general grounds, must unhesitatingly be 'admitted to be largely in favour of Surrey. He was 'more impassioned, and had a finer sensibility, and a 'more exact taste. But Wyatt possessed high merits 'of another kind. His verse is more thoughtful than 'Surrey's; more compressed and weighty. He uses 'comparatively few expressions that are not intelligible 'to the modern reader. His vocabulary is extensive, 'and imparts constant novelty to his descriptions.'† We scarcely need say that Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Earl of Surrey were courtiers. Their poetry reflected their own refinement. But the reign of Henry VIII.

Wyatt and Surrey.

* *The Poetical Works of John Skelton, with Notes, and some Account of the Author and his Writings.* By the Rev. Alexander Dyce.

† *Poetical Works of Thomas Wyatt*, edited by Robert Bell, 58, 59.

was too unsettled, and a time when too many grave interests were at stake, to allow of any very successful cultivation of the Muses, either in court or country.*

Retrospect.

Such was England under the first Reformation. It was not England studded with castles, in the possession of powerful and factious nobles, and so parcelled out into many local sovereignties as to leave small power to the acknowledged sovereignty at the centre,— it was England with that feudal network swept away, with its armed men in every village, but with those men as sworn in allegiance to the king, and not to any intervening master. It was not England taking no part in continental politics, except as consisting in efforts to possess herself of the soil of France,—it was England acting as an influential power in relation to the struggle nearly always going on between the great monarchies of Europe. It was not England as proud of her orthodoxy, and boasting of her unwavering fidelity to the chair of St. Peter,—it was England as severed from the spiritual supremacy of Rome, as fixing on that supremacy the brand of usurpation, as declaring the Bishop of Rome to be simply the bishop of that diocese, and as subordinating its own clergy in all things to the sovereignty of the civil power. It was not England as in the hands of a king and his ministers with little or no check from the influence of a parliament,—it was England with the recognition of a high authority in the representatives of the nation, an authority deepened and made strong by frequent assemblies and frequent acts, though often neutralized, under various pretences, by the power of the crown. It was not England submitting to attempts to raise money by loan or benevolence, to the neglect of the

* An Italian, who might be expected to feel the harshness of our dialect more than most foreigners, writing of the English of this century, says, 'They are extremely polite in their language; which, although it is, as well as the Flemish, derived from the German, has lost its natural harshness, and is pleasing enough as they pronounce it.'—*A Relation*, &c. 22.

great maxim that no Englishman should be taxed without his consent. Nor was it England as submitting to severe laws and an arbitrary policy, from an indifference to liberty,—it was England, in a much greater degree, as rising up against such forms of oppression, and as submitting to lesser evils from the rule of a king and his ministers, rather than hazard far greater from the rule of the pope and the hierarchy. It was, indeed, England, with many harsh laws, harshly administered; with an amount of crime and vagrancy beneath the surface of society, which no laws seemed to reach; with a labouring class, whose toil yielded them but a poor subsistence; with manufactures and trade hemmed in on all sides by fiscal restrictions and monopolies; and with physical science and polite literature in no flourishing condition. But the crisis in our history in which an old order of society was to pass away, and another was to acquire place and stability, was naturally a crisis of stern conflict; and if the lot of the lowest class of the people was very low, the yeomanry of the land were well-conditioned men; the artificers, in town and country, were in easy circumstances; the merchant could send his ships to every part of the world; the city alderman could adorn the open landscape with edifices which vied with the homes of nobles; and everywhere, though much error and disorder are visible, and much has to be learnt and unlearnt, it is easy to see that the intelligence and the moral nature of a great people have been called, in a hopeful measure, to their work, and that though the future may include action and re-action, the issue will be, that the withes of a decayed superstition, and of a meddling and foolish legislation, will be snapped asunder, and the strong man will be seen in his time to revel in his strength.

Character of Henry VIII. in the sight of past and present.

No intelligent reader can need to be reminded that there is a wide, and apparently irreconcilable difference, between the character of Henry VIII. as estimated by the great majority of his contemporaries, and as esti-

mated by men of later times. As we look on this picture and on that, we feel obliged to suspect that neither can be more than partially truthful. We are prompted to say, that the man concerning whom such impressions have existed must have been a man capable of harsh and cruel deeds, but that he could not have been wholly devoid of better qualities. What then were the grounds of the affectionate loyalty with which the English people seemed to regard the sway of this monarch?

Henry, it should be remembered, came to the throne at an age which was sure to enlist the popular feeling in his favour. He was not so young as to leave the nation wholly in doubt concerning his character, and all that was known of him seemed to promise that his reign would be a welcome contrast to that of his predecessor. To the gloomy distrust, the severity, and the money-loving temper of his father, Henry opposed a frankness, a geniality—a temper and tastes so thoroughly English, that men felt everywhere as if passing from the cloud to the sunshine. During many years the impression thus made was perpetuated, preparing the people to judge charitably when the time came in which there was only too much room for the exercise of such judgment. When attempts are made to raise money by loans and benevolences, rather than by consent of parliament; when the purpose of the sums thus raised is to be war with Spain and the Netherlands, which was to increase the public burdens, and to destroy the power of bearing them; when the two houses are required to pass sanguinary laws, and to cede power in so many dangerous forms to the crown; and when the people are seen to be so far submissive to all this,—the conclusion forces itself upon us, that there must have been some special and strong reasons on the side of such submission, or it would never have taken place. We have seen how the citizens of London, and the industrious classes elsewhere, could resist the attempts of Wolsey to tax

them illegally. We have seen that when the bad policy of the cardinal had brought great distress on artisan and peasant, in Suffolk and in other parts, the people rose in insurrection. We have seen, also, that when two dukes assembled men to suppress this disorder, these armed men were heard to say—We are ready to protect the persons and properties of your lordships, but we are not ready to use our weapons against our starving countrymen. We know also that the citizens and yeomen who so spoke, were only a fair sample of the armed citizens and yeomen of all England. Why then did a people of this temper, all with arms in their hands, submit to such a rule as that of Henry VIII.—a rule under which they might find themselves at the mercy of judges who held their office during good behaviour, and were often among the most servile of instruments; at the mercy of juries who might be fined and imprisoned for their verdict at the pleasure of the court; and at the mercy of the Star Chamber, where royal proclamations and royal caprice came ordinarily into the place of statute law and common law?

One reason of this passiveness will be found in the fact, that the policy of Henry towards the mass of his subjects was to a great extent a policy of comparative leniency. He was not so jealous of noblemen as his father, but he was not free from that feeling. His two great ministers, Wolsey and Cromwell, were not men from the great families, but were men of humble origin. He could often refuse to see things not agreeable to him in the conduct of the people. But he never failed to see and to punish disaffection in men of rank. Plebeian rebels he could sometimes pardon. Towards noblemen who became traitors he showed no mercy. He had accordingly few real friends among those boasting of their aristocratic blood. The feeling of the upper house was not with him, and he knew it. His strength lay with the house of commons, and with the people. It was es-

pecially thus in regard to his reforming policy. The majority of the lords were not in favour of such changes; but they were changes in harmony with the opinion and feeling of the better informed and more energetic portion of the people. The south of England was then, as it had always been, greatly in advance of the north, and in that more favoured division of the kingdom the new opinions were rife on all hands. The subjects of King Alfred—the men of the old kingdom of Wessex, were still in the van of British civilization. As we have said before, the king, who promised only a partial relief from the ecclesiastical oppressions to which these people had been so long subject, might ask much at their hands, and not be refused. The iron of that sort of tyranny had entered into their souls, penetrating their thoughts that those thoughts might be converted into crimes, entering the sanctuary of man's dearest affections, and arraying the nearest kindred—even husband and wife and parent and child—against each other, for their common degradation and destruction. Well they knew, that heavy as was the yoke which their king was at times disposed to lay upon them, it was light in comparison with that which his strong hand had broken and cast away. They coveted a milder discipline and greater liberty; but they knew that resistance to Henry would probably be anarchy in the state, and the old sway restored to the church. During the first half of his reign, the feeling of Henry was with the new learning, and was in nearly all respects the feeling of the better class of his subjects; and his policy did not assume a severe tone, until the liberation of his people from the Romish tyranny had bound them to him by ties which could hardly be broken. It was not a new thing in our history for subjects to make the power of the crown their refuge from a less endurable power elsewhere, and at no juncture had there been greater wisdom in that policy. Even the protection laws in trade, were regarded, in those days,

as evidences of the patriotism and humanity of the sovereign..

But while the above facts help us to account for the loyal feeling with which Henry VIII. was regarded by a large portion of his subjects, there are other facts belonging to his history which are sufficient to account for the less favourable judgment concerning him which has prevailed in more recent times. By Romanists, in that day and since, every possible slander has been heaped upon his memory. Some effect would be produced even by libels so overwrought. But discarding calumny, and after all that may be said concerning the nature of the crisis, and the state of society, Henry's later conduct towards Catherine; his savage course of proceeding in regard to Anne Boleyn; his marrying Jane Seymour the day after that injured woman's execution; his sending a second wife to the scaffold, even supposing her guilty; the disgusting affair in the case of Anne of Cleves; the abandonment of Wolsey and Cromwell to their fate when the time came in which as tools they could be used no longer; the relentless injustice which disposed of Fisher, More, and other victims, that the doctrine of the ecclesiastical supremacy might be maintained; the policy which spared the sincere Protestant as little as the conscientious Romanist; the monstrous assumptions set forth in the Six Articles, and the atrocious penalties by which they were to be sustained; added to all this, the enforcement of proclamations as having the authority of laws, the dispensing with laws, and the things done without any colour of law—all combine to present a picture which might well be held up, not as a model of kingly rule, but as a beacon to warn subjects of what may follow when princes are allowed to surrender themselves to sensuous and selfish passions, to lawlessness and a spirit of revenge.

BOOK VII.

PROTESTANTS AND NATIONALISTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL REFORMATION UNDER EDWARD VI.

THE statesmen to whom Henry bequeathed the guardianship of the kingdom during the minority of his son, were chosen, in consonance with his old policy, from the two great parties. But the men least disposed to religious innovation deemed it politic to avow themselves adherents to the Reformation as it then stood, while some of its more influential members were known to be intent on further change. Lord Hertford, who was brother to the late queen, Jane Seymour, and senior uncle to the young king, was strongly in favour of a more Protestant revolution. His reputation as a soldier, his genial temper and manners, his religious feeling, and the relation in which he stood to the sovereign, ensured him great influence in the new government. His ability as a statesman, did not perhaps keep pace with his good intentions as a man and a Christian, but it was sufficient in such circumstances to open to his ambition the first place in public affairs. He became duke of Somerset, president of the council, and was declared Protector of the realm. His enemies attributed his elevation in the latter capacity to personal intrigue. His friends said, that in vesting him with such authority, they had consulted the public convenience, some such arrangement being indispensable,

Guardians of the realm.

The Protector.

Feb. ..

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if the affairs of the kingdom were to be orderly and efficiently conducted. Henry had given no instruction on this point, simply because it was one of the many things which were best left to the wisdom of the council.*

Character of the young king.

Edward was proclaimed king when little more than nine years of age. He died before he was sixteen. Great care was taken with his education. Questions relating to affairs of state were among his earliest lessons. His interest in such questions, as year after year was added to his brief life, was remarkable. His mind, indeed, was so precocious, as to seem to presage an early tomb. He grew to be a sincere Protestant, was devout in feeling, and though, judging from his diary, and other circumstances, his temperament would seem to have been cold, he was generally regarded as a prince not less amiable than intelligent.†

The great fact of this reign.

The great fact in English history during this reign, consists in the ecclesiastical revolution which was then accomplished. In this chapter we shall state briefly what was included in that revolution. In the next, we shall glance at this change in its relation to the state of parties, and of the nation, during this period.

The two great parties of this period.

It should be borne distinctly in mind, that the struggle under Edward VI. was not between Nation-

* There are two brief letters by the earl of Hertford in the State Paper Office—one written the day after the king's decease, the other on the day following—from which we learn that the will of the late king was in the earl's keeping; that communications were made to him at that juncture as to the person in chief authority; and that a conference took place between him and Sir William Paget, and some other members of the council, in regard to the portions of the will that should be read to parliament, and on some other matters. Mr. Tytler (*Reigns of Edward and Mary*, i. 19) detects the scheming of a court faction in these incidents. To me, they exhibit a natural course of things, and nothing beyond the reasonable forecast of prudent men.—Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 17–26. The council consisted of sixteen persons, with authority to avail themselves of advice and assistance from a further council of twelve.

† Ibid. i. 13–16, 36, 156–163. *Parl. Hist.* ii. 129. Burnet, vol. iii. 1–3.

alists and Romanists. The most earnest and devout men among the Nationalists during the last reign were now to become Protestants; and the men who opposed this Protestant party, did so, not under Romanist colours, but as Anglo-Catholics, pleading that religious matters should be allowed to remain in the state in which the late king had left them, until his successor should be of age. Under this pretext, some hoped simply to prevent further innovation; while others, who were disposed to restore the old order of things, were desirous of seeing as little as possible done that might need to be undone. Romanism, as an avowed faith, seemed to have almost passed away, and the fight came to be, for the time, between those who took their stand on the Nationalism of the last reign, and those who were intent on passing beyond that landmark, and on becoming something more Protestant.

Case of Wriothesley the chancellor.

The first movement in opposition to the Protestant party, and especially to Somerset, was made by Wriothesley, the chancellor. Wriothesley had been very zealous in support of the Six Articles, and had shown no pity in his attempts to enforce them. It was this man, the reader will remember, who, while holding this high office, had strained the rack with his own hands, to extort confessions from Anne Ascue. He was now at the head of the Anglo-Catholic party in the council.

It was with the intention of employing himself more effectually in counteracting the reform tendencies evinced by the Protector and his supporters, that Wriothesley took upon him to place his chancellorship in commission. He deputed four lawyers to discharge the duties of that office in his stead. But both the bench and the bar complained of this proceeding as without precedent. Two of the persons appointed, moreover, were canonists, and the authority of the common law in that court could not fail, it was said, to be impaired by such influence. So the

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measure which was to have set Wriothesley at liberty to compete with the Reformers, placed him at their mercy. His haughty and insolent bearing when first questioned concerning what he had done,* only hastened his fall. The council declared that he had ceased to be chancellor, and made him liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's pleasure. He was deprived of his office, and the tacit condition of his not being subjected to imprisonment and forfeiture was, that he should acquit himself with more modesty and submission in the time to come. This happened within three months after the accession of the new king. From that time the reform feeling in the council became thoroughly ascendant.*

March.

Misrepresentation of the Protector.

It has been often said, that this resistance on the part of the chancellor, furnished Somerset with a pretext for seeking an enlargement of his powers as protector, and that he, in fact, succeeded in rendering himself independent of the council, by an instrument drawn up for that purpose.† But after reading this instrument with some attention, we are disposed to think that it can hardly be said to have invested the duke with any new authority. It simply professes to set forth in 'writing,' what had hitherto been declared only 'by word of our mouth.' The commission is described as 'a charge and commission given unto our 'said uncle *and council.*' The only words in it which seem to lend a sanction to the imputation mentioned, are those which allow the acts of the Protector to be legal, if done with the concurrence of such advisers as he should 'think meet to call to his assistance.' But this option seems to have had respect to the supplementary committee of councillors, which, from the first, might or might not be summoned; or it may have been intended to ensure that the decisions of the board should not be wanting in authority, though some of its members, from reasonable causes, should not have been

* Burnet, i. 28–31. *Collect.* No. 5. † Lingard. Froude.

present, nor even invited to be present. That it was intended to empower the Protector to dispense with the council, or to pack it according to his humour, is a supposition at variance with the tenor of the document, and to the last degree incredible.* But what places this matter beyond dispute is the fact, that when the members of this council preferred their accusations against Somerset, at the time of his fall, their charge on this point was, not that he had possessed himself of a commission to act independently of them, but that in so acting he had, from first to last, violated provisions by which he professed to be bound.†

The course that should be taken in regard to religion was the first and great question to be determined by the council. Somerset and Cranmer were the leading spirits in favour of a greater change. But it became them to consider well how far the nation, or the most intelligent and influential portion of it, might be expected to go with them in such a policy. It seems only reasonable to suppose, that men so familiar with public life, had better means of knowing the state of feeling about them than we can possibly possess. Their conclusion manifestly was, that the tendencies of opinion, and the authority of parliament, would be found sufficiently Protestant to sustain them in the further reformation on which their hearts were set. Should they be disposed somewhat to strain their authority for this object, it would be, as they believed, on the side of that portion of the mind of the country which was really ascendant, and which ought to govern. Somerset felt as one in the place

* Burnet, iii. *Collect.* No. 6.

† They say he obtained the place of Protector, 'with this condition, that he should do nothing touching the state of the affairs of his Highness without the advice of the rest of the council, or the more part of them. And yet, nevertheless, he had been never so little while in that room, but, *contrary to his said promise*, he began to do things of much weight and importance, yea, all things in effect, by himself.'—MS. *Rolls Office, Ed. VI.* Bundle 1.

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of an old Hebrew king, and aspired to be numbered with the men of that class who were commended as doing good and not evil. Cranmer, too, remembered the zeal of the Hebrew priest and prophet, and hoped to be found faithful. In those days men lived, lord cardinals and hill-preachers alike, in the region of such ideas.

Opposition to image worship.

No feature of Romanism is so generally and deeply offensive to the Protestant as the worship which is so openly rendered in that church to images and relics. Differences in speculation are often obscure and trivial in popular apprehension, compared with differences which affect external forms. It is not surprising, accordingly, that the first manifestation of the suppressed Protestant feeling of the country should have been in an assault upon image worship. The curate and churchwardens of St. Martin's, in Ironmonger-lane, London, removed images, pictures of saints, and a crucifix, from the walls of that church, and set up texts of scripture, and the king's arms, in their place. Bonner, bishop of London, and the Lord Mayor, complained of these proceedings to the council. Grave deliberations followed. The Anglo-Catholics, of whom Bonner was a conspicuous representative, would have inflicted a signal punishment on these delinquents, that others might be deterred from following so dangerous an example. But Cranmer reminded such persons that the late king had decided that all images which had been superstitiously used should be destroyed, and argued, that inasmuch as it was not possible to say what images were or were not so used, the wisest course would be to abolish the worship of such objects altogether. So a mitigated sentence was passed on the zealous curate and his friends. They were reprimanded, and required to provide another crucifix, but nothing was said about restoring the paintings and the other images. Gardiner took special umbrage at some proceedings of this nature in his diocese. He wrote to the Protector, urging vehe-

mently, that a profanation of sacred things of which even Luther would not have been guilty, should be stayed. The reply of the Protector presented a good summary of Protestant reasons against image worship, and the bishop at once saw that no assistance towards his object was to be obtained from that quarter.*

Questions raised about private masses.

The next question of a religious nature which came up in the council, related to the alleged efficacy of masses for the dead. It was found that Henry had left an endowment in his will to perpetuate services of this description for the health of his soul. Some scruple was felt about acting on this portion of that document. It was evident, from his suppressing the monasteries, and so completely alienating their lands, that Henry could not have attached any great value to such services. It was stated, moreover, as a fact of great importance, and well known, that before his decease, his majesty had resolved to make great alterations, and was contriving 'how to change the mass 'into a communion.' It was not therefore in accordance with the real will of the late king, that such services should be instituted in his own case, or that church affairs in general should remain stationary.†

Injunctions issued by the council —visitation of the whole kingdom.

Cranmer, sustained by the Protector, and by the Protestant party in the council, arranged that an ecclesiastical visitation should take place through the whole kingdom. The country was divided for this purpose into six districts. The visitors for each circuit consisted of two gentlemen, a civilian, a divine, and a registrar. The articles of instruction given them required, that the wholesome proclamations of the late king against the pretensions of the bishop of Rome, and in discouragement of superstition, should be republished; that all images to which pilgrimages were made, or offerings were presented, should be re-

* Burnet, iii. 16–23. Foxe, v. 706 et seq.; vi. 26 et seq. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 503–506.

† Burnet, iii. 24–27.

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moved; that the epistle and gospel read at high mass should be in English; that the litany used in processions should also be in English, as commanded by the late king; that on every Sunday and holiday, a chapter should be read out of the New Testament at matins, and out of the Old Testament at evening-song, in English; that the clergy should be careful to qualify themselves for giving sound scriptural guidance and comfort to the sick; that holidays, designed to promote devotion, but which had become the occasion rather of all kinds of wickedness, should be seasons for reading the scriptures, for attending prayer and the communion, and for offices of charity; that the people should be taught to respect all ceremonies not abrogated by authority, and not to despise priests, but to show them reverence for 'their work's 'sake;' that they should regard charity to their neighbours, as of much more virtue than pilgrimages to shrines, and should abstain from certain heathenish ceremonies savouring much more of magic than of the gospel; that prayer should be offered 'for souls de-'parted this life;' and, finally, that the bishops should see that these injunctions were duly observed.*

Via media course of the Reformers.

It will be seen from these requisitions that the Reformers in the council were taking their measures with a discreet mixture of firmness and caution. There was little in the injunctions enumerated to which exception could be taken. The authority of Henry, as head of the church, had come to be a very large authority. That authority was supposed to have devolved on the government which he had appointed to act as in his name, until his son should be of age. In this view, the council might plead, that, in so far, at least, they had precedent sufficient for doing

* Foxe, v. 706–714 Cranmer was the only prelate on this commission. The bishops were among the persons to be visited, questioned, and instructed as to what was to be done.—Strype, *Cranmer*, bk. ii. c. 2.

as they had done. But the Reformers did not confine themselves within these limits. The great innovation in this stage of proceedings, consisted in the publication of Cranmer's book of homilies, and in the place assigned among the means of popular instruction to the paraphrase on the New Testament by Erasmus. The homilies were designed to be read by all preachers. The work by Erasmus was to be placed, in an English translation, in all churches, that all persons so disposed might read it. These publications were charged with the seeds of a Protestant theology beyond anything found in the standards of doctrine hitherto sanctioned by the English legislature.

The policy of Cranmer, however, was still to keep a middle course. While inclined to put an end to the system which had taught an ignorant people to believe that priestly absolution, like some performance in magic, settled everything, he was concerned to guard such persons as had taken up the new learning against supposing that salvation could come by the mere faith of such learning, any more than by the mere ritualism of the old system. To mark out a path, removed to an equal distance from an antinomian Protestantism on the one hand, and from a superstitious Romanism on the other, was the object attempted by the primate in this volume of discourses. One of these sermons set forth the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith in distinct and emphatic terms. Of course, such a publication would never have appeared if the government could have confided in the capacity and disposition of the clergy to acquit themselves in a satisfactory manner as public instructors. To issue such a volume, and to make such a use of the work of Erasmus, were bold measures, considered as resting purely on the authority of the council. But, if not strictly constitutional, it was sufficiently known, that the men who were most inclined to denounce them on that ground, were men who had given their sanc-

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tion to proceedings much more open to such exception during the last reign.*

These transactions belong to the spring and summer of the year which opened with the accession of Edward VI. During those months the relations of England to the continent, and the affairs of Scotland, made a large demand on the care of the Protector. Through the last two years the council of Trent had been dragging its dreary length along; and the policy of France, of Spain, of the papacy, and of Germany, had presented its old mixture of civil and religious embroilment, and its wonted fertility in cross purposes. The war against the German Protestants, to which Paul III. had stimulated Charles in 1546, had not been successful; and on the death of Henry VIII. the pontiff would gladly have roused the emperor to send his imperial forces against England. But Charles had too much upon his hands elsewhere to allow of his committing himself to such an enterprise. The death of Francis I. soon after that of Henry VIII., placed the sceptre of France in the hands of Henry II., a monarch whose feelings were strongly hostile to this country. Boulogne was in the hands of the English, according to treaty, for the next eight years. There were circumstances which seemed to indicate that neither Henry nor Somerset would scruple to infringe this compact, if a decent pretext for so doing might be urged. This irritation in France extended itself to Scotland, where the French party, under Cardinal Beaton, had recently succeeded in frustrating the efforts of England to bring the two kingdoms into nearer amity, by contracting a marriage between Mary Stuart and Edward. Henry VIII. had been concerned that the opponents of this marriage should be crushed by force, if the end could not be otherwise accomplished. Somerset, encouraged by some two hundred noblemen and gentlemen in Scotland, who had secretly

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. c. 7. *Cranmer*, bk. ii. c. 3.

pledged themselves to support this policy, resolved on an invasion of that country. Early in September, the English army marched along the Scottish coast from Berwick to Musselburgh, within sight of their ships and supplies. On the eighth of the month, a partial engagement took place, which was in favour of the English. Thirteen hundred men, including the best portion of the Scottish cavalry, were destroyed or disabled. On the following day, Somerset, in the hope of preventing a further effusion of blood, proposed that the Scottish government should promise to allow the young queen to remain free from any matrimonial connexion with France until she should become of a marriageable age, and that she should then be left to her own preference in that respect. Let this very moderate concession be made, and the Protector pledged himself that the English army should at once return to England. Unfortunately for both countries, the Scotch rejected this overture. The battle of Pinkie Cleugh ensued, which placed the country at the mercy of the invaders. Had Somerset made the best of his advantages, all the places of strength in Scotland might have been taken. But the English parliament was just about to meet. The duke's most dangerous enemies were not the enemies he had faced in the field. His presence in England at this juncture was of no small importance. The shame of defeat, and the relentless slaughter perpetrated by the victors, rendered amicable relations between England and Scotland more difficult than ever. But in this country, Somerset was hailed as the hero of the hour.

Parliament —great legislative changes.

By the parliament, the severe laws which had characterized the legislation of the late king were promptly repealed. The new laws concerning treason and felony, the Six Articles, and the law which had made royal proclamations of the same authority with acts of parliament, all ceased to exist. In this parliament, which had been left to the free choice of the people, not only did the measures of the council in regard to

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religion pass unchallenged, but by formal acts of its own, the cup was restored to the laity in the communion, and an end was put to private masses. The latter measure, by taking departed souls so far out of the hands of the clergy, discouraged for the time an incalculable amount of superstitious fraud.*

1548. In the course of the next year, a proclamation was issued which enjoined a respectful conformity to the public service as then recognised; forbade some usages which had hitherto prevailed; and especially required that all images to which worship, or offerings of any kind were rendered, should be removed. In the second year also, a commission of prelates and learned men was appointed to revise the offices relating to the communion. By this authority a change was made in the service of the mass, which converted it into a communion service. With this innovation came another, one effected apparently with little difficulty, but of the greatest moment to the future of the English church and of the English nation. This was a regulation which left the confession preceding absolution and communion, to be henceforth confession to a priest, or confession only to God, according to the conscience of the worshipper. This repudiation of the vast and complex system of priestly power, which had been built up on the alleged necessity of confession to a clergyman on the part of all who would be saved, was itself a revolution of the greatest magnitude. Without this change, all other changes would have been comparatively inefficient as means of spiritual, and we may add, of political freedom. This accomplished, the priest could no longer rule in the affairs of this world by wielding the terrors of the next.† Cranmer soon afterwards set forth a catechism on the elements of the Christian religion, which is chiefly remarkable for the earnestness with which it denounces image worship, and as showing, that the

Revision of the communion service.

* *Statutes*, 1 Edw. VI. cc. 1, 2, 12. † Burnet, iii. 120.

author, while content that confession to a priest should be left optional, was by no means desirous of seeing that custom wholly abandoned.*

Origin of the Book of Common Prayer.

But the great event in the ecclesiastical affairs of 1548 consisted in the instructions given to a commission of learned men to revise the form of public worship generally. By these commissioners the first Book of Common Prayer was issued. Parliament, and the two houses of convocation gave their sanction to the new liturgy.† An act was also passed which allowed the clergy to marry, but the bill on that subject did not become law without considerable opposition.‡

Discussions concerning the doctrine of the eucharist.

The great difficulty in respect to the Book of Common Prayer related to what should be its teaching concerning the eucharist. In the summer of 1549, discussions took place in Oxford and Cambridge, in public, and in the presence of commissioners from the king and council, on that point. Eminent men from the ranks of the foreign Protestants had been encouraged to settle in England. Peter Martyr had become professor of divinity in Oxford. Bucer and Fagius exercised a similar influence in Cambridge. Peter Martyr's lectures had touched on nearly all the topics of controversy which were then occupying men's thoughts, and his teaching concerning the doctrine of transubstantiation had called forth special disaffection. On this tenet, the adherents to the old and to the new faith were to be especially, and irreconcileably, divided. By the opponents of Peter Martyr it was resolved that he should be challenged to a discussion on a certain day, by Dr. Richard Smith, a man of some mark among them. But the professor was to be in ignorance

* Burnet cites this work as showing that the archbishop now fully owned 'the divine institution of bishops and priests.'—Burnet, iii. 131.

† *Statutes*, 2 Ed. VI. 1. The person using any other than this prescribed service was fined, in the first instance, 10*l.*, or imprisoned six months; for the second offence he might be imprisoned twelve months; for a third he might be imprisoned for life.

‡ *Statutes*, 2 Ed. VI. c. 21. *Parl. Hist.* i. 585, 586.

of the intended attack. On entering the hall, at the usual hour, on that day, Peter Martyr found it crowded with persons from the university, and from the town, prepared to uphold the ancient doctrine by noise, if not by argument. When challenged to a disputation, he replied that he was not to be taken thus at unawares; that he was prepared to meet any man, or any number of men, in discussion, but it must be with time and place, and some other preliminaries, fully settled. It was not found possible to resist the reasonableness of these conditions. The vice-chancellor, who was present, declared that the terms laid down were only just. The result was, that a formal disputation took place, which extended over four days. In Cambridge, Bucer conducted a discussion on the same topic, and after the same forms. Ridley, bishop of London, who presided on both these occasions as royal commissioner, declared in favour of the Protestant disputants. Great progress was thus made towards a repudiation of the Romanist doctrine on that subject.*

The doctrine of the Church of England in relation to this article, as now settled, was in some degree peculiar. Three conceptions in regard to the eucharistic mystery were at this time prevalent. Opposed to the transubstantiation doctrine was Luther's consubstantiation, and the more intelligible doctrine of Zuinglius, which accounted the elements of bread and wine as being merely the signs of a spiritual presence. The doctrine of Peter Martyr is not distinguishable from that of Zuinglius. Bucer discoursed somewhat more mystically on the subject, leaving, by the obscurity, and apparently the designed obscurity, of his language, room for some notion as to a kind of presence that has been called a real presence, though in what that reality consisted it was impossible from his words to determine. His influence on this inquiry

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* i. cc. 25. *Cranmer*, c. 13, 14.

was not a purely good influence. However, in the articles of religion, published by authority during this reign, and in the Prayer-book itself, as left by Edward, anything resembling the doctrine of transubstantiation was carefully avoided.*

The Prayer-book sanctioned by convocation in the second year of Edward VI. differed in some respects from that now in use. Matins and evening song began with the Lord's prayer, and ended with the third collect. The litany was placed after the communion service. There was no direction for its use as a part of morning prayer. The address to the Virgin Mary, and similar invocations to the angels and the patriarchs, which Henry had allowed to remain, were now omitted. The communion service began with an *Introit* or psalm, sung as the minister advanced towards the altar. The decalogue was not read. The prayers differed more in arrangement than in other respects, from our present form. In the praise offered for the saints, the name of the Virgin Mary was especially mentioned. In the consecration, the minister prayed that the elements might be sanctified by the Holy Ghost, and by the Word. Water was mixed with the wine. The sign of the cross was retained in the eucharist, in confirmation, and in the visitation of the sick. Baptism was by triple immersion, and was accompanied by exorcising and anointing. In the burial service prayer was offered for the deceased person.†

Second revision of the Book of Common Prayer — Bucer's suggestions.

But in the following year the book was again submitted to revision, and Bucer was consulted on this important subject. His suggestions indicate that much remained to be done. He advised that there should be a stricter discipline to exclude scandalous

* Strype's *Cranmer*, 283–291. *Eccles. Mem.* ii. bk. i. 325, 326. The article on this subject was revised in the time of Elizabeth, but not so as really to encourage any notion of a transubstantiation.

† Collier, ii. 309, 310.

livers from the communion; that the old clerical habits should be laid aside, since by many they were used superstitiously, and pious men were not disposed to use them; that the people should be required to commune more frequently than once a year; that the priest should place the sacramental bread in the hands of the people, not in their mouth; that all prayer for the dead should cease; that the rubric which prayed that the elements might become the body and blood of Christ to the recipient should be discarded, as savouring too much of the doctrine of transubstantiation; that the hallowing of water, and the chrism, in baptism, should be laid aside; that the language of adjuration in the exorcising should be converted into prayer; that candidates for confirmation should be examined more thoughtfully and scripturally; that extreme unction, and the chrism in the churching of women, should be abolished; and that much more care should be shown in the ordination of men by the bishop, the great want of the times being a larger number of duly qualified preachers and pastors.*

Many of these suggestions were adopted. In the book as revised a second time, the opening sentences, the exhortation, the confession, and the words of absolution, were placed, as we now have them, at the beginning. The decalogue and the responses were added to the communion service. The name of the Virgin, the thanksgiving for the patriarchs and prophets, the sign of the cross, together with the invocation of the Holy Ghost and of the Word at the consecration of the elements, and the mixing of water with the wine, were all now omitted. In delivering the bread and wine to the communicants direct mention of their partaking of the body and blood of Christ was avoided. Prayer for the universal Church was restricted to prayer for the Church militant. In baptism, the triple immersion, the cross, the exorcism,

* Burnet, *Hist. Ref.* iii. 286–288.

and the anointing were discarded. In the visitation of the sick, the directions for private confession, the anointing, the mentioning of Tobias and Sarah, and the instructions which required that portions of the consecrated elements should be preserved, were all cancelled. In the burial service, prayer for the deceased, and provision for the communion were rescinded. More simple instructions also were given concerning the vestments of the clergy. But the great advance in this revision was, in its more explicit language on the eucharist. It was now distinctly affirmed that Christ is present with the bread and wine only as He is present everywhere in answer to the prayer of the faithful. All these changes in the direction of a more decided Protestantism, were confirmed by parliament.

While some professed reformers accounted the new service-book as going too far, others viewed it as not going far enough; and this latter party, who were now in the ascendant, succeeded, at the eleventh hour, in appending an explanatory clause about kneeling in the communion. 'It is not meant hereby,' they said, 'that any adoration is done, or ought to be done, 'either unto the sacramental bread or wine there bodily 'received, or to any real or essential presence there 'being of Christ's natural flesh and blood.'*

What had been thus done did not obtain the approval of the parliament and convocation before the spring of 1552, and the new book did not come into use before the autumn of that year.†

In the meanwhile, Ridley, on visiting his diocese as bishop of London, had sent forth admonitions to his clergy, discouraging many trivial customs to which a

Ridley visits his diocese—altars displaced by tables.

* Clay, *Prayer Book Illustrated*, 126. Strype's *Cranmer*, ii. 26. *Mem.* ii. 15. Burnet, *Hist. Ref.*

† This amended act of conformity was enforced by the same penalties as the former, any person offending against it a third time being liable to imprisonment for life. Those absent from church might be punished with spiritual censures; and persons present at any other service, by the heavier penalties.—5 Ed. VI. c. 1.

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superstitious meaning had been attached, and especially urging on curates and churchwardens that the elements of the communion should be placed 'on a '*table* decently covered,' and not upon an altar, and that they should 'put down all by-altars.' But the bishop only spoke in the way of exhortation. Some 1550. did not obey. Before the close of the year, however, the council spoke in the language of authority, and altars were displaced in all churches by tables, though the use of the words altar and table was left indifferent in the liturgy.*

The Forty-Two Articles—general result.

Something had been done towards shadowing forth the theological doctrine of the future English Church by the publication of the *Book of Homilies*. But it was not until many preliminary matters had been settled, that this weighty subject came under formal consideration. Cranmer and Ridley are supposed to have prepared the substance of the Forty-Two Articles, which were adopted by the laymen and divines of his majesty's council in 1552, and which, with a few subsequent modifications, became the Thirty-Nine Articles, since sufficiently known. In these Articles, and in the *Book of Homilies*, we have a sufficient statement and exposition of the theology of the Church of England as reformed under Edward VI. Persons who know anything of the theology of Augustine will readily discover the source whence Cranmer and Ridley derived much of the thought which, in this second reformation, was to become the recognised belief of our national church. Great pains were taken to guard the doctrine of the spiritual helplessness of man through the fall of Adam; and the doctrine of salvation purely by faith and grace through Christ, against the abuse to which those tenets are liable. Emphatic, too, was the condemnation of the alleged idolatry of the church of Rome in the worship of images, and other objects;

* Foxe, vi. 5–7.

and not less earnest was the inculcation of the doctrine of passive obedience. Even wicked rulers, it was said, should be accounted as responsible only to God. Happily, England was not to believe in this servile teaching. The hierarchy was retained substantially in the form in which it exists at present, though Cranmer had taught that the offices of bishop and priest 'were both one office in the beginning of 'Christ's religion.' The substance of the old ritual also was perpetuated, but with many modifications.

The Prayer-book as finally revised under Edward.

The Prayer-book of 1552 was the production of times too unsettled, and came from minds too little in harmony, and subject to too many opposition influences, to be remarkable for consistency. The book to be revised was itself full of mediævalism. Some of the commissioners were disposed to retain as much as possible of that element. Others looked not to fathers or schoolmen, so much as to the more advanced men among the continental reformers. Hence the volume was found to resemble a piece of mosaic, rather than a developed unity. Hoary fragments from the past, stood side by side with some of the most startling novelties from the present. The teaching of the book was teaching wholly from bygone times, and this was to be only partially displaced by contributions which could be traced to such modern thinkers as Luther and Melancthon, Zuinglius, Peter Martyr, and Bucer. Hence it continued to be episcopal, but not without some infusion of Presbyterianism. The doctrine concerning the sacraments is not wholly from Rome, nor wholly from Germany or Switzerland, but retains a midway complexion of its own. Its theology, as we have said, was taken largely from Augustine; but it gave a Lutheran prominence to the doctrine of justification by faith, and was otherwise so guarded and explained, that it seemed to avoid the extremes both of Calvinism and Arminianism. But perhaps the very defects and faults of the book should be accounted an excellence. Such as it was, it had come from the

mind of the time, and was adapted to it. Men of widely different views, if they found much in it to disapprove, found much to admire. The error was not so much in doing what was then done, as in accounting the possible in 1552, as the best for all coming time.

Already there were signs of that great difference of feeling and judgment on such matters, which was to become the source of so much resolute contention, and to end, as we see at this day, in a secession of nearly half the worshippers in the kingdom from the church still claiming to be national. But the revolution in religion under Edward VI. was a great revolution. The pent-up mind of the country found the vent it had long coveted, and the impetus was too strong to be resisted.

CHAPTER II.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN PAST AND PRESENT.

IT must not be supposed that the succession of changes described in the preceding chapter took place without opposition. The young king was much influenced by religious feeling, and in so far as years allowed the least weight to be attached to his opinion, the reformers in the council could plead his known preference as in favour of their proceedings. They could look also to the house of commons as sure to be with them. The peers, moreover, though largely disaffected, were constrained to obedience, partly by the share which they had obtained in the church property, and partly by new creations, and by the joint influence, as in time past, of the government and of the lower house.

State of parties.

We have seen the failure of Wriothesley's attempt to check the tendencies towards reform in his colleagues. But to subdue resistance in the council was not to subdue it in the church. Bonner refused to conform to the injunctions which the government had sent forth, except in so far as they should be in accordance with the laws of God and of the church. When his lordship was informed that the 'ill example' of such a reservation in the person of the bishop of London was not to be admitted, the prelate reconsidered the case, and promised everything required. But this was done with so little appearance of sincerity, that as a punishment to himself, and as a warning to others, the bishop was sent for awhile to the Fleet prison. He was released after three weeks, but his imprisonment at all, under such circumstances, was an

Proceedings against Bonner.

unauthorized and unwise proceeding. It did not promise well for the political sagacity of the men into whose hands the cause of reform had now passed.*

Bonner was left in the quiet possession of his bishopric during the next two years. Before the close of that interval, however, it had become manifest in many ways, that his submission to the authorities above him had been reluctantly and disingenuously given. What he did in conformity with the injunctions of the council, he did in the most perfunctory manner, and whatever he could leave undone he did not fail so to leave. The Romanist party knew that he was altogether with them. But his temporizing conformity was so carried out, that Protestants found it difficult to bring any distinct and weighty accusation against him. In the summer of 1549 he was summoned before the council on various charges of remissness, enough to show, when taken together, that his sympathies were deeply hostile to the religious policy of the government. Many things which he had not been wont to do he was now required to do; and he was appointed to preach a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which there should be a free declaration of his opinion on some topics, and especially on the point of the king's authority while under age, in relation to affairs both in church and state. But in his discourse this last point was omitted, and in some other respects he failed to express himself in a satisfactory manner.

On these grounds, a commission was appointed to examine and judge concerning his case. The conduct of Bonner towards these commissioners was scornful, defiant, insolent. He insisted that he had spoken in his sermon on all the subjects prescribed, except the one relating to the king, and that omission he declared had happened from a failure of memory, and from his notes having become deranged while preaching. In appealing from the commissioners to the king, he spoke

* Burnet, iii. 66, 67.

of them as his '*pretended* judges.' One witness he described as a goose—another was a woodcock. The people present, on their showing sympathy with the proceedings of the court, he denounced as dunces and idiots. Hooper he branded as a varlet, and an ass. Several examinations took place, in all of which there was much more passion than progress. On one occasion, Sir Thomas Smith, secretary of state, displeased the angry prelate, whereupon he said—'As you are a 'privy councillor, I can honour you, but as Sir Thomas 'Smith, I say you are a liar, and I defy you as such.' This was language addressed to a man who had hardly an equal in learning and probity in that age. At another time this model of the meekness proper to the Christian bishop broke out in bitter invective against Cranmer, charging him with having poisoned the mind of the people with his heresies, and warning him that he would some day have to answer sharply for such proceedings. Having appealed to the king, he declined to answer any further questions.

Bonner's great argument against the reform policy of the council had been, that according to law, such measures should proceed from the king; that the king was not of years to exercise authority in such grave matters; and that thus all that had been done was without any valid basis. It required some effrontery to appeal to the king in person, after having thus openly denied his natural competency to meddle with such questions. According to the theory of Bonner, and of his friend Gardiner, a nation sinks into a state of paralysis so long as a sovereign is under age—a protectorate or a regency is nothing, parliament itself is nothing, for that interval. The demand made on these persons was a demand of obedience to the law, though it was not their pleasure to see it in that light. Even yet, some effort was made to soften the feelings of Bonner, and to render him more practicable. But he was not a man to be influenced by such a policy. He would see in it only the sign of weakness.

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He was at length condemned as contumacious, and was deprived of his bishopric. This sentence was unavoidable, if the English church was to be Protestant, and Protestant at all after the form determined, not, as Bonner affected to think, by Cranmer and the council, but by the two houses of convocation and the two houses of parliament. When, however, the commissioners added imprisonment to deprivation, the justice and the policy of their proceedings were open to grave exception. The best that can be said in their defence is, that Bonner was a recusant who would be sure to convert lenity into licence, and that bearing in mind the temper of the times in relation to such cases, he may be said to have been mildly dealt with in being subject to no heavier penalty.*

Prosecution of Gardiner.

Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as the reader has seen, fully sympathized with Bonner. Similar proceedings were instituted against him. In the course of more than one examination, he declared himself strongly opposed to the doctrine of justification by faith, as set forth in the homily on that subject, and to the placing of the paraphrase by Erasmus in churches. He cited many things from that work, from the homilies, and from the injunctions issued by Cranmer and the council, as being contradictory, and as opposed to the law of God. Gardiner was no doubt right in affirming that the council had stretched its authority to a questionable degree in some of its proceedings. But he knew that such latitude had been assumed by the crown in relation to ecclesiastical affairs in the last reign, when he was himself in the government. He knew also, that however questionable some of the first acts of the council may have been, they had all been confirmed, virtually or directly, by acts of the legislature. Gardiner's real objection was, an objection to the main points of Protestantism, and to all meddling with religion by the civil power. He

* Foxe, v. 717–797; vi. 42–55. Burnet, iii. 66–69; 224–234.

would have everything left to the bishops, to whom should be 'the blame, if any were deserved.'* It is hard indeed to give such a man credit for any real concern about the liberty of the subject. Bad men often invoke laws in their weakness, on which they have trampled in the time of their strength.†

Bonner, when he first came into trouble, promised a full submission. Gardiner would not so pledge himself, and was at once imprisoned. Much correspondence took place between him and the Protector. But difficulty was not removed by that means. The bishop continued under restraint until the close of 1547. He was then allowed to return to the exercise of his functions at Winchester. But he never ceased to betray his passionate aversion to the course of public affairs. He was, in consequence, again summoned before the council, and on the ground of the neglect and fault attributed to him, and from the impossibility of placing any reliance on his temper or on his professions, he was committed to the Tower, where he remained a prisoner nearly two years. At the close of that interval he was subjected to a series of examinations, similar in all respects to those through which Bonner had passed. The conclusion was, that Gardiner appealed, as Bonner had done, from the commissioners to the king, and the same sentence for contumacy, was followed by the same penalties, deprivation and imprisonment. As the church of England was then constituted, it was not to be supposed that the episcopal office could be entrusted to such hands. For Gardiner still adhered to the doctrine of transubstantiation. He insisted on the efficacy of masses for the dead.

* Within a month after the death of Henry, Gardiner complained in strong terms to Paget, because the bishops, and himself among them, had been required to take out new commissions, binding themselves to recognise the supremacy of the crown,—which was in fact objecting to do under Edward as he had done under Henry!

† Foxe, v. 42–55. Burnet, iii. 6,–9. *Collect.* No. 13, 28. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 52–56.

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He was opposed to the marriage of the clergy. He was furious in his defence of the doctrine of justification by charity, as opposed to the doctrine of justification by faith.

Bonner had a right to complain of some hardships to which he was subjected on his first brief imprisonment. Gardiner, too, might well complain on the ground of being detained a prisoner so long without trial. But in removing such men from all place in the church of England as then established, the statesmen of those times discharged an obvious duty. Praise of the late king was often on the lips of Bonner and Gardiner; but had they acquitted themselves towards Henry, as they did towards the government of his son, that prince would have taken care to prevent their becoming firebrands in the time of his children.*

Heath, Day, and Tonstal.

Three other prelates came into difficulty, on the ground of being opposed to the present innovations. Heath, bishop of Worcester; Day, bishop of Chichester; and Tonstal, bishop of Durham. Heath and Day had been raised to their position by the influence of Cranmer, and we have seen that Tonstal was a conspicuous person, both as a diplomatist and as an adversary of the more ardent reformers, during the last reign.

Proceedings against Heath.

Heath was one of twelve commissioners appointed in 1549, to prepare a new directory to be used in ordinations. But he declined subscribing to what was done, though he stood alone in so doing. He was

* Burnet, iii. 103, 125–130, 275–280, 305, 306. A large collection of documents relating to these proceedings may be seen in Foxe, vi. 24–266. Foxe's own summary concerning Gardiner is worth citing—'Thus thou seest, reader, Stephen Gardiner here described, what in all his doings he is, and what is to be thought of him; as who is neither a true Protestant, nor a right papist; neither firm in his error nor yet steadfast in the truth; neither a true friend to the pope, nor a full enemy to Christ; false in king Henry's time, obstinate in king Edward's time; perjured and a murderer in queen Mary's time; but unstable and inconstant in all times.'—258.

sent to the Fleet prison, where every indulgence was ceded to him, but where he appears to have been left, as if forgotten by the government, during more than twelve months. In the autumn of 1551 he was summoned before the council, and much effort was made to induce him to reconsider his opinions. But he was not to be moved from the ground he had taken. He was in consequence deprived of his bishopric—a loss, he declared, which was a small matter to him, compared with the pleasure of retaining his conscience unsullied.

Day.

Day was a much less estimable man than Heath. His offence consisted in his refusal to take down the altars in his diocese, and to supply their place with tables—and in his preaching so as to excite the common people to oppose all such changes. The council seemed as little disposed to proceed to extremities with the bishop of Chichester as with the bishop of Worcester. But at the close of a fourth examination, Day also was deprived. These prelates, however, were no longer prisoners. Heath was allowed to reside with the bishop of London—Day with the bishop of Ely. Day, whose conscience was so tender about substituting tables for altars, lived to gratify his sensibility in religious matters by sending pious men and women to the stake in the next reign.*

Tonstal.

Tonstal's case was not a case of nonconformity. He appears to have complied with the injunctions of the council and parliament. But towards the close of 1551, proceedings were instituted against him in the house of lords, on the charge of his having been privy to a conspiracy in the north. Cranmer opposed this action, declaring the evidence insufficient. But the votes were against him. The commons, however, insisted that the accused should be placed face to face with the witnesses against him, and the case was dropped. Subsequently, a letter was found

* Strype's *Cranmer*, bk. ii. c. 20.

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among the papers of the deceased Protector, which the prelate could not deny to be in his handwriting, and the contents of which convicted him of having been privy to treason without revealing it. Tonstal, in consequence, ceased to be bishop of Durham, and was confined within the liberties of the Tower to the close of this reign.*

Disaffection among the inferior clergy.

The remaining bishops were ready conformists, or persons who occasioned little trouble. But the inferior clergy, with less worldly wisdom, and less to lose, were sometimes difficult to govern. To many of these, the late changes had brought homelessness and want. Not a few of them had been monks, and had been recently expelled from the suppressed monasteries. Many churches had been allied with those religious houses, which commonly absorbed the tithe without giving the parish the benefit of a resident priest. The inroads now everywhere made on that kind of property, had left a large number of livings to be livings only in name. Cures of this description, assigned to the class of persons above mentioned, were generally so poor, that the needy incumbents sold their services in the administration of the sacraments, and especially in singing masses for the dead, at the best price they could obtain, no other means of subsistence being open to them. The people who desired such services for their departed friends, commonly paid twopence for a mass; a groat was accounted a liberal acknowledgment.† But now even this source of revenue had failed. Private masses were prohibited. Among persons so conditioned, nothing was more natural than a feeling of disaffection. The clergy in possession of better incomes suffered more or less from the same cause. We must suppose, that in both classes, considerations of a selfish nature were often associated with memories which bound the heart in

* Strype's *Cranmer*, ii. c. 32. *Eccles. Mem.* bk. ii. c. 15.
† Burnet, iii. 210–213.

generous sympathy with things as they had been in other days. Hence, soon after Edward's accession, the pulpits of England began to send forth a most uncertain sound. In most country parishes the cry was on the side of the old ways and the old beliefs. In towns and cities, the reform feeling was generally strong, and the pulpit orators levelled their artillery against each other, not always in a way tending most to edification or to good neighbourhood. Many continued their old teaching in defiance of authority. Many were disposed to innovate without waiting for authority. From the first—it had been ordered, that no preacher should preach out of his own pulpit without a special licence. Subsequently, it was deemed prudent to silence preachers for a season altogether. When this season had passed, carefully prepared injunctions were issued directing the clergy how to discharge their pulpit duties.*

Popular risings.

Poverty and religious prejudice, which prompted so many ecclesiastics to insubordination, were causes which tended towards still greater disturbance among large classes of the people. In less than eighteen months from the king's accession, there were popular risings over the greater part of England. The first commotion made its appearance in Hertfordshire, and it passed thence into Somersetshire, Gloucestershire, Wiltshire, Hampshire, Sussex, Kent, Essex, Suffolk, Rutlandshire, Warwickshire, Leicestershire, and Yorkshire, becoming especially formidable in Devon and Norfolk.

Many writers, in attempting to account for this

* 'That you do in all your sermons exhort men to that which is at this time most necessary; that is, to the amendation of their own lives, to the observance of the commandments of God; to humility, patience, and obedience to their heads and rulers; comforting the weak, and teaching the right way, and to flee all old erroneous superstitions, as the confidence in pardons, pilgrimages, beads, religious images, and other such of the bishop of Rome's superstitions and traditions.'—*Letter to all Preachers*, Burnet, iv. *Coll.* 24.

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Causes of this discontent.

general inquietude, have been disposed to lay the blame largely upon the new government, and especially upon Somerset. The truth is, the disturbance had come from causes, which, for the most part, were much older than the accession of Edward, and which Somerset had done what he could to check and remove. To this time, though hostilities had arisen both with Scotland and with France, no new pecuniary burden had been laid upon the people. The customs had been voted to the crown as usual. But no general subsidy was granted under Edward before the third year of his reign. The new government, accordingly, had done nothing to produce this feeling, except by its religious innovations, and it is certain that nine-tenths of the malcontents were not moved by considerations of that nature, but purely by their social grievances. So far, indeed, as Henry's seizure of the abbey lands may be accounted a religious act—the religion of the last reign may be said to have done something towards increasing this general restlessness. It had been enjoined on those establishments by the will of the dead, and by the law of the land, that they should be centres of hospitality, and be charitable to the poor. In many instances this obligation had not been well remembered. But such customs of course wholly ceased when the foundations themselves came to an end. The doles which the idle had been wont to receive at the convent gate had failed, but the mendicant habits which had been thus induced remained. The vagrant classes of those times were *scattered* by the suppression of the monasteries — it should always be remembered, that they were not *created* by that measure, except as we suppose the monks themselves to have become beggars. But the laymen who came into the place of the ecclesiastics as landlords often added to the number of hard masters. They are said to have exacted higher rents for their estates; they pursued the old custom of enclosing land that had been left as common to the poor; and as wool-growing

continued to be more profitable than corn-growing, they were disposed, as their fathers had been before them, to convert much arable land into pasture. By so doing they no doubt lessened the demand for a particular kind of labour. When we remember that Luigi Guicciardini describes the English woollens as among the 'rare and curious' in the great Antwerp fair, and as fetching a high price, no more need be said in explanation of the course taken by the landowners. Somerset saw the suffering from this cause as becoming very formidable, while his colleagues seemed to be little concerned about it. Soon after his accession to office, he issued a proclamation to stay these encroachments on the privileges which the poor had been wont to regard as a kind of right. But the effect of his interference was not so much to make the landlords obedient, as to seem to excuse popular disorder, by ceding that the people had a right to complain. In the meanwhile, no restraint was laid on marriage, and according to a law natural to such circumstances, the lower population only increased the more as the poor became poorer. Many days in the year having ceased to be holidays, the labourer found, that with more time for work, he had less work to do. Food, at the same time, had become unusually dear. Prices, in fact, were rising all over Europe; and no government should expect to be very popular while markets are dull and bread is not cheap. Nor was it possible that bad times and changes in religion should come together, without the one being more or less regarded as parent to the other. Malcontent monks and priests would not fail to preach zealously about such relations between cause and effect. And while some religious minds looked with a sincere affection to the past, other minds, not at all less religious, drew licence from the present. Delivered from the bondage in which they had been so long held, both by priest and magistrate, these earnest persons were sometimes unduly elevated by their imaginary freedom—so that

even devout men did not always retain a becoming deference to authority.* We read also of a class consisting of homeless idlers, of felons, prison breakers, pirates, and the refuse of garrisons, who went from place to place to stimulate the people to revolt, in the hope of finding opportunity to plunder the rich, while affecting to be moved by sympathy with the wrongs of the poor.*

Society in England before the Reformation.

In truth, if an attempt be made to estimate the influence of the doctrines of the Reformation on the condition of society in England at this time, it is important to remember that there were not a few things in the circumstances and habits of the English people at the opening of the sixteenth century, which were by no means favourable to the appreciation of any teaching of a really spiritual tendency. We have seen that the effects of the wars of the half century which preceded the accession of Henry VII. had been to generate a violent and turbulent temper in all classes. Long indulgence had done much to give root to those passions, to make them strong, and even hereditary. To curb this evil, lords were no longer to have military retainers; and the laws against crime and vagrancy were made to be terrible. When robbery, crime, and idleness abound on the one side, it is only natural that selfishness, covetousness, and hardness of heart should abound on the other. The reader has seen that the enclosure and sheep-walk grievances go back into the last century. Beside the evils which came from this source, were others which came from causes much less obvious, but hardly less potent. The history of marriage is very largely the history of society. In those days, the king disposed of his wards in marriage as he disposed of his advowsons; and in common life, from the keen sense of the value of money which had come to be very prevalent, children were expected to be obedient in that matter to the

* Strype's *Mem.* ii. bk. i. cc. 12–21.

absolute authority of their parents. Marriage, in consequence, was too commonly a question of finance, much more than of affection, and the vices natural to such a mode of looking at that relation were known to be common with the highest class, and with many below them. 'In England,' says a foreigner then resident among us, 'I have never noticed any man, either in 'the court or in the lower orders, to be in love. Either 'the English are the most discreet lovers in the 'world, or they are incapable of love. I say this of 'the men.'* The domestic virtues are the root of all virtues, and this marriage law was not favourable to such virtues. The love a man has for his own hearth, is the best guarantee for his love of country; but marriages of convenience do not often make home a paradise. The writer above cited further says—'This people take great pleasure in having a quantity of excellent victuals, and also in remaining long at table. I have it on the best information, that when war is 'raging most furiously, they will seek for good eating, 'and all their other comforts, without thinking of 'what may befal them:' and almost anything, adds the same authority, may be compensated by money. We may see in this England before the Reformation, a country with an upper and military class hard to be curbed into order; with a strong mercantile middle class, and a powerful yeomanry, growing in the love of money, and in the love of the sensuous gratifications natural to men whose money has been thus gained; and below this upper and middle class are the disordered, idle, and dangerous classes. Some of these last are what they are from causes for which they are not themselves to blame, and some from their being unable or unwilling to cast off the violent or unproductive habits which they have derived from the unsettled state of society about them. Looking to the bulk of the nation, apart from the highest or the lowest, we

* *A Relation of the Island of England*, 24.

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may see in them a bluff, brave, independent people—a people much more independent than the frequently arbitrary proceedings on the part of the government seem to suppose. But they were not a people to be much influenced by very nice distinctions in religion, by mere novelties, or by anything very transcendental on that subject. And while the soil had been thus far unfavourable from the beginning, it had been the work of Henry VIII. to crush the reformation as a spiritual power, in favour of a reformation almost wholly political. The change for the better which had come over the moral and religious feeling of a large portion of his subjects, had come, for the greater part, in defiance of his policy. Henry laid his strong hand on the more turbulent elements of the times, but the less palpable disorders, which were at the root of all the mischief, he never touched. The men, however, who were religious in that age were earnestly religious, and it required all the strong conviction by which their faith was characterized to subdue the tendencies of another kind by which their course was impeded. It was the misfortune of Protestantism under Edward, that, with a king so young upon the throne, it had to deal, in its early days, with this accumulated mass of disorder bequeathed to it from the times of another faith.

Insurrections in the provinces.

The first signs of discontent in the summer of 1548 did not attract much attention. It was supposed that a little wise management would suffice to restore quiet. The government issued proclamations promising pardon to those who had been engaged in 'routs and uproars,' on condition of their returning peacefully to their homes; and at the same time announced that commissioners should be appointed to inquire concerning the dearness of provisions, and the grievance of enclosures. Popular preachers were sent into various parts of the country to reason with the people, and to urge them to obedience.

In many counties the excitement was allayed by such means.*

Rising in Devon.

But the rising in Cornwall and Devon in 1549 was not to be so suppressed. In that quarter, and in that quarter alone, men of some position and influence were found at the head of the malcontents. The name of Cardinal Pole was a power in those parts; and we have reason to believe that he had spared no pains to fan the embers of discontent into a flame. In the other districts, the sources of the inquietude were mainly political, having scarcely any perceptible relation to religious questions. But in the west the insurgents went so far as to demand that Cardinal Pole should be one of the king's council, and, in brief, that the old order of things in religion should be restored. In this connexion, as in many more, the statesmen under Edward VI. had to grapple with the consequences resulting from the violent policy so dominant in the last reign. The severities which crushed the Exeter conspiracy, and the fate especially of the high-minded countess of Salisbury, were not forgotten in the west. The feudal blood of the people was now up, and religious prejudice contributed to make its heat not a little dangerous. The host was carried before the rebels under a canopy. Crosses, and other church emblems, were paraded through town and country. In this manner they laid siege to Exeter, and in such force, that the place must have fallen into their hands, had it not been well fortified, and had it not been defended with great courage and endurance by the citizens. Many attributed this boldness in the rebels to the lenity of the government. Mild mea-

* One of the commissioners sent by the Protector into the disturbed parts writes—'The people in all the circuit that we have passed, who were suspected to be disobedient, and inclined to sedition, we find most tractable, obedient, and quiet, and of such nature that they may be easily brought to do anything that is for God's glory and the king's honour.'—*John Hales to the Protector*, July 24, 1548. *State Paper Office.* Strype's *Mem.*

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sures, it was said, were out of place at such times. Lord Russell was sent against the besiegers, but could not drive them from their entrenchments. He did not succeed in so doing until reinforced by the German horse under lord Grey, and by some Italian musketeers under their commander Spinola. Compelled to raise the siege, the retreating force made a skilful use of its cannon, and resisted a succession of attacks. But in about a month from its commencement the rising in the west was put down.

Rising in Norfolk.

The success of the government in Devon, however, did not prevent the movement in Norfolk from becoming formidable. The disaffected in those parts were led by one Ket, a tanner, a man who had realized considerable property in his trade. The war of Ket's followers was not a war against the new faith, but was altogether of the Jack Cade and Wat Tyler complexion. Its force was directed against the property and privileges of the gentry. All had conceived, says the Protector, when writing to the king, 'a wonderful 'hate against gentlemen.' They insisted that there should not be the present distinction between rich and poor; and that the latter should be raised to places of trust and honour in common with the former. Ket took possession of Norwich, and proclaimed himself king of Norfolk and Suffolk. He instituted courts of law, and heard causes beneath an oak on a hill near the town,' which he called the Oak of Reformation. The marquis of Northampton drove the rebels out of Norwich. But the next day he was obliged to evacuate the place, leaving lord Sheffield among the killed. The gentlemen of Norfolk and Suffolk now came to the strife, under the command of the earl of Warwick. Even now, the royalists were not at once successful. Ket and his twenty thousand men kept their ground in several encounters. But presently came the want of food. The rebel multitude had fasted three days, when they threw themselves in despair on the king's troops. The result was the

natural one. Their disciplined antagonists brought them down by hundreds. Ket himself was among the prisoners, and was hanged some time afterwards. This success in Norfolk made it easy to deal with a similar disturbance in Yorkshire.*

The case of the lord admiral.

During the few years to which this reign extended, the court was scarcely more at rest than the country. Thomas lord Seymour of Sudeley, lord high admiral, and younger brother to the Protector, was a man of a restless and ambitious temper. He was handsome in person, courtly in his manners, possessed a ready utterance, and a full senatorial voice. In the hope of realizing his political aspirations, he sought the hand of the widow of the late duke of Richmond, natural son of Henry VIII. Failing in that object, he presumed to pay indirect court to the princess Elizabeth, though she was then barely fifteen years of age. But he became the husband of Catherine Parr, the widow of the late king, and was suspected of having hastened the end of that pious and gifted woman, within twelve months from the time of their nuptials. He then turned his thoughts again towards Elizabeth; and intrigued to retain lady Jane Grey under his influence, either with the vague idea that she might become his wife, or that it might be possible and expedient to bring about a marriage between that lady and the king. In all other connexions, his speculations were in keeping with these busy schemes in relation to marriage. He had friends among the nobility; but while his brother was a favourite with the people from his genial nature, the admiral could

* Strype's *Mem.* ii. cc. 12, 21, 27, 28. *Cranmer*, i. bk. ii. c. 10. Burnet, iii. 210–222. See also *Kett's Rebellion in Norfolk*, by Rev. F. W. Russell. Mr. Russell has been the first to publish Ket's list of grievances, and they show that Ket and his men did not concern themselves with the controversies about the 'ancient faith.' It was their social grievances that had made them insurgents, and sad grievances in many respects they were. On the suppression of these disorders, a lord lieutenant was appointed in every county— that office is not of older date.

so become only by placing his selfishness and pride under vigorous restraint. He looked with a jealous eye on the power of his brother, as he would have looked on the power of almost any man if above his own. He did all he could to fill the mind of the young king with distrust and hard thoughts concerning the Protector, and to organize a powerful faction against him.*

When arrested, the object of the admiral had been to make friends among the nobility, and even among the channel pirates, in the hope of becoming strong enough to seize the person of the king, to displace the Protector, and to assume himself the government both of the sovereign and of the nation.† That the admiral was not on friendly terms with his brother had been long known, and there is evidence enough that the duke expostulated with him, once and again, on his course of proceeding, in a forbearing and conciliatory spirit.‡

* Haynes's *State Papers*, 61 et seq.

† In his discourse with the marquis of Dorset, concerning the intended rising against his brother, he said, 'That is well, yet trust not too much to the gentlemen, for they have somewhat to lose; but I will rather advise you to make much of the head yeomen and franklyns of the country, especially those that be ringleaders, for they be men that be best able to persuade the multitude, and may best bring the number, and therefore I will wish you to make much of them, and to go to their houses, now to one, now to another, carrying with you a flagon or two of wine, and a pasty of venison. This is the manner I intend to use myself.'—MSS. *Rolls Office, Domestic*, vol. vi. It is strange that Sir James Mackintosh should seem to have written his account of the admiral's case, without even consulting Haynes's *State Papers*, apart from which he could know next to nothing of the matter.

‡ Somerset, in a letter bearing date 1st Sept., 1548, intimates that the admiral charged him with being willing to receive complaints against him, which the Protector meets by saying, 'How well we do receive them, may appear in our letters, where we lament the case unto you, and exhort, pray, and admonish you so earnestly as we can that you yourself would redress the same—which were both more honour for you, and quiet and joy and comfort to us.' On that same 1st of Sept. Catherine Parr gave birth to a daughter, on which the duke sent warm congratulations to his brother, expressing his hope that the birth 'of a great sort of happy sons' might follow.—MSS. *State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. v.

Concerning the guilt of the admiral there was in reality no room to doubt. But that fact should not prevent our stating that the forms of justice were shamefully discarded in the course of proceeding towards him. The bill of attainder against him was read a second time the day after it was introduced, and was passed unanimously on the day following. As usual in cases of attainder, no witnesses were examined in parliament. Judgment was pronounced upon evidence taken by the council and reported by them. Certain peers were deputed to see the admiral in the Tower, but he declined to go into his case with them, and claimed to be openly heard, and to be confronted with his accusers. This reasonable demand had often been made by men in such circumstances within the last twenty years, and always in vain. It was made in this instance without effect.

According to the law as it then stood, lord Seymour had incurred the penalties of treason. But it was not a pleasant sight to look upon the young king signing the death-warrant of an uncle, even though such an uncle; nor to look on the Protector signing that warrant against a brother, even though such a brother.* It is to be regretted that imprisonment was not deemed penalty sufficient. That the admiral could be at large, and conduct himself modestly and peaceably was not to be imagined.†

The fall of Somerset.

The proceedings against lord Seymour commenced with the opening of 1549. The suppression of the popular risings during the autumn of that year was

* The princess Elizabeth, writing to Mary some years later, says, 'I have heard in my time of many cast away for want of coming to the presence of their prince; and in late days I heard my lord Somerset say, that if his brother had been suffered to speak with him he had never suffered, but the persuasions were made to him so great, that he was brought in belief that he could not live safely if the admiral lived, and that made him give his consent to his death.'—Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. 256.

† Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. bk. i. cc. 15, 16. Haynes's *State Papers*, 68–108. Burnet, iii. 179–185. *Coll.* 31. *State Trials*, i. 483–507. MSS. *State Paper Office, Domestic*, vols. v. vi.

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followed by a rupture between the Protector and the greater part of the council. Discontent had been long brooding in that quarter. The noblemen and gentlemen who shared most in that feeling now withdrew from the court. They appeared about London armed, and with an armed following. They were known to be holding secret consultations hostile to the government.* The nobleman at the head of this conspiracy was the earl of Warwick, and his house, in Ely-place, Holborn, was the centre of the movement.

Character and career of Warwick.

Warwick was the son of Edmund Dudley, who perished with Empson on the scaffold soon after the accession of Henry VIII. The son was not deterred from looking to public life by the fate of his father, nor do the sins of his ancestor appear to have been remembered against him. He became soldier and diplomatist, and rose to the dignity of lord high admiral. As lord Lisle, he had command of the English fleet at Spithead in 1545, when England was menaced with invasion by France. He had acquitted himself with ability and courage under Somerset in the battle of Pinkie. He had since given further evidence of his military capacity in suppressing the insurrection in Norfolk. He does not seem to have been a man of any settled principle concerning either government or religion. According to his confession in his last moments, he was never in heart a Protestant, though he never ceased to act prominently with that party after Edward's accession. We know that he lost no opportunity of enriching himself from the spoils of the church. He could, however, after the manner of his father, play the part of the grave moralist, and by the proprieties of his talk, and his great caution, he won much confidence from those with whom he had intercourse. He could even add tears to the gravity

* 'Every lord and councillor went through the city weaponed, and had their servants likewise weaponed, attending upon them in new liveries, to the great wondering of many.'—Holinshed.

of his discourse, when the occasion was such as might be served by them. But he was in heart thoroughly selfish, studiously self-governed, and shrewd enough to see the value, not only of seemly words, but of appearing, at times, to be capable of a generous action. He was a man of strong ambition. His great object in life was the elevation of himself and his family. He was ready to pursue that object at almost any cost of sincerity or principle. The removal of lord Seymour seems to have been the work of Warwick, much more than of the Protector.

Character and administration of Somerset.

Somerset was a man of another order. It is evident that he entered upon his office with the feeling, not only of an honest, but of a devout man. He was, however, in some respects, unequal to his position. Compared with his brother, the lord admiral, he was a man of caution and sagacity. Compared with his rival, the earl of Warwick, he was wanting in those endowments. He had carried out the war in Scotland, which had been conditionally bequeathed to him by the late king. He had also followed what was generally regarded as an honourable course in attempting to defend Boulogne, then in the hands of the English, against the hostile intentions of France. But the success at Pinkie Cleugh had been counterbalanced by disasters on the other side the English Channel; and both enterprises had involved large expenditure, and heavy debt, without any real advantage to set over against such consequences. No special impost had been laid upon the nation to meet this difficulty; but it was clear that the debt had been incurred, and the forebodings were serious. At the same time, the expense of the royal household had increased; and the profuse habits of the duke himself, pulling down churches to build mansions, provoked considerable observation and censure. The debt, however, which had been contracted under the rule of Somerset, was the great cause of his downfall, though Warwick and his friends were careful to add to that item of accusa-

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tion, the charge of his having governed without duly consulting his colleagues, and of having so acquitted himself in the time of the late insurrections, as to have given encouragement to such outbreaks, in place of resisting them as they ought to have been resisted. The duke had really done nothing to encourage insubordination. But his feeling in favour of a suffering people was treason to many of the men about him. Even Sir William Paget, friend as he was supposed to be to the Protector, had taken up the language of his enemies on these points, and became sarcastic and bitter in his attempts to induce him to cast away such philanthropic fancies. 'I know,' he said, 'your gentle 'heart right well, and that you mean what is good.' But in his judgment, this gentleness was ill-placed—the insurgents should have been crushed at the first with a strong hand. Nor did the censure of Paget end at this point. Somerset had recently become, and perhaps unconsciously to himself, haughty and irritable in his bearing towards the men with whom he acted, and by this manner, even more than by his measures, he had made himself enemies among those who were most capable of serving him as friends. 'Of late,' says Paget, 'your grace is grown in great choleric fashions, 'whenever you are contraried in that which you have 'conceived in your own mind. Unless your grace will 'more quietly show your pleasure, no man will dare 'speak to you what he thinks. In council your grace 'sometimes nips me sharply.'* Men who know anything of the cares of office, can understand how possible it is that temper should be thus affected by them, especially in the case of a man of a frank and manly disposition, and endowed, not so much with a wise circumspection, as with a consciousness of good intentions.

The two parties—charges against the duke.

But such were the circumstances which gave the enemies of the Protector advantage over him. Warwick and his adherents, by their secession from the

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 237, 238; Papers, 427–437.

court, and their display of arms, declared plainly that there was to be a struggle for mastery between them and the government. Somerset sent forth a proclamation calling upon all faithful subjects to rally armed about the person of the king. The lords in London made their appeal to the citizens, alleging that their intentions were most loyal, and that the person of the king was in danger, not from them, but from the falsehood and treason of the Protector, and they urged against him all the matters of accusation above mentioned.

Somerset finds that he is fallen.

The duke and the king were at Hampton Court. The chief persons with them were Cranmer, Paget, Sir William Petre, Sir Thomas Smith, and Mr. Cecil. Lord Russell and Sir William Herbert, who had the greater part of the army at their disposal, declared that from what they could see of the quarrel, it was more personal than public, and they counselled moderation, and some new settlement. This decision left the duke powerless. Correspondence ensued between him and the lords; but it soon became evident, to himself and to others, that he was a fallen minister, and his opponents were not in a mood to deal leniently with him. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith addressed a joint letter to them, which set forth the case of the Protector with so much ability and pathos, that it was deemed expedient to adopt a more conciliatory tone. But Somerset was not a man to provide against the statecraft of the parties now leagued against him. Two messengers sent by him to the lords, Sir William Petre and Sir Philip Hoby, played him false. In a secret letter to the king, the alleged faults of the duke were exaggerated in the most artful terms, and coming in the wake of so much of the same kind that had been made familiar to him through other channels, this communication appears to have effaced the last trace of affection from the mind of the nephew towards the uncle. Cranmer, Paget, and Smith were also secretly warned, that unless they ceased to sup-

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port the duke, they must expect to share in whatever evil might befal him. Smith was not to be moved by such considerations. Cranmer appears to have put himself in the hands of Paget, and Paget not only forsook his master, but gave information to his enemies as to how they might take him. It was when the duke was known to be thus bereft of friends, that Sir Philip Hoby, in behalf of the lords, delivered himself as follows to Somerset and those about him:—

Pledge of the lords to the duke.

Treachery of Somerset's opponents.

'My lord and my lords and masters of the council. My lords of the council yonder [in London] have perused your letters, and perceived the king's majesty's requests and yours, and have willed me to declare unto you again that they do marvel much why you do so write unto them, as though they were the most cruel men in the world, and as though they sought nothing but blood and extremity. They say of their honours they do mean nothing less; and they bade me declare unto you, from them, that on their faiths and honours they do not intend, nor will hurt, in any case, the person of my lord the duke, nor of none of you all, nor to take away any of his lands or goods, whom they do esteem and tender as well as any of you, and as one whom they are not ignorant, no more than you, that he is the king's uncle. They do intend to preserve his honour as much as any of you would. And for you, my lords and masters of the council, they will have you to keep your rooms and places as before, and they will counsel with you for the better government of things.

'My lord,' then said he to the duke, 'be ye not afraid. I will lose this my neck [and so pointed to his neck], if you have any hurt. There is no such thing meant, and so they would have me to tell you; and mark you well what I say. Upon this, all the aforenamed wept for joy, and thanked God, and prayed for the lords. Mr. Comptroller [Sir William Paget] fell upon his knees, and clasped the duke about the

'knees, and weeping, said—Oh, my lord, ye see now what my lords be.'*

The duke gave credit to these assurances. But what followed? First, to his amazement, he was put under arrest. Next, he was conducted, with an escort of some three hundred lords and gentlemen, through the streets of London to the Tower; and to escape with his life from the charge of 'high crimes and misdemeanours' brought against him, he was obliged to confess himself guilty, to ask pardon upon his knees, and to submit, not only to the loss of his offices, but to the loss of goods and chattels, and of his personal liberty. So did these men fulfil their pledge that his 'honour,' and his 'lands and goods' should remain untouched! Sir Thomas Smith, as may be supposed, shared in the loss of liberty and property which had come upon his master.†

Northumberland will uphold the Reformation—reasons of his policy.

One of the first measures of the council was to confer the office of lord admiral on the earl of Warwick. But the new minister saw it expedient to adopt the policy of the minister he had displaced, at least so far as regarded the great question of the times—religion. Had he attempted to restore the Nationalism of the last reign, or the Romanism which had preceded, it would have become him to divide his power with leading men in the old families, and in fact to have resigned the government into their hands. But he knew that Edward would be opposed to any such changes. He knew, moreover, that he had risen to power by the hands of men whose estates had grown large by the suppression of the religious houses, and that much of his own wealth had come from that source. These considerations were quite enough to prevent his thinking of a reactionary policy. Above

* MS. *Harleian*, 353, folio 77. In a note attached to this manuscript, it is said to have been copied from 'that which Sir Thomas Smith wrote with his own hand.'

† Holinshed. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* vol. ii. part ii. 427–429. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, ii. 166–175. Tytler, i. 204–246.

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all, he knew that the feeling of the country was so far Protestant, that nothing but the want of sufficient leadership could prevent that party from being ascendant. The earl of Southampton, the great hope of the Romanists, and who had been conspicuous in the escort which lodged Somerset in the Tower, was removed from court; and circulars were addressed to the bishops, assuring them that the Reformation in religion would be in no way impeded by the change which had taken place.*

1549. Dec. 25.

Release of Somerset.

Somerset was committed to the Tower in October, and remained a prisoner until the following February. He was then released, under a heavy fine, and in April was admitted to a seat in the council. One of his daughters was given in marriage to the eldest son of his rival. But that bond did not suffice to produce amity between the two families. Somerset came to be in frequent communication with the king, and was supposed to be gaining an influence over him. Warwick watched this course of events with much apprehension. This was the state of affairs some twelve months after the restoration of the duke to a place in the council. Warwick was then created duke of Northumberland; lord Dorset, the father of lady Jane Grey, became duke of Suffolk; Paulet, earl of Wiltshire, became marquis of Winchester; and Sir William Herbert was made earl of Pembroke. Somerset looked with alarm on these proceedings.

Second arrest. 1551. Oct.

He was suddenly arrested, together with the duchess, and several of their friends, and sent to the Tower.

Charges against him.

The accusation first made against the duke was, that he, in conjunction with certain of his adherents, had contemplated raising the city and country against the government; and that the earl of Warwick, the marquis of Northampton, and others, were to be invited to a banquet in the house of Sir William

* MS. *State Paper Office, Domestic*, vol. ix. 1–45, 57.

Paget, and either on their way thither, or at the table of their host, were to lose their heads.*

How much was proved.

All that could be proved was, that Somerset, some six months before he was arrested, had declared that he accounted himself in personal danger, and that he meditated resorting to means of self-defence; that he was dissatisfied with the conduct of the men in power, and desirous of seeing that power pass to other hands; and that, at the time mentioned, the idea of seizing the persons of Northumberland and Northampton had been suggested, partially entertained, but was soon abandoned. The enemies of the duke were intent upon justifying their proceedings by making out the strongest possible case against him; and as they did not affect to have established anything against him beyond the above points, we may safely conclude that the evidence in support of the most weighty charge, the intended assassination, was felt to be of a kind that it would not be expedient to produce.

Improbabilities of the more serious charges.

Edward's *Journal* has been a great authority with historians on this subject. But it should be remembered that Edward knew nothing of this affair except as he was told; and that he was told nothing, except by persons disposed to make the most unfavourable impression in regard to the duke. Sir William Palmer, the man who charged Somerset with meditating insurrection and murder, was a person entitled to no sort of credit, and manifestly the tool of Northumberland. He had so overdone his part, that it was deemed prudent to make little use of him, so much so, that the earl of Pembroke, lord Grey, and Paget, who were all implicated in his statements, were not placed on their trial, and were examined only under the strictest secrecy. Six months had now passed since the supposed conspiracy had risen to the formidable height described by Palmer—and was it possible that an organization so extended, and so perilous to so

* Edward's *Journal*.

many persons, should have remained a secret so long? During the intervening months Somerset is one of the most constant attendants in court and council, and his conduct during those months passes unchallenged. We have evidence, indeed, at the close of June, that Northumberland, while regarding Somerset as a political rival, and fully prepared to take advantage of any false step that might be made by him, had nothing to lay to his charge beyond such matters of difference as might be expected to arise between two men who were competitors for the same power. From an entry in Edward's *Journal* on the last day of August, we learn that Somerset had been employed two days before in putting down a popular conspiracy against the gentlemen, at Oakingham, where he sent some of the offenders to the gallows. Even so late as the fourth of October, only three days before Palmer made his communication to Warwick, lord Arundel, who, according to that communication, was to have been as a right arm to Somerset in his scheme of treason and murder, was released from the Tower by an act of the council; nor was this alleged accomplice brought to trial when proceedings were instituted against the duke. According to Palmer's evidence, Sir Thomas Arundel was to have become master of the Tower. Sir Ralph Vane was to have been ready with two thousand men. Sir Miles Partridge was to have raised London, and to have secured the great seal. Sir Michael Stanhope, too, had been privy to the whole project. All these men perished on the scaffold, under these charges, but they all died solemnly denouncing Palmer as a false witness, and affirming that they had not been parties to any treason, or to any plot against the life of Northumberland or of any other person.* In fact, Palmer and Northumberland themselves confessed before their death, that their con-

* The confessions of Crane and Arundel in Tytler, ii. 38–45, are such as to render the truth of these assertions highly probable.

duct towards Somerset had been untruthful and unjust.*

The real history of the case.

The truth seems to be, that Somerset's very natural discontent was felt by Northumberland to be incompatible with his own quiet; that he earnestly desired some tangible ground for proceeding against him, and for putting him out of the way; that Palmer was not ignorant of that feeling, and shaped his evidence with a view to it; that his communication, though found, on consideration, to be so bad, that only a partial use could be made of it, became the ground of real or affected alarm; that hostile conferences and measures being once resorted to, it was too late to look back; and that Northumberland and his party were obliged, in the end, to content themselves with so much of proof against the duke, or of the semblance of it, as might serve to free them from all further trouble at his hands. It was assumed that the state could not be at rest while Somerset lived, and state ethics were supposed to require that he should die.†

The trial.

The trial of the duke, like so many proceedings of the same description, furnished stronger evidence against the justice of the court, than against the innocence of the person accused. The peers deputed to act as judges in this case were twenty-six in number, and

* Renard to Charles V. MS. *Record Office*. Renard was a man who could lie to any extent when his policy seemed to require that he should so do; but Northumberland had sunk so low as to be utterly powerless when the ambassador wrote thus concerning him, and he could have had no motive for attempting to sink him lower.

† Sharon Turner, whose facility in accumulating historical material greatly exceeded his power of using it when obtained, confiding in Palmer's testimony and Edward's *Journal*, has classed Somerset with the Borgias of history. Dr. Lingard has followed much in the same track. Hume, availing himself of the more sober light supplied by Burnet and Carte, has delivered a different judgment. Mr. Froude has not woven this portion of the web of his history with a steady hand, and seems to share himself in the perplexity which his narrative must leave upon his readers. Mr. Tytler's statement of the evidence on the case is the fullest, and, in my judgment, the most satisfactory in our literature. The narrative in Howell's *State Trials* is in many respects inaccurate and misleading.

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included Northumberland, Winchester, and Pembroke, the known enemies of the man whose life was placed in their hands. No witnesses on either side being admissible, the prisoner, as usual, had to depend wholly on himself in dealing with the written evidence produced against him—evidence always so digested and shaped by the government officials as to ensure that the verdict should be in favour of the prosecution. The language of the young king concerning this trial has been the main source of the impressions unfavourable to the duke which have survived to our time. Edward's account, however, of what took place, is neither consistent nor accurate. In a private letter he states, that after the trial his uncle asked pardon of Northumberland and other lords, 'whom he confessed 'he meant to destroy, although, before he swore 'vehemently to the contrary.' But in his *Journal*, Edward makes the duke confess something of this sort during the trial, and is silent as to any such admission afterwards.* The fact was, the government had found it necessary to drop the assassination charge, which rested solely on Palmer's worthless testimony, and had restricted their inquiry to circumstances which were construed as evidence of an intention to take possession of the powers of the state by force. This is manifest from the questions prepared to be put to the duke by the government;† and from the official reports made concerning the ground of the judgment passed upon him.‡ Had the duke confessed himself a murderer, the English people, and every court in Europe, would have been sufficiently apprised of the fact. The offence, accordingly, of which the duke was said to have been convicted was not treason, but felony—a crime which served the purpose of his enemies equally well, inasmuch as it entailed capital punishment.

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* Fuller's *Church History*, iv. 84–85. *Journal.*

† Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. 214. ‡ Tytler, ii. 63–65.

Popular feeling in his favour.

On the day of the trial, the duke was conveyed from the Tower to Westminster Hall by water, and by five o'clock in the morning. Early on the previous day, every householder had been ordered to keep his family at home during the night; to be prepared with 'a 'man in harness;' and the city was to be placed under a diligent watch. But these precautions did not prevent the neighbourhood of Westminster Hall from being crowded with people; and as the axe borne before persons condemned as traitors was not visible when the duke left the hall, the people rushed to the conclusion that he had been acquitted, and throwing their hats and garments in the air, they raised shouts which rolled in full peal to Charing Cross, and were heard in the Long-acre, and at Temple-bar. At his execution, too, a false alarm from a neighbouring street occasioned some disturbance; in the moment of disorder Sir Anthony Brown was seen riding towards the scaffold, and the people seeing in him a messenger of mercy, began to cry 'A pardon! a pardon!—God save the king.' But again there was disappointment. Somerset was condemned at Westminster Hall, and he was to die on Tower-hill. He met his fate with the calm self-possession which became him as a Christian nobleman, and expressed himself as especially thankful for the part he had been permitted to take in the reformation of religion.* The record made by Edward in his *Journal* concerning these last moments of his uncle is—'January 22. The duke of 'Somerset had his head cut off upon Tower-hill, 'between eight and nine o'clock in the morning.' And this is all! But the mind of the young king had been long under bad influences. He had been made to believe his uncle capable of seeking power by playing the rebel and the assassin, and so the last vestige of affection towards him would seem to have passed away.

* St w. 597–606. Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. 216. Burnet, iii. 325, 328, 343, 344. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 237, 238.

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But the parliament appears to have become uneasy in looking on the flagrant violations of justice and humanity which had become so much a matter of course in our state trials. It was after the death of Somerset, that the law was passed which provided, that in cases of treason there should be the evidence at least of two witnesses, and that the witnesses should be openly examined by the person accused, and in the presence of the persons required to deliver the verdict.* Such were the struggles of the court factions under Edward VI. Northumberland continued in power to the end of this reign.

Protestant persecution —rise of the nonconformist controversy.

Another phase in the history of this reign consists in the persecution of Protestants by Protestants, and in the beginnings of those more free opinions in religion which have so often exposed Protestant nonconformists in our history to hard treatment. According to some persons, the mission of these parties has been to indulge in a morbid scrupulosity, to breed discontent and feud, to weaken the Protestant faith, and to gender nothing but mischief. According to others, we may see in them a class of men in advance of their times, and who have formed the vanguard in the march of free thought, of free action, and of freedom in everything. When the Nationalist went his one mile from Rome, it was thought strange that he should punish the Protestant because disposed to go twain; and it has been the belief of the English puritan, and of the English nonconformist after him, that the reasoning which led the Church of England thus far, might, in all consistency, have led her much further, especially when the crisis of change, and of danger from the common enemy, had passed very much away. In these

* 5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 11. According to this statute, for any one to publish by 'writing, printing, painting, carving, or graving,' that the king is 'an heretic, schismatic, tyrant, infidel, or usurper of the crown,' was treason; but a person who only *spoke* to this effect was not to be accounted a traitor, but was liable to fine and imprisonment at the king's will.—Clauses 2, 4.

men, on whom it fell to take the outposts in our religious history, we shall at times find some narrowness, something, perhaps, of an unreasonable inquietude; but they will be for the most part earnest men, strong in their convictions, and prepared to bear and to brave much in defence of the freedom wherewith they think their Great Master has made them free.

In the study of our history during the sixteenth century, it should be borne in mind, that it never ceased to be the policy of the Romanist, to accuse the English churchman of giving licence to every sort of religious error and disorder if he failed to curb freedom of thought and of action with a stern resolve; and, on the other hand, to accuse him of being as much disposed to persecution as his neighbours if he should be inclined to make such use of his power. There was no escape from this dilemma. It was felt that the one horn or the other of it must be met, and the Anglicans generally decided that there was less to apprehend from being charged with persecution, than from being open to the reproach of indifference about religious order and religious truth. Want of courage had much more to do than is commonly supposed in determining the landmarks of the English church.

The vestment controversy.

Hooper, bishop of Gloucester, represented the feeling of many, both among clergy and laity, in taking exception to the use of the old clerical vestments. It was not wished by these persons that the clergy should cease to use any distinctive costume, but simply that habits which had come from a source so disowned, and with which so many superstitious fancies had been associated, should be displaced by others less liable to abuse. The judgment of the reformed churches, with which Hooper had been in communion while in exile, was generally against the use of such habiliments. But Cranmer and Ridley were possessed with the idea, that in the English church there should not only be a strict unity of faith, but a strict uniformity of worship. Hooper's influence as a bishop, and his ex-

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traordinary efficiency as a preacher, were invaluable at such a juncture. But these good men were prepared to see him decline his bishopric, and abandon the pulpit, rather than allow him to preach in any other than the prescribed dress. His obstinacy, as it was accounted, was seriously punished. He was kept out of his bishopric. He was not allowed to preach. He was put under restraint; and, at last, strange to say, was sent to prison—to that convenient seclusion for so many impracticable men in those days, the Fleet. After a while, the dispute was in some way compromised. Hooper consented to wear the obnoxious garments when he preached before the king, but was left to his liberty at other times. His German friends, while fully of his mind about the 'popish garments,' had urged him months since to comply with the use of them, rather than suffer himself to be precluded from doing the great work before him as a Christian bishop.* No doubt, the fashion of a garment was a trivial matter, but the argument from triviality may be said to have had two edges. If it was a trifle to resist, it was also a trifle to enforce. To become a separatist for such a reason may be weak, and to necessitate separation for such a reason may be no less weak.

Separate congregations formed.

But besides the men with puritan tendencies, who, like Hooper, remained in the church, there were others who began to form separate congregations, to choose their own ministers, and to regulate their own affairs. We read of a congregation of this description at Bocking in Essex, and of another at Faversham in Kent. We do not find that these persons differed in anything very material from the Protestant doctrine of the age, except that in their theology they appear to have been more the disciples of Pelagius than of Augustine. The two congregations above mentioned had their joint meetings for worship and for religious action, contributing of their substance to diffuse their

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. bk. ii. c. 28. Foxe. Burnet.

opinions. It appears that such congregations were not confined to Bocking and Faversham.*

Many pious people, without ceasing to be good churchmen, assembled on ordinary week-days to listen to their favourite preachers. The disguised enemies of the Reformation in the government were not pleased with this indication of religious life, and the custom was suppressed.†

The people described as Anabaptists.

But the zeal of the government in support of its own orthodoxy was especially directed against the people designated in that age as Anabaptists. The persons so described were mostly foreigners, and of the German race. From recent events on the continent, anabaptism had become associated in most minds with maxims opposed to morality, and to the existence of society. Measures taken against it, accordingly, were regarded as measures, not so much against false opinions in religion, as against principles which left no virtue or safety to the state. From all we learn concerning the people of this description in England in the time of Edward VI., they appear to have consisted of two classes—moderate men, who objected principally to the baptism of infants as unwarranted and superstitious; and extreme men, as they were deemed, who rejected the doctrine of the Trinity, and the doctrines commonly allied with it.‡

Van Paris.

In 1549, complaints were made to the council against the proselyting zeal of these people, and a commission was instituted to search after Anabaptists, heretics, and persons repudiating the Book of Common Prayer, and to reclaim them, or to subject them to the severest ecclesiastical and civil penalties. Some

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 369, 370. Some of these people were summoned before the council—five were committed to prison, and seven more were bound in recognisances of 40*l.* each. They could not therefore have been all of the lowest class. No doctrinal error, except on the point above mentioned, was found among them. They were simply Protestant nonconformists.—Strype's *Cranmer*, 334, 335.

† Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 371.

‡ Burnet, iii. 204, 205.

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tradesmen in London who had become Unitarians were induced to recant. But a Dutchman, named Van Paris, in practice as a surgeon, was not to be thus influenced. He persisted in avowing his obnoxious creed, and was burnt as a heretic. The life of Van Paris had been eminently pure, and his conduct at the stake showed that his faith, whatever it may have been, had raised him above the fear of death.*

Joan Bocher.

With the fate of Van Paris we have to place that of Joan Bocher. The female bearing this name, like her martyred friend Anne Ascue, was in frequent communication with religious ladies about the court. She had been active in distributing Tyndale's Testaments, and other religious books. When arrested on the charge of heresy, the only error proved against her, seems to have been a subtle fancy concerning the Incarnation. She maintained that the flesh of the Virgin was necessarily sinful; that had Christ taken flesh from her, his flesh too must have been sinful; and that the flesh of the Saviour, accordingly, could not have been so taken. So clear to her mind was the force of this reasoning, that she lost patience with her judges when they professed not to see it as she saw it. Much was done, both publicly and privately, with the hope of bringing the misguided, but conscientious and highminded woman, to abandon this opinion, but without effect. Sad to say, even the holding of a notion so little intelligible, and apparently so harmless, was accounted as worthy of death. Joan Bocher has her place among the Smithfield martyrs. Her end demonstrated her integrity, and has brought dishonour on Cranmer, and Ridley, and Latimer, who were all more or less consenting to this subjection of a weak woman, to a doom so dreadful, for an offence so venial. Joan Bocher's error seems to have been a form of reaction against the Mariolatry of her time.†

* Burnet, iii. 206.

† Foxe says that Cranmer was employed by the council to prevail on the reluctant young king to sign the cruel warrant, which he at length

General mildness of the government under Edward VI.

No Romanist blood shed.

While recording these facts, so little to the credit of our infant Protestantism, it should also be recorded, that Joan Bocher was the only British subject who suffered death on religious grounds during the reign of Edward VI. Romanist blood was not shed, on any such pretence, through those years. The barbarities of the next reign were so far without precedent. When the Marian persecutors sent Protestants so freely to death for their religion, they did it knowing full well that English Protestantism had not so dealt with themselves. In a few instances, Romanists were deprived of their offices, and put under restraint, but that was the extent of their suffering. In no country in which the two religions stood face to face, had there been such toleration and forbearance as in England under its first Protestant sovereign.

Unhappily, in those times, no party really understood the right of private judgment. The Nationalist did not so understand it as to tolerate the Protestant; the Protestant did not so understand it

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did, but did so with tears in his eyes, telling the archbishop that if there was sin in that deed it should lie at his door. Burnet and Strype have taken this story from the hearsay of Foxe, and so it has passed into all our histories.—Burnet, iii. 207. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 185, 186.

The following is from Edward's *Journal:* 'May 2. Joan Bocher, otherwise called Joan of Kent, was burnt for holding that Christ was not incarnate of the Virgin Mary, being condemned the year before, but kept in hope of conversion. And on the 30th of April the bishop of London and the bishop of Ely were to persuade her, but she withstood them, and reviled the preacher that preached at her death.' This is not the record to have been expected from the king, if the scene described by Foxe had really taken place. It is certain also that Cranmer was not at the meeting of the council on the 27th April, 1550, when the following minute of proceedings was recorded: 'A warrant to the lord chancellor to make out a writ to the sheriff of London, for the execution of Joan of Kent, condemned to be burnt for certain detestable opinions of heresy.' The warrant of the sheriff was the writ of the chancellor, according to the statute *De Hæretico Comburendo*, signed by the council and not by the king.—Bruce, Pref. to *Hutchinson's Works.* Had Cranmer happened to be at the meeting of the council on the 27th of April, it is probable he would have concurred with the twelve members who were present, in what was done, but that is all we are warranted to say concerning him in this matter.

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as to tolerate the puritan and the separatist; and the puritan and separatist were far from so understanding it as to see that it became them to tolerate the alleged errors and idolatries of Romanism. With the Anglo-Catholic and the Anglo-Protestant, private judgment meant the judgment of the state. With the puritan and separatist it meant the judgment of their party. The maxim that opinion should be free so long as it does not obtrude itself injuriously or offensively upon the freedom of others, found little favour in that age; and the age was far distant in which it was to become a considered and recognised principle of social life. We naturally wish that communities should not be so slow in becoming wise. But to that end Providence is wont to send communities, as well as individuals, to the school of experience, and in most cases, the lessons of experience have to be often repeated before they are truly learned.

Past and Present.

We have seen, then, so far, how change was to follow change, and how the founders of the modern Church of England were to do their work. Henry had hoped to continue Catholic, while separating himself from the centre of Catholic unity, and denouncing many Catholic superstitions. But this was not possible. He lived to see that the church of the magistrate must recede to a much greater extent from the church of the papacy. Next in importance to the severance from Rome, was the clear recognition of the great Protestant doctrine of justification by faith. The human conscience, if not to be set at rest by the services of a priest, must know how to find rest from itself. To the conscience in this exigency, the doctrine of justification by faith became the means of deliverance. It enabled the mind of the worshipper to realize spiritual rest through its own acts, in place of depending on the acts of another. Under the influence of this great truth the moral sense of multitudes ceased to be what it had been. Conscience became self-reliant, and in that fact we may see the germ of a moral and spiritual re-

volution which was to become wide, deep, and lasting. A thoughtful self-reliance is the first quality in manhood, and becoming thus active in the grave matter of religion, it was to cause a new activity in many ways beside, and to do not a little towards rendering it possible that modern England should rise to be the country it has become.

State of society.

But while impulses of this nature were imparted to the mind of the nation by the great religious change through which it was passing, it must be confessed that the good in this case had to struggle, not only with a mass of old evils, but with the new evils incident to such a crisis. Romanism was suppressed, not eradicated; and on the breaking up of a soil so long neglected, weeds of the rankest description came forth along with products of a better kind. The ablest preachers of the time speak strongly, and no doubt with some exaggeration, of the disorders and vices which resisted them in all their efforts to improve the morals and the general condition of the people. The scramble for property, it was said, occasioned by the suppression of the religious houses, had given a new intensity to the passion of covetousness, and had generated a new hardness of heart. The new owners of the soil, said Latimer, often become steplords, in place of being landlords. By raising rents unduly they have brought on dearth, and have raised the price of provisions, at the same time that by throwing arable soil into pasture, and enclosing poor men's lands, they have increased the number of the unemployed and the destitute. A new thirst of gain, said this veteran censor, of gain for its own sake, has come over town and country, drying up all the old sources of charity and munificence. From these causes, the honest yeomanry of this land, the class from which its strength in agriculture and trade, and in church and state, has been so largely drawn, are greatly diminished. Manly exercises, and especially the use of that good weapon the English longbow,

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to which all men above the lowest were trained as commonly as they were trained to read, are fallen almost into disuse. The rich do not help the poor, but can chide them, can tell them they are too well off, and would be the better for a stronger curb; and so corrupt are our magistrates and judges, that the poor have small chance in any suit against the man who can offer a bribe. So a hatred of gentlemen, and a suspicion of men in power, have come to be the common feeling of the humbler classes of the people. With all these evils abroad, is it any marvel if vagrancy meets us at every door, if crime fills every jail? And while adulteries are so open and shameless among people of rank, who can expect anything but vice of the worst description among the people beneath them? Then, in regard to religion, has not contempt of authority come into the place of bondage to authority? The old dread of the priest is gone, but should there not be a decent reverence for the ministers of religion, and for the bearers of the civil sword? The Bible is no longer a sealed book; but has it been laid open that religious disputes might be brawled in a church porch, or carried on upon an ale bench? Patrons are not robbed of their presentations by the pope, but does that warrant them in bestowing livings upon the incompetent and the worthless?*

When court preachers could deliver themselves after this manner, there must have been a good deal existing to warrant some such representation. Nor is it wonderful that the case should so have been. Pulpit estimates, however, concerning the state of society are commonly one-sided, rhetorical, and should be taken with large abatement. Nothing is more incident to age than to account 'the former days as better 'than these.' It is certain that the state of society which Latimer deplores, was really a state of society which had been born with him. The England of his

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. bk. ii. cc. 23, 24. Latimer's *Sermons.*

youth was not so much a reality, as a picture supplied by the pleasant and partial reminiscences of a genial imagination. His heart, full of kindly memories, gave a colouring of its own to the scenes of his boyhood and early life. We might wish that the new distribution of church property had fallen to the hands of unselfish and devout men; but it was better that the distribution should have been such as it was, than that it should not have been made at all. The continuance of such a dominance of ecclesiastical wealth in England, would have been the continuance of an enormous ecclesiastical power in this country second only to that of Spain, and would have been utterly incompatible with those developments of civil and religious liberty which are so distinctive of our history. It should be remembered, too, that much which had been kept down by the rigid discipline of the past now came to the surface. Often men were not really more vicious, but only less bound to conceal their vices. The good in society, after all, was much greater, and the evil seemed to be greater than before from the new contrast. Amidst much change which seemed to be for the worse, there was more which was certainly for the better. In a crisis in which all things appeared to be disturbed, it was not surprising that many should show themselves bewildered, and that some should mistake their way. Good men had expected too much from their reformed doctrine, and they did not patiently bear their disappointment. It had not prevented evil, nor had it done good, to the measure of their hope. But the best portion of the mind of the country had received a new life from it which was to last on, and to become a regenerating power, when the evils which had grown up about it, and had been in part occasioned by it, should disappear and be forgotten.*

* The following passage from the pen of Catherine Parr will suffice to show the kind of religious life which the faith of the English church

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The notion that the founders of the church of England under Edward VI. moved too rapidly, and that by so doing they prepared the way for the reaction under Mary, is one that will not bear scrutiny. It should be remembered, that the Protestant Reformation moved faster and farther in every country that was to become Protestant than in our own. We may add, that it would not have been in the power of Somerset and Cranmer to have perpetuated the Nationalism of the last reign, as left by Henry, had they been so disposed. Bonner and Gardiner, indeed, would have endeavoured to sustain the rule of the Six Articles, and some of their sympathizers seem to think it hard that they were not allowed to make the experiment. But the amiable effort would have failed, and their own destruction would probably have been involved in it. And if change in the more liberal direction was unavoidable, who was to determine where it should be stayed? In revolutionary times, stillness is often the impossible. Affairs must move backwards or forwards. It may be said, in disparagement of our Protestantism under Edward, that the men who converted England were not the disputers of that reign, but the martyrs who preached their doctrine from the flames in the next. But if the Marian martyrs converted England, who had converted the Marian martyrs? If there was religious power enough in those men and women to move the mind of a great nation over to the better side, whence came that

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under Edward VI. could awaken: 'Most benign Lord Jesus! Grant me thy grace that I may ever desire and will that which is most acceptable unto Thee. Thy will be my will: and my will to follow always thine. Thou knowest what is most profitable and expedient for me; give me, therefore, what Thou wilt, and do with me as it shall please Thee. Thy creature I am, and in thy hands; I desire not to live to myself, but to Thee: grant me that I may rest in Thee, and fully quiet and pacify my heart in Thee. For Thou art the very true peace of heart and the perfect rest of the soul, and without Thee all things be grievous and unquiet.'—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* ii. bk. ii. 398–401. The learning and the piety of this excellent woman were emulated by lady Jane Grey, by Edward himself, and by many more.

power? Did it come from the Nationalism of the last reign? That Nationalism was a cold, fleshless, bloodless Erastianism. In its great substance, it was a mere polity, not a religion, and it could not give what it did not possess. Religion grew up under it, but did so in defiance of it, rather than by its aid. It was by means of those Protestant forms of thought which, consciously or unconsciously, had become familiar to the minds of such men as Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer, that devout spirits in this land were disciplined and trained for the great struggle which was awaiting them. Without an advanced Protestantism under Edward VI. we should never have had our high-souled martyrdoms under his misguided successor. Nationalism has no book of martyrs. It too often made martyrs, or stood by as pious men were doomed to that fate. Nothing was farther from its thoughts than to aspire itself towards the heroic in that form. It was, in fact, the secularism of that age. Its great aim was to provide that the interests of this world should be disturbed as little as possible by considerations relating to the next. It was of the earth earthy. Nearly everything that took a bad course under Edward, had been forced into that groove by Henry, or had come even to Henry as a heritage from the past. It was not the religious zeal of Somerset and Cranmer which threw half the kingdom into insurrection. We have seen that the insurrectionists, for the greater part, cared little about the religious question. Their chief complaints had respect to social grievances, which had come down from a preceding century, and which had been aggravated, and made less endurable, in many respects, by the measures of the last reign.

Any estimate concerning the numbers who had now become Protestant, or who still remained what their fathers had been, must be largely conjectural. There would be an inert mass, even in such times, ready to acquiesce in all changes. The Nationalists

would not willingly have retraced their steps farther back than to the posture of affairs in the last years of Henry VIII. What the future was to be would depend on the character of the persons into whose hands the power of the government should most legitimately pass. Parties were no doubt nearly balanced. Under a legitimate Protestant leadership, the Protestantism of the reign which had now closed would be perpetuated. Under a legitimate Romanist leadership there would be change. In either event, the Nationalists would trim their boat to the stream, and would drop off to the winning side.

BOOK VIII.

ROMANISTS AND PROTESTANTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE RECONCILEMENT.

The Princess Mary.

WHEN the reign of Edward VI. had closed, Mary, the eldest daughter of Henry VIII., was in the thirty-sixth year of her age. While Catherine lived, Mary made no secret of her aversion to the religious change introduced by her father. But on the death of her mother, she sought a reconciliation with the king, and avowed herself content with the Reformation as it then stood. It is not probable that she approved, even then, of the separation from Rome. But the Nationalism to which she conformed, left her theological belief as a Catholic wholly undisturbed.* Under Edward VI., however, Protestantism converted the public mass into a communion service, and made private masses unlawful. This was to proscribe the most sacred service in the ritual of the Romanist. But in the estimation of the Protestant, the service of the mass was an act of idolatry, and the church or the state tolerating idolatry, shared in its guilt, and stood exposed to its penalty, as in the times of the Hebrew commonwealth.

* 'In letters by Mary,' says Camden, 'which I have seen, she not only renounced for ever the Pope's authority in England, but also acknowledged her father to be supreme head of the Church of England under Christ, and her mother's marriage to have been incestuous and unlawful.'—Camden's *Elizabeth*, in Kennet, ii. 367.

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Though priests and people were obedient, without exception 'from any corner of the kingdom,' Mary was resolute in her determination not to conform to this new policy. Laws made concerning religion while the king was in his minority, and contrary to those made by her father, were to her no laws. This was her language in 1549, and it was reiterated in her reply to communications made to her by the council, and by the king himself, in 1551. She insisted on liberty of conscience, and; had it been a part of her creed to cede liberty of conscience to others, nothing could have been more just than such a demand. She required her chaplains to obey her personal will, though against the law. She refused to hear Ridley preach.* These incidents were felt to be significant as relating to the history and temper of a lady who, at no distant day, might become queen of England. Thoughtful men regarded them with apprehension, but the people generally, who rarely fail to sympathize with rank in misfortune, looked on with a vague feeling of pity.

Insists on the use of the mass.

Projects of Northumberland.

The attempt of Northumberland to withhold the sceptre from Mary, and to pass it to other hands, was the result of no generous or public motive. He simply wished to see the supreme power in the hands of his own family. Lady Jane Grey was grand-daughter to the Mary Tudor who married Louis XII. of France, and afterwards became duchess of Suffolk.† When it became probable that Edward would soon die, Northumberland conceived the project of raising this lady, grandniece to Henry VIII., to the throne, in the place of Mary, his daughter, and with this view he hastened a marriage between lady Jane and his own son, lord Guildford Dudley. Subservient parliaments under Henry VIII. had ceded to that monarch the power to settle the succession to the throne by his

* Edward's *Journal*. Burnet, iii. 317–324. Ellis's *Letters*, 1st Series, ii. 161–163.

† See page 22.

personal will. On the ground of this precedent, it was alleged that Edward might will the crown in favour of lady Jane, his cousin, to the exclusion of lady Mary, his sister, especially as both Mary and Elizabeth had been declared illegitimate by authority of parliament, and the accession of Mary would probably bring with it a foreign husband, and a change in the established religion. Edward, influenced, we have reason to think, mainly by religious considerations, not only assented to this scheme, but urged the adoption of it with much earnestness, and signed a will in its favour. The council sanctioned this proceeding, swore to sustain it, and endeavoured to persuade themselves that it involved their common interest, and the interest of the realm.* But the success of the duke was dependent on an appeal to the nation, and that was a quarter in which he not only had no influence, but was exposed to every sort of disaffection.

Death of Edward — Mary in Norfolk.

Northumberland and his instruments were the only persons about the king in his last illness. Edward died on the seventh of July, late in the evening. The policy of the duke was to conceal that event until Mary should be in his possession, and be lodged in the Tower. Message had been sent, inviting her to come to her sick brother without delay. She had advanced as far as Hunsdon in Hertfordshire, when a gentleman hastily sought her presence, and having informed her that her brother had died a few hours before, urged her to avoid the snare which had been laid for her, and to fly instantly to her manor of Keninghal in Norfolk, where friends would be found ready to protect her. Mary acted with the promptitude demanded by the crisis. She rode northward without halting, except to announce her accession from place to place on the road, and to call upon the gentry and people to arm in her cause. Early in the morning following

* *Chronicle of Queen Jane, and of Two Years of Queen Mary*, 1–4. App. 85–102. Burnet, iii. 419–426.

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the evening on which the king had breathed his last, lord Robert Dudley arrived at Hunsdon, with a party of horse, designed to escort the princess to London. But the bird had flown, and was beyond his reach.* This was the first piece of treachery to be attendant on the course to which Northumberland now stood committed, and it was not to be the last. But the duke was himself living a life of falsehood, and he had his reward in finding the atmosphere about an atmosphere of falsehood.

The character of lady Jane Grey.

History has hardly another story so sadly beautiful as the story of lady Jane Grey. She was the eldest daughter of the duke of Suffolk, but was not at this time more than seventeen years of age. In common with many Protestant ladies of those times, her studies had embraced a wide circle of reading and learning. Beside the ordinary knowledge of French and Italian, and the skill in music and needlework that might have been expected from a lady in her rank, she could, when not more than fifteen, both write and speak in the language of Plato, and added to her proficiency in Hebrew, the study of Chaldee and Arabic. Her Latin letters were not only equal in style with those of the great men who were her correspondents, but the matter of them was so pure, so intelligent, and the spirit which pervaded them was so simple, self-oblivious, and devout, as to present a portraiture of human nature as nearly perfect as may be conceived possible in this imperfect world. The character which the doctrines of the Reformation tended to form, and which they really did form in the experience of multitudes even in those unsettled times, was seen eminently in her saintly nature. Protestantism realized in her spiritual life, as in that of Catherine Parr, all that the best elements of the ancient Catholicism were supposed capable of realizing. It

* Burnet, iii. 419, 420. Burnet says Arundel sent the message. *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary.* Grafton, 1323.

did more, it raised her mind into commerce with the highest forms of religious thought and aspiration, without the aid of those harsh or frivolous maxims which are so conspicuous in Romanism—giving existence to piety without asceticism, to a noble devoutness, such as forms can never realize, cannot even reflect in shadow.*

Lady Jane becomes aware of the use that had been made of her.

It was not until the second day after the death of Edward, that lady Jane became aware of the purpose of the government to proclaim her as his successor. Her reluctance to accept that doubtful elevation was overcome by the decision of the council, and the opinion of the judges. But it was not until it was intimated, on her being called to examine the crown prepared for her, that besides the crown to be worn by herself as queen, there was another to be worn by her husband as king, that this guileless woman began to see how the Dudleys had been using her as a tool to further their own family ambition. Gladly would she have extricated herself from the mesh of treason into which she had been drawn. But that was not possible. Warm disputation came up between her and the Dudleys, in which she fell back on Edward's will. That document, she said, named herself as queen, but did not name a Dudley as to be king. If her husband was to become a sovereign, it should be left to a parliament to raise him to that position. Such was her language, and she was not to be moved from it by the disappointed vanity of the stripling whom she had wedded, nor by the storming of his mother.† All this happened within the first four days after the decease of the late king. July 7-11.

Lady Jane proclaimed —Mary and the council.

In the meanwhile, lady Jane had been proclaimed queen. But the citizens had listened in distrust and silence. Mary had written from Keninghal, promis-

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 141–143. App. No. 9. *Life of Aylmer*, 3, 4.

† Jane's Letter to Mary.

ing pardon to all who had shown themselves disaffected, on condition of their at once acknowledging her right, but threatening to account the disobedient as traitors. This letter was read aloud to the council, and was answered by another, which denied her title, and promised her protection and favour, only on condition of her submission to the laws.*

Northumberland's difficulties thicken.

Great now was the perplexity of the duke. The army had been sworn to be faithful to queen Jane. But from the signs of disturbance in several districts, and from the flocking to the standard which Mary had raised, it was evident that what had been gained by craft, could only be made safe by the sword. And who was to lead the army? Northumberland was the ablest man for that office, and, unhappily for his plans, there was not another to whom it could be entrusted. Yet it was hard to say where his own presence was most needed, in the field or in the capital. He decided to march with the troops into the eastern counties.†

The duke a prisoner.

But the duke had no friends. Pembroke, Arundel, and Winchester were among the noblemen who had enriched themselves by the Reformation, who feared the consequence of Mary's accession, and in swearing to sustain Northumberland really hoped to see him successful. But, if appearances should become unfavourable, they were men to seize on the first convenient moment to declare against him. Five ships of war, which had been sent to the coast of Norfolk by the government, went over to the side of Mary. At Newmarket, the soldiers, before they had come within sight of an enemy, showed the same signs of mutiny. The council in London shared in the defection. So the duke was obliged to fall back upon Cambridge, and there, as is well known, he became a prisoner in the hands of his enemies, his sworn friend Arundel

* Burnet, iii. 420–424. *Collect.* No. 1.
† *Chron. of Jane and Mary*, 3–8. Burnet, iii. 426, 428.

being the man to arrest him.* The Marian party were now the power of the future.

The revolution and its causes.

This was a great revolution—how is it to be explained? The Romanist explanation is, that only a remnant of the people had become Protestant, that the nation, in reality, both high and low, had remained soundly Catholic.† It is elsewhere alleged, that the effect of the Reformation, to this time, had been to throw bad men—reckless spoliators, to the surface, to send barbarism into the universities, poverty to the homes of the poor, and disorder and suffering almost everywhere. In other quarters we may be told, that religion, after all, is much more an affair of the pocket and of the stomach than is commonly supposed; that bad times coming along with Protestantism, led people to conclude that both must be bad; and that thus they became willing to part with their new religious faith, in the hope of being more lightly taxed, and of finding better markets and cheaper food by returning to the old creed. That there is some truth in this pelf-and-provender philosophy no man of sense will deny; but that it gives us a sufficient explanation, or any near approach towards an explanation, of the religious changes in our history from 1547 to 1560, is not to be for a moment admitted. Men who have imbibed the secular and sceptical temper of modern society can never apprehend the real spirit of the times under review. The morals of men were often low, but they all clung to religious faith of some kind, and those who embraced a pure faith, generally did so with a feeling not to be affected by any sliding scale of interest or of prices. It was the middle class and the poor, who especially felt the evil of the times, and those classes were to be the conservators of English Protestantism.

Unpopularity of Northumberland.

One leading cause of the change which took place on Mary's accession is found in the character of Northumberland. The court and the crowd were

* *Chron. of Jane and Mary*, 10. Burnet, iii. 429, 430.

† Parsons.

alike aware that the aggrandizement of his house—a house comparatively of yesterday—was the one object of his policy. No man loved him, no man placed faith in him. It was not pleasant to a people still much influenced by old feudal feeling, to see an upstart lord take such precedence of the old families. But what was a much graver matter in the mind of the Protestants, the blood of Somerset, the 'good duke,' was upon this man. At the same time, in the eyes of the suffering peasantry and yeomanry throughout England, this was the man who had done most to crush them to silence, and to prevent a redress of their wrongs. Among the people of Norfolk it was especially remembered, that it was this duke who had gibbeted Ket, and had sent death into thousands of families among them, as the effect of that pitiless slaughter which had been perpetrated by his mercenaries at Duffindale. No marvel if the people of Norfolk were more inclined to rally about Mary than to submit to Northumberland. They flattered themselves that they might hope for much from the princess: they could expect no good from the duke. In short, had Northumberland been as much believed in as he was distrusted, and as much beloved as he was hated, he might have had some chance of success—but only then. Men did not see in him a person for whose sake it would be well to throw a kingdom into a state of civil war. The government of Northumberland, moreover, which was to come so much more lightly on the people than that of Somerset, had proved a burden not easy to be borne. There were scarcely any limits to his personal rapacity; and when the administration of affairs had been nearly two years in his hands, one of his measures was to issue a proclamation which suddenly reduced the value of every shilling in the hands of the people to sixpence, and of every groat to twopence. The tyranny which Northumberland exercised over the council became proverbial.

If there was little in Northumberland to win the

popular confidence, it had so happened that there was the same want of qualities of that description in the men about him. Since the death of Somerset, no man had become conspicuous who could be relied upon as prepared to seek the public interest at any real hazard to his own. Lord Paget, who, like Northumberland, could discourse well on public affairs, was a cold, calculating, and trimming person, coupling sage maxims with care for himself at the public cost, and following his leader, or deserting him, as became convenient. He had served Somerset, and had assisted to betray him. He had now played the same part towards Northumberland. The disgrace, moreover, which he had incurred by his peculations still clung to him.* The duke of Suffolk, the father of lady Jane Grey, was a weak man of no personal influence. Paulet, marquis of Winchester, was a person whom Knox could describe as 'a crafty fox,' capable of concealing malicious treason under a fair countenance.† Herbert, earl of Pembroke, was formidable from his military experience and his great wealth—wealth which, as coming largely from the old church, might have been expected to bind him to the new. But he was known to be a man more likely to float with the stream, than to attempt to resist it. The earl of Arundel had lived in confidential communication with Somerset after his first disgrace, and had been implicated in the proceedings which cost that nobleman his life. His course towards Northumberland was that of a master in the art of dissimulation. When the duke was about to depart to lead the army against Mary, and was assured by the lords that he might safely confide in them, inasmuch as they were all parties to his proceedings, Northumberland answered, 'I pray God it be so—let us go to dinner. And so 'they sat down. After dinner the duke went unto the 'queen, where his commission was by that time sealed 'for the lieutenantship of the army; and then took

Strong feeling of loyalty in the English—doctrine of passive obedience.

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 44.

† *Admonition to the Professors of the Truth in England*, 53.

'his leave of her, and so did other lords also. Then, 'as the duke came through the council-chamber, he took 'his leave of the earl of Arundel, who prayed God to 'be with his grace, saying he was sorry it was not his 'chance to go with him and bear him company, in 'whose presence he could find in his heart to spend 'his blood even at his feet. Then the earl of Arundel 'took Thomas Lovel, the duke's boy, by the hand, and 'said—Farewell gentle Thomas, with all my heart.'* So Macbeth smoothed the head of the son of his victim as he said to Banquo, 'Goes Fleance with you?'† The duke had no sooner moved to a sufficient distance, than Arundel began to say he liked not the air of the Tower, and finding a pretext for going abroad, he at once saw the mayor, and proclaimed Mary as queen. When the duke, foiled and fallen, retired upon Cambridge, Arundel, now the servant of Mary, entered his chamber. Northumberland threw himself at his feet and implored him to use mercy towards him. 'My 'lord,' quoth the earl, 'ye should have sought for mercy 'sooner; I must do according to my commandment;' and so gave him in charge as a prisoner to be lodged in the Tower.‡ Even Mr. Cecil, now Sir William Cecil, secretary of state, and the future lord Burleigh, does not pass through the ordeal of this crisis without injury. His preferences were no doubt on the side of Protestantism, and of honest government. But his solicitude to retain official position and influence through the perilous changes which came up about him, exposed him to temptations which he did not always know how to resist. He had been much in the confidence of Somerset, but was careful to stand aside when clouds began to settle on the path of that nobleman. Next he became the great instrument through whom Northumberland exercised his rule. He may have distrusted his master's policy in attempting to alter the succession. But two things are certain

* Holinshed. † Act iii. scene 1. ‡ Holinshed.

—he was as much committed on that point as his colleagues, and only surpassed them in the promptitude and earnestness with which he endeavoured to propitiate the Marian power when he saw that it was likely to become ascendant.* Much excuse may be made for men in such circumstances; but it is manifest that there was not a man in the court or the government on whom the Protestants of the nation could lean with any feeling of safety. If the nation cannot save itself from a reaction, there is evidently no leadership to save it.

With this great unpopularity of Northumberland, both as a man and as an administrator, and with this utter absence of such character in the statesmen of the time as might have inspired confidence in the English Protestants, there was, on the other hand, that deep feeling of loyalty among the people, which foreigners often observed as being one of their great characteristics. Whatever changes had come over her pretensions in past times, the final will both of Henry and of the parliament had been, that in such circumstances as had now arisen, Mary should be hailed as queen of England. In the ear of the generation then living, no doctrine had been more often inculcated than that of passive obedience. To resist a lawful sovereign was not only a crime to be punished with horrible severity by the magistrate; it was a deadly sin—it doomed body and soul. The homilies to be read in churches had inculcated this doctrine clearly and emphatically. Mary's cruel deeds were to induce suspicion, and, on the part of many, an open rejection of this tenet; but for the present, its hold upon the conscience, and even upon the conscience of Protestants in relation to a popish sovereign, was powerful.

The attempt to set aside Mary also set aside Elizabeth.

It was also a consideration of great weight with these persons, that this attempt to set aside Mary was an attempt also to set aside Elizabeth. Elizabeth

* Tytler, ii.

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had become the great hope of the English Protestant. Her influence, it was supposed, would be great even in the event of a Romanist sister ascending the throne, and everything was expected from her own possible succession. And who was Northumberland, that he should be allowed to suppress such rights, and to extinguish such hopes?

Disposition to hope favourably concerning Mary.

It was felt as a calamity that Mary still adhered to the Catholic faith. But excuse, it was thought, might be made for her, and hope cherished concerning her. She had suffered for that creed, and it was natural that she should cling to it. But she was a woman, a virgin princess, and let her see that she had a loyal people about her, prepared to exercise confidence in her sense of religion, of justice, and of humanity, and her sway would surely be found to be benignant. Thoughts of this nature seemed to become only dutiful thoughts, when the queen pledged herself, as she did, to the men of Suffolk and Norfolk, that there should be no alteration in religion.* The reformation under Edward had made greater progress among the manufacturing population of those counties than in most districts. The people in those parts ventured, in a later stage of affairs, to remind the queen, that when her standard was opened among them, the men who had become Protestants in the time of her brother, were among the earliest and most efficient of her supporters, on the ground of their faith in her promise that the order of things established by Edward should not be disturbed.†

The waste, peculations, and bankruptcy of the government; the numbers thrown out of employment among the classes willing to labour; bad harvests and

* Foxe, vi. 387.

† Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* Burnet, iii. 442, 443. When Arundel reasoned with the other nobles in favour of going over to Mary, the great difficulty, it appears, was as to what she would do in regard to religion, which he thus met, 'How doth it appear that Mary intends any alteration in religion? Certainly, having been lately petitioned on this point by the Suffolk men, she gave them a very hopeful answer.'—Godwin's *Reign of*

Distinction between apparent and real causes.

dear food; and the excesses of some who pushed their theories of spiritual liberty into fanaticism,—all, no doubt, contributed to prepare many for almost any change as not likely to be for the worse. But those were not causes to affect thoughtful men, and had there been no other, there would have been no such change as was now taking place. Had Elizabeth been the next in succession, the Protestantism of the English people would have been found sufficient to ensure a continuance of the system under Edward. To account that Protestantism as limited to a feeble minority, is not in accordance with testimony or fact. All that can be said against it is, that it was not found to be a Protestantism of strength sufficient to ensure a rejection of the legitimate successor to the throne on the ground of her being a Romanist. What a Protestant people should do with a popish sovereign, is a question which was to come up in our history more than a century later, and it was found to be a problem not of very easy solution even in that day. If Mary, moreover, was to be received at all, it was fitting that her reception should be genial and confiding. How the generous feeling of the English people, and especially of English Protestants, could be forgotten soon after the summer of 1553; and how the instincts of nature in a female sovereign could be dried up or perverted by the action of an apparently exhausted superstition, were matters of the future which no one could foresee, and which few were disposed to account as probable or even possible.* But Mary once recog-

Mary, 270. 'Had she not been understood so to have spoken, she would never have become queen.—*Gentleman's Magazine*, 1833, p. 119, where Arundel's speech is printed from a report of it by one of his chaplains.

* When lady Jane was proclaimed queen, one Gilbert Potter, a pot-boy, said aloud that Mary had the better title. The government was unwise enough to send Gilbert to the pillory; whereupon a friend of his, named Pratt, a zealous Protestant, scatters a printed tract about, applauding Gilbert for his loyalty and steadfastness, and expressing delight that the nobles and people were beginning to flock to the standard of Mary, from whose success the writer expects two great results—an end to the rule of the 'bear,' and a falsification of the prophecy which had said that 'the

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nised, and the power of the state passing into her hands, the dangers of resistance were such as few in our time can imagine.

Mary proclaimed in London. July 19.

The proclamation of Mary in London took place twelve days after the decease of the king. Great was the rejoicing among the citizens and people. Whatever else might be uncertain, the rule of Northumberland—of the 'bear,' as he was designated—had come to an end. To lady Jane, the surrender of her transient greatness was an immense relief. Noailles, the French ambassador, with the levity too common among his countrymen, described her as the twelfth-day queen. But no being on earth in that hour was entitled to so much affectionate sympathy as Jane Grey. She was among the prisoners retained in the Tower when her fallen father-in-law was lodged within those walls.

Mary's entrance into London.

When the queen made her entrance into London, Elizabeth met her at Aldgate, attended by a number of ladies, and two hundred horsemen. The sisters embraced each other publicly; the queen kissed the ladies in Elizabeth's train; and so the two daughters of Henry VIII.—the daughters of Catherine and Anne Boleyn—passed amidst the loud rejoicings of the people to the Tower. But it was observed that the eyes of the populace turned involuntarily towards Elizabeth, who had numbered little more than half the years of Mary, and whose stately form, elegant bearing, and noble countenance, called forth general admiration. The figure of Mary was short and disproportioned. Her features were dark, thin, and careworn. She possessed no trace of dignity, except in the action of her keen, dark eyes, and there was a penetrating force in them which was not pleasing. Sir Antonio More has fixed her portrait in colours worthy of Vandyke, though, no doubt, with some shades of flattery. So

Gospel shall be plucked away because of the unthankfulness of the people.' —*Chronicle of Queen Jane.* App. 115–121. It is observable that the writer has just heard that Arundel has fallen away from the duke, and he grows warm in consequence in his praises of that nobleman.

pleased and excited was she with the reception given to her on the day mentioned, that for once her features seemed to acquire a cast of beauty. For the moment, Mary was all clemency, and Northumberland seemed to be the only person against whom the rigour of the law would be allowed to take its course. As her majesty passed the Tower gate, before her, on their knees, were the old duke of Norfolk, lord Courtenay, Stephen Gardiner, and the duchess of Somerset, presenting their homage and welcome. The queen spoke of them as 'her' prisoners, and gave them honourable release. The ringing of bells, the booming of cannon, and the shouts of people on Tower-hill and thronging all the avenues approaching it, were in accordance with such a spectacle. But in that prison house, and hearkening to those notes of rejoicing, were men and women to whose hearts they must have sent a sad and strange influence. Northumberland, his duchess, his three sons, and lady Jane, beside others involved in their enterprise, were all there, and in listening to those sounds were to feel as hearts in such circumstances could alone feel, how the bubbles of this poor life may swell, and burst, and pass away!

Mary seeks advice from Spain.

But, amidst so many welcome appearances, it is a fact, that among all the men so forward to do her homage, Mary scarcely knew one whom she could trust. In her silent thought, she had come to the conclusion that she might expect safe counsel from the emperor through his ambassador, more certainly than from any of her subjects. In this fact we have the secret of the dark days which were to follow. The first advice from her Spanish counsellors was, that she should move with caution, especially in religious matters. In the judgment of Charles, and of Renard, his minister, to make light of the Protestant feeling of the country would be madness. But, in dealing with traitors, or with dangerous persons, said the ambassador, prudence should not degenerate into weakness. Not only Northumberland, said the Spanish minister, but

lady Jane and her husband, should die, and a jealous watch should be kept over the princess Elizabeth. About that lady the danger of the future would centre; and if she should be caught in any imprudence, no scruple should be felt in putting her out of the way. In the meantime, continued this unscrupulous agent, it will be important that your majesty's council should be selected with as much apparent impartiality as possible.

The new council—bishops restored.

Mary acted on this last suggestion. Partly from choice, and partly from necessity, her men in office were not all men of one class. But Gardiner, who had been restored to the see of Winchester, became chancellor. The man who now ranked next to Gardiner in influence was lord Paget. Since the payment of the fine imposed upon him for his delinquency he had contrived to retain his footing in public life through all changes.* Such was his power under the new sovereign, that Gardiner, who had patronized him as a youth, attributed the match between Philip and Mary to his influence, more than to that of any other man.

With the choice of the council came the resettlement of the bishops. Tonstal, Heath, and Day were all restored to the sees of which they had been deprived. Bonner is said to have left the Marshalsea to become bishop of London, in the company of 'divers 'bishops,' and amidst a crowd of people hailing him on his liberation. There were, of course, Romanists enough in London to supply such a gathering on any such occasion.†

Trials and executions.

Three noblemen, and four gentlemen, were selected to be tried as having been conspicuously engaged in the late treasons. The noblemen were Northumberland, his son the earl of Warwick, and the marquis of Northampton. The gentlemen were Sir Thomas Palmer, Sir Andrew Dudley, Sir John Gates, and Sir

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* ii. 44. † Machyn's *Diary*, 39.

Henry Gates. The noblemen were tried by their peers, the duke of Norfolk presiding. All confessed their treason. All avowed, moreover, that they had been out of the true path in the matter of religion the last sixteen years—that is, since Henry's separation from Rome; and all received the sacrament after the forms of the old mass. It is probable that they were disposed to this course by the hope of life.* Four were spared. But the duke, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, were beheaded on Tower-hill. Palmer, it will be remembered, was the perjured witness against the late duke of Somerset. The sons of that nobleman were still in the Tower, were present at the execution, and received, both from Palmer and Northumberland, confession of the wrong which the 'good duke' had suffered at their hands.†

Great expectations from the queen.

As the men in office under Mary were, for the greater part, the same who had constituted the government under her brother, any great change for the better in the administration of affairs did not seem probable. The people, however, as commonly happens on a new accession, were full of pleasant expectations, though they would have found some difficulty in assigning any obvious reason for them. Several of the queen's early measures were good, and contributed not a little to sustain the loyal feeling with which she was for awhile regarded. She acknowledged the debts of the late king; paid the arrears of salary due to a large body of government officials; took measures

Her popular measures.

* *Chronicle of Jane and Mary.* Foxe says, the duke 'having a promise, and being in hope of pardon (yea, though his head were upon the block), if he would recant and hear mass, consented thereto—exhorting the people to return to the Catholic faith.'—vi. 388. Only a few months before, Northumberland writes thus to Cecil: 'I have for twenty years stood to one kind of religion, in the same which I do now profess; and have, I thank the Lord, passed no small dangers for it.'—MSS. *State Paper Office,* 7th Dec. 1552.

† *State Trials,* i. 766, 767. *Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary.* Renard to Charles V. MS. *State Paper Office.*

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to bring the deteriorated coinage into a more satisfactory state; and remitted to her subjects a heavy subsidy on lands and goods which had been granted by the late parliament. Great was the praise which these proceedings called forth, and great was the expectation raised by them.

Her love of court splendour.

It has been said, that during the last reign, a puritan simplicity had crept over the manners of the court, and that Mary, recluse as she had been from her youth, restored to it something of its ancient splendour, much to the gratification of the younger members in the families of the nobility.* It would be difficult to name the persons in the court of Edward VI. who would be likely to fall under such influences. If there had been any change in that direction, it might be attributed, we think, to the tender age and sickly constitution of the king, much more naturally than to religion. But we doubt the truth of the assertion. The evidence we possess on the subject is opposed to such a conclusion. It is quite true, however, that Mary, as queen, dressed superbly, as if to supply the want of more personal attractions by such means, and her coronation was an occasion on which attention to the pomp befitting such occasions became conspicuous. It was observed, moreover, that the brilliancy of that spectacle was thrown about the ancient mass. Gardiner officiated. Cranmer was under arrest.

Arbitrary conduct of the queen.

Three months intervened between the accession of the queen and the assembling of her first parliament. In that interval it became evident that Mary was not to be bound by anything that had been done by convocation or parliament, by crown or council, during the reign of Edward. The bishops who had been deprived of their sees, had all been displaced, with only one exception, on the ground of their nonconformity in respect to matters which had become law. Every authority in the state had ultimately prescribed to

* Lingard.

those prelates the course which was expected from them, and the penalties incurred by them had been incurred as the result of an active or passive resistance to that authority. But the queen now restored these prelates to their sees, ignoring the unrepealed laws by which they had been judged. The uniformity then established may have been wise or unwise, but it was established. So early as the month of August, Aug. 22. Mary addressed a letter, solely on her own authority, to bishop Gardiner, as chancellor of the university of Cambridge, requiring that all changes introduced there 'since the death of our father, of worthy memory,' should be done away.* Only a few years since, Gardiner had been zealous in urging constitutional pleas against such acts of the crown, but the time had come in which his promotion, and the objects of his policy, might be served by forgetting all niceties of that description, and they were accordingly forgotten. It may have been a very illiberal proceeding to pronounce the mass idolatrous, and to make it unlawful. But that had been done—done by convocation law and by statute law. Mary, however, not only insisted on the service of the mass as a part of her own worship in all places, but at the funeral of her brother, while Cranmer conducted the ceremony in Westminster Abbey according to the king's own service-book, Gardiner, at the command of her majesty, sung the mass for the dead in the Tower chapel, in the presence of some four hundred persons, attracted to the forbidden rite by her example. Such a proceeding, taking place while the royalty of the queen was scarcely a month old, had its influence of course elsewhere. In many obscure country churches the mass was quietly restored. But in populous districts, it was felt that the innovation would be dangerous. In some instances the attempt was resisted by open riot. But enough had been done to make it no secret in court

* Ellis's *Lett.* 2nd Series, ii. 244–246.

Persecution of Elizabeth

or country, that the way to the queen's favour was to be of the queen's religion.

During the service at the Tower, the conduct of Gardiner called forth murmurs, and muttered curses, even from the guards in attendance on the queen. It was observed, too, that among the many unexpected faces present on that day, the princess Elizabeth was not to be seen. She had been requested to attend, and had refused, and the gossip of the court made this fact notorious. From this time, the course of persecution to which Elizabeth became subject from the hands of her sister, was such, that anything of that nature which Mary had herself suffered had been a light matter in comparison with it. During the month of August, all that could be done by persuasion or by threatening to induce the sister of the queen to attend mass, was done. Mary appealed to the council on her case, and required the lords to expostulate with her one by one. Elizabeth, still a girl not twenty years of age, answered the arguments to which she was obliged to listen, and did so at length with some curtness and impatience. Her decision, the natural result of her Protestant education, and of her being the child of an injured Protestant mother, was described as obstinacy, and it was insinuated that it would no doubt be found to have its root in connexion with some treasonable influences. Elizabeth was a heretic, and the hope of heretics. In prospect of a meeting of parliament, when so much was expected to be done towards restoring the old worship, it was felt to be of the greatest importance that Elizabeth should be paraded as among the reactionists. The measure of this desire was the measure of the anger called forth by her resistance. On one day the talk was, that she would be declared illegitimate; on another, that she would be imprisoned; on another, her household was to be removed, and she was to be placed under the watch of strangers. It was with danger thus thickening about her, and menacing her most seriously, that she sought an inter-

view with Mary. The two sisters met, we are told, in a gallery, with a half door between them, and each with one lady in attendance. The daughter of Anne Boleyn threw herself at the feet of the daughter of Catherine, lamenting that the affection of her sister should have fallen so much away from her, reminding her that she had been educated in the reformed faith and knew no other, but adding, that she was open to instruction, and was willing to read books, or to converse with learned men, on the points of difference between them. Mary was not a young girl. She saw at once that such a process would involve time, and that time was precious. Come to the mass at once, she said —to the next, which will be in honour of the Virgin, and faith will follow. Elizabeth, we may suppose, had little faith in this promise. But she consented to be present. On that day she bowed herself in the house of Rimmon—did it, said the French ambassador, from 'force:' did it, said the Spanish minister, with a 'bad 'grace.' Nor could she be induced to repeat the service on the following Sunday. Zealous Protestants may lament this instance of weakness, and still more the measure in which Elizabeth conformed, at a later period, to the worship prescribed by the law. But the feeling of Elizabeth in this matter was a feeling to be honoured, if compared with the heartlessness of historians, who, seeing nothing to censure in the tyranny exercised by the one sister, have only sneers to bestow on the submission extorted from the other.*

Duplicity of Mary in regard to her religious policy.

While busy in perpetrating these infractions of law, and in developing this harsh and arbitrary temper, Mary was committing herself more deeply every day to a process of double dealing towards her subjects. One day she could assure her people that they would be left to their religious preferences, without any

* Dr. Lingard's account of these proceedings is anything but accurate as to its statements, and is only too characteristic in its spirit.—vii. 184, 185.

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interference on the part of the government; and the next she could send her secret communications to Rome, in the hope of bringing back the old worship, and all the old tyranny. Her declaration to the Suffolk men in July, was reiterated in an address to the mayor and recorder of London on the twelfth of August. Ten members of the government describe her majesty as saying on that occasion, 'Albeit her 'grace's conscience is stayed in matters of religion, 'yet she meaneth graciously not to compel or constrain 'other men's consciences, any more than God shall, as 'she trusteth, put into their hearts a persuasion of the 'truth that she is in, through the opening of the word 'unto them by godly, virtuous, and learned preach-

Disturbance at St. Paul's Cross.

'ers.'* Next day, however, Dr. Bourn, chaplain to her majesty, preached by appointment at St. Paul's Cross. The lord-mayor and lord Courtenay were among the persons present. The preacher, intending to please those who had deputed him to his office, began to censure, in strong terms, what had been done in

August 13.

regard to religion under the late king. The people murmured, and at length broke out into such riotous opposition, that a dagger was thrown at the preacher, which fastened itself in the wood of the pulpit, and the offender was indebted for his escape to Bradford and Rogers, two men who were afterwards to suffer as martyrs. So manifest did it become, that the people who had greeted the queen so cordially not many days before, were far from expecting to see the church of Edward VI. displaced by another—not even by that of the Nationalists, still less by that of the Romanists. But this event, and a similar scene where an incumbent had attempted to read the old mass, furnished the queen with a plausible excuse for imposing silence on all preachers, except such as should receive her own special licence. And now, a week only after declaring that her subjects were not to be compelled in

* Haynes's *State Papers*, 168.

respect to anything religious, the proclamation is, 'that 'nothing is to be done in that matter until such time as '*further order, by common consent, might be taken therein;*' and it is further enjoined, 'that no man should reason 'against the doings of her grace or her council.'* August 19.

Mission of Commendone.

While these affairs were in progress, and within a month from the death of Edward, there was an agent from the pontiff in London, named Commendone, disguised as an Italian gentleman. This ecclesiastic, who afterwards became a cardinal, sought and obtained a secret interview with the queen. Mary satisfied both the envoy and his master that her intention to restore the old worship might be relied upon. But she was careful to enjoin the strictest caution against making any communication of that nature in Rome or elsewhere as from herself. When Commendone made his report to the consistory, great was the rejoicing. England was looked upon as reclaimed. Bell-ringing, bonfires, and feasting signalized the happy event. Pole was at once deputed as apostolic legate, to bring the estranged nation back to the Christian fold.†

Rejoicing in Rome—Pole becomes legate.

Feeling of the nation in regard to religion.

But the mission of Commendone was not only to know the mind of the queen, but to learn all he could learn in regard to the mind of the nation. Three things had become manifest from his visit to England —first, that the men who had enriched themselves by the spoils of the church were still the men forming the government, and would be strongly opposed, from their selfish interest, to the desired change; second, that the queen had become 'possessed of her throne '*by the favour of those who for the most part hated the* '*holy see to the death;*' and, thirdly, that there was a sister of the queen, a schismatic and a heretic, who had once been preferred to Mary by her father, and who was 'in the heart and mouth of every one.'‡

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 39. † Tytler, ii. 237, 238.
‡ *Letters of Julius III.* 112. Strype's *Cranmer*, App. 921 et seq.

The pontiff entreated Pole to be very mindful of these facts, lest by an imprudent precipitation all should be lost. Mary not only knew these facts, and shared in this caution, but complained of the wise men of the consistory as not having been sufficiently mindful of them.* Pole wrote to the queen earnestly and largely. He was told, however, very firmly, that for the present he must not think of making his appearance in England. So far had these communications been carried—carried with the utmost secrecy—before the meeting of Mary's first parliament.†

Meeting of Parliament.

Great was the misgiving, both in the court of England and in some other courts, in regard to the probable complexion of this parliament. Under Henry, the interference and dictation of the government at elections had often been of the most open and imperative description. The intimidation of electors, when any great point was at issue, went side by side with the intimidation of juries. The reign of Edward had been in this respect, as in so many beside, widely different from the past. Charles cautioned Mary against allowing the influence of her ministers to be very perceptible in the elections of 1553. The emperor suspected that more might be lost than gained by such a policy. But the government feared to leave matters wholly to their natural course. Influence, threatenings, and even violence, are said to have determined the elections in many places. When the time came in which men could speak freely, there were those who questioned the validity of this parliament on that ground.‡

The results of the elections were favourable to the

* Strype's *Cranmer*, App. 921 et seq.

† The writer of the life of Commendone says that, at this time, the heretics were still proud of the authority they had exercised under the former reign, and decidedly hostile to the re-establishment of the Catholic faith. Mary had the name of a queen, but she was not mistress in her kingdom.—*Vie de Commendone*, par Gratziani.

‡ Burnet, ii. 252.

government, and as the queen resolved to meet the two houses, the ministers ventured, as in ancient time, to open parliament with the mass of the Holy Ghost. But it was observed that Mary had not found it practicable to discard the title of supreme head of the church. The number of members returned to the commons was very large, being more than four hundred. The first session ended in three days. Its business was private and unimportant, if we except an act confirming a statute of the late reign regarding treasons and felonies. The confirmation of this statute was no act of grace. The sole purpose of re-enacting it was, to append a clause to it, which excluded all persons then in prison, that is, all persons concerned in Northumberland's rebellion, from the benefit of some humane provisions included in it.

First session.

Measures of Parliament.

But in little more than a month from its first meeting, this parliament had dealt with all the great questions of the hour, and for the present had settled them. It was made clear that this reaction was not to include the expected restoration of church lands to their former owners; that nothing was to be said about reconciliation with Rome; and that the commons were strongly opposed to the queen's choosing a foreigner for a husband. These were all points of resistance to the known inclinations of the sovereign, and it was felt to be necessary that some material concessions should be set over against them. About a third of the house of commons would seem to have been Protestants.* The Romanist party was inconsiderable. The Nationalist temporizers were masters of the position. It was carried, accordingly, and apparently by a large majority, that the ecclesiastical legislation under Edward should be wholly rescinded, and that the law in such matters should be the law as left by Henry VIII. No penalty is mentioned as to be incurred by non-attendance on the restored services,

* Noailles, ii. 247.

but it was sufficiently understood that the old severities would be inflicted or suspended according to circumstances.* This was all the moderation that could be imposed by the Protestant, and all the advance that could be made by the Romanist. To have ceded less, it was thought, would have been to become intolerable to the queen; to have ceded more, would have been to hazard resistance from the people.†

Character of this parliament.

We do not see much to commend in the conduct of the men who ruled in these proceedings. It is the conduct to have been expected from shrewd and worldly men in such circumstances. They exhibit the expediency of the hour, its principle lies with the sincere Romanist on the one hand, or with the sincere Protestant on the other. These extreme men, as they are deemed, are the earnest men, and the future is between them. In the preamble to a re-enactment of Edward's milder law concerning treason and felony, these now moderate men indulge in a bitter censure on the Draco legislation under Henry, expecting it to be forgotten that they had most of them been parties to that legislation.‡ So, when the divorce between Henry and Catherine was to be annulled, Gardiner, among the rest, denounced that divorce as a foul and impious proceeding in all its stages, and attributed it mainly to Cranmer, apparently forgetful of the fact that he had himself striven in that cause to the utmost long before Cranmer's name was connected with it.§ But affairs cannot long remain in their present

* Nine statutes were repealed by this one enactment.—*Statutes at Large*, Anno Primo Mariæ, Sessio Secunda, c. 11. Gibson's *Codex*, i. 304.

† It is instructive to note the light in which these proceedings were viewed by the large portion of the people who had not become earnestly Protestant. 'The common sort,' says Coverdale, 'argued thus: If this [the Protestant faith] were God's word—if this people were God's children, surely God would then bless and prosper them. But now, instead of that, there is no doctrine so much hated, no people so much persecuted as they be.'—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.*

‡ *Statutes at Large*, Anno Primo Mariæ, c. 1. § Burnet, iii. 457.

posture. There is hollowness in high places. The better will come, though the worse will probably prevail for a season.

Origin of Wyatt's insurrection.

Northumberland's conspiracy gave Mary a factitious popularity and power. It was another wrong in the train of many that had gone before. The insurrection under Wyatt, which was now about to take place, contributed still more to give unity to her adherents, and the semblance of justice to the severities in which she was disposed to indulge. Mary was decided in her purpose to marry Philip, the son of Charles V. But all classes of her subjects were opposed to that match. The general impression was, that by such a step, this country would be reduced to the condition of another Flanders. Everything English would be overlaid by something Spanish. National character would be made to die out. Parliament was dissolved on the ninth of December, and by that time it was well known, that Mary had not only determined on her marriage, but had become intent on shutting Elizabeth out, at all hazards, from her claim to the throne. Distrust, disaffection, and much treasonable talk, in the court and among the people, were the result of this course of affairs. Mary must be made aware, said the malcontents, that she is not to reign as the wife of a foreigner. If she cannot be brought to reason, then Elizabeth must be queen, and must marry an Englishman. Renard did not know all that was taking place. But he knew enough to feel alarmed. He cautioned Mary to abstain from her harsh conduct towards her sister. On state occasions, Elizabeth had been recently placed below the duchess of Suffolk, and the lady Lenox. It was thus intimated, that in the view of the queen, those ladies stood nearer to the throne than the daughter of Anne Boleyn. To escape from treatment of this nature, Elizabeth prayed that she might be allowed to withdraw from court to her retreat in the country. Mary consented, was prevailed upon by Renard to affect a

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reconciliation, and wore the mask so well as to obtain the applause of that wily minister. When Elizabeth left London, five hundred gentlemen attended her as a self-appointed escort. Care had been taken, however, that the home of the obnoxious princess should be watched, and that there should be spies even among her servants. To have detected her as a party in any disloyal proceeding, would have been one of the happiest of events to Mary and her partisans.

The council, it was said, had declared themselves against this hated marriage; the parliament, lords and commons, had declared themselves against it; and the people, with all the articulation possible to them, had spoken to the same effect—and all in vain. With the queen, public opinion or feeling weighed as nothing, and there was nothing left but force. It

Jan. 25.

was not until the opening of 1554 that the insurrection headed by the man who thus spoke broke out.

The leaders were men influenced mainly by English feeling as opposed to Spanish influence, but their followers were mostly men who had embraced the reformed faith, and who looked much farther. The chiefs divided themselves into four sections, and were to act on four different districts, moving simultaneously from those points on the metropolis. Sir James Croft, formerly deputy for Ireland, was to raise forces in Worcestershire and Gloucestershire. The duke of Suffolk, and the three Greys, his brothers, were to move the midland counties. Courtenay, whose name would be potent in Devonshire and Cornwall, was expected to act with Sir Peter Carew and others, in those parts. Wyatt was to raise the men of Kent.

Power of Wyatt.

The action in the west failed through the cowardice and treachery of Courtenay. Want of ability, or of favourable circumstances, attended Croft and Suffolk. Wyatt alone made himself formidable. At more than one juncture, while he was in arms, Mary was supposed to have lost her throne. The men of Kent were with him. The citizens of London were with

him. The trained bands sent against him under Norfolk had gone over to him. The few nobles and gentlemen who remained faithful to the queen were as little in favour of this Spanish husband as the rioters themselves, and were in consequence divided, irresolute, and inactive.

Mary addresses the citizens at Guildhall.

But when matters were at their worst, Mary presented herself to the citizens in Guildhall, assured them that she had no wish to marry if it should not be thought for the good of the nation, and that she would willingly leave that whole question to the wisdom of parliament, if her loyal subjects would only arm in opposition to the lawless men who had drawn the sword both against them and against their queen.* Nothing was farther from Mary's thoughts than any such surrender of her marriage project; but this promise, thus solemnly made, saved her crown.

Her false promise saves her crown.

In the name of the queen more than twenty thousand armed men were brought together in the metropolis the next day. Wyatt was not allowed to pass London Bridge. His approach to the city by way of Kingston, so weakened the force at his disposal, that from 15,000 men it was reduced to less than a seventh of that number. In a straggling fight, which extended from Hyde-park-corner and Westminster, to Lud-gate and New-gate, his followers were so scattered and cut off from each other, that he stood at length almost alone, and was made prisoner.† It was observed that the greater part of the armed citizens looked on, and would not use their weapons against Wyatt or his men.

The vengeance which followed.

Mary had shown the Tudor courage in danger; she was now to show what the Tudor temper could become when revenge became possible. In crushing this second insurrection, much more formidable than the

* Foxe.

† During this excitement, 'the queen was once determined to come to the Tower forthwith, but shortly after she sent word she would tarry there to see the uttermost.'—*Chronicle of Queen Jane and Mary*, 48. App. 128–133.

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first, she had precluded the probability of any further combination against her, at least for some while to come. She could now send terror to the heart of the discontented, and remove obnoxious persons, under a plea of prudence, necessity, and justice, and what she could do under such pretences she did. Within a few days, Wyatt's men were sent by scores to the gallows, many protesting with their last breath that they were murdered men, having surrendered under a promise of pardon. In all the great thoroughfares and cross-ways of the metropolis, bodies were seen suspended in the air, and left there to tell their tale to the living crowd as they passed. Similar exhibitions were made in the towns of Kent.* That no mercy should be shown to the duke of Suffolk was to have been expected; but lady Jane Grey, who had been spared on the ground of a treason to which she had been committed, was now sent to the scaffold in revenge of a treason with which she had not the shadow of a connexion. She submitted with the self-possession of a sage, and with the piety of a saint—bowed her young and beautiful head upon the block, and thus passed to the world, unlike the present, awaiting such natures! Her husband, who was equally guiltless, shared the same doom. If some who might have been expected to follow were allowed a respite, it was from no feeling of clemency. It was in the hope, that by subtlety or by force, matters might be extorted from them that should implicate Elizabeth.

Mary's passion for Philip, and its influence on her policy.

The passion of Mary for Philip, cold and silent as he was towards her, had been so fed by his ambassador, that there was scarcely anything she would not have braved or surrendered under the influence of that

* 'The queen has granted a general pardon to a multitude of people in Kent, after having caused about fivescore of the most guilty to be executed. Numerous are the petitions presented to her majesty to have the pains of death exchanged for perpetual imprisonment, but to this she will not listen.' —Renard to Charles V. 24th Feb. 1554. MSS. *State Paper Office.*

feeling.* And Renard assured her that some safe disposal of Elizabeth was indispensable to a satisfactory issue of the pending negotiations in relation to the marriage. This man was the evil genius of the hour. The dispatch of lady Jane and the Greys was, in his estimation, a most happy proceeding. The free hanging of the rebels, who, as he affirmed, were heretics to a man, was simply a wholesome piece of discipline. But the crowning achievement was to come. Elizabeth must cause no more trouble.†

Conduct of Mary towards Elizabeth.

Mary knew what her treatment of Elizabeth had been, and might well suspect her of looking with some sympathy on a movement designed to impose a check on the power from which she had suffered so much, and might expect to suffer still more. Wyatt was a man whose feeling was sufficiently on the side of the national sentiment, and of natural right, to be prompted to some daring in defence of a cause which he believed to be just. But his nature was not of that high and firm cast which ensures consistency. He confessed as much as was desired against the French ambassador and against Courtenay. The former had been aware of what was doing, and the latter had done enough to place his liberty, if not his life, at the queen's mercy. Concerning Elizabeth he spoke obscurely. On his trial he seemed to confess having written two letters to her, one before the outbreak, advising her to keep at a distance from London, another after the train-bands had gone over to him at Rochester, informing her of his success. But both, it seems, were intercepted by the government. He did not confess having received any message from the princess, though pressed with that question.‡ But Wyatt, with the unsteadiness that characterized him

* To make this a little more intelligible, it should be stated that a portrait of Philip by Titian had been sent to her, though not by Philip.

† Renard to Charles V. 24th Feb., 8th and 27th of March, and 3rd April, 1554. *Rolls Office.*

‡ *State Trials*, i. 863.

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after his arrest, seemed at times to intimate, that something more material might be disclosed. In addition to these circumstances, a copy of the letter from Elizabeth to the queen, written 'now late in her 'excuse,' from Ashridge, had been seized in a packet on its way to Paris, from Noailles, the French ambassador. But Noailles swore that his possession of that document had not resulted from any communication with Elizabeth, nor from any fault on her part.* Elizabeth was also charged with having fortified her house, and with arming some of her servants. But it was not possible to construe these circumstances as affording any proof that she had been a party to Wyatt's movements, or even privy to them. It is important also to remember, that after months of severe scrutiny, the evidence against her never went beyond these points. Wyatt, when on the scaffold, declared that Elizabeth knew nothing of the rising before it began; and though he is reported to have said the same of Courtenay, which could hardly have been true, his language at that moment, the purely presumptive nature of the evidence in all its parts, and Elizabeth's solemn and repeated assertions of her innocence, seem clearly to require that the verdict pronounced in her case should be not guilty. The mind of Wyatt sank into so abject a state while he was in the Tower, that if he could have purchased life by accusing Elizabeth, it is hardly to be doubted that he would so have done. But had the evidence against Elizabeth been of the most decisive kind, we should not have felt bound to pronounce a harsh judgment upon her. Mary had shown, clearly enough, that she intended, if possible, to rob her sister of her right to the throne; and had Elizabeth proved to have been a zealous partisan in Wyatt's scheme, it would only have been Elizabeth conspiring against Mary, after conspiracy had led to overt act on the part of Mary against Elizabeth.†

* Renard to Charles V. April 3rd, MSS. *Rolls Office.*

† Croft, who otherwise perjured himself on his examination, said that

Immediately after the news of Wyatt's proceedings, Mary wrote to Elizabeth, urging her to come to the security of the court until these disorders should have subsided. Elizabeth could not fail to see the drift of the affectionate tone assumed in this epistle.* But she was ill, and petitioned for delay, As the circumstances mentioned became known, Mary was disposed to look on this plea of sickness as feigned, and seems to have fully expected that Elizabeth would be found to have taken part with the traitors. She now sent Sir Edward Hastings, Sir Thomas Cornwallis, and two physicians to Ashridge, to ascertain the state of her health, and, if possible, to bring her to London. The princess was really ill. She assured the deputation that she regarded a removal to London, a distance of more than thirty miles, as likely to endanger her life. But the queen's physicians knew the wishes of their mistress. They interpreted the case as favourably as possible, and at length prevailed on the invalid to undertake the journey by travelling in a litter, and at a rate of not more than six or seven miles a day. Her attendants, when she reached London, included a hundred men dressed in scarlet, and her route was across Smithfield, and through Fleet-street, to Westminster.† Renard describes her approach to the palace. 'The lady Elizabeth arrived here yester-'day, clad completely in white, surrounded by a great 'assemblage of the servants of the queen, besides her 'own people. She caused her litter to be uncovered, 'that she might show herself to the people. Her coun-'tenance was pale, her look proud, lofty, and superbly 'disdainful.' Mary, adds the ambassador, 'declined

Jan. 16.

Feb. 20.

he had personally urged that Elizabeth should remove from Ashridge to Dunnington. But Elizabeth affirmed that, whatever he may have said to her servants, he made no such communication to her; and even this man 'openly affirmed with solemn protestations, that she was not accessory to, or had any hand in, the rebellion.'—Camden's *Elizabeth*, Introduction. Foxe.

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 127.

† Ibid. iii. 146.

'seeing her, and caused her to be accommodated in a 'quarter of her palace from which neither she nor her 'servants could go without passing through the 'guards. Of her suite, only two gentlemen, six 'ladies, and four servants are permitted to wait on 'her, the rest of her train being lodged in the city of 'London.'*

Some weeks now passed in search of further evidence, but it was not found, though the rack was not spared in the hope of obtaining it. It was decided, however, that Elizabeth must not be allowed to be at large. Gardiner suggested that she should be sent to the Tower. Some of the lords expressed themselves as strongly opposed to any such proceeding. But who, it was inquired, is to have the princess in charge? All shrunk from that responsibility. It was in consequence agreed that the advice of the chancellor, exceptionable as it seemed, should be acted upon.

Elizabeth to be sent to the Tower.

Elizabeth must ascend those steps of that great state prison which had become so memorable in the history of her mother. The information was to her feelings little less than a death-warrant. She prayed earnestly that she might see the queen—she was only permitted to write to her, and happily the letter has been preserved. It was written while her spirit was in its agony, but with no sign of faltering. In every sentence there is a strength of expression, and a noble directness, which must be felt as it is read.

Her letter to Mary.

'If ever any one did try this old saying, that a 'king's word was more than another man's oath, I 'most humbly beseech your majesty to verify it in 'me, and to remember your last promise, and my last 'demand, that I be not condemned without answer and 'due proof, which it seems that I now am: for that 'without cause proved I am by your council from you 'commanded to go unto the Tower, a place more 'wonted for a false traitor than a true subject: which, 'though I know I deserve it not, yet in the face of

* Letters to Charles V. 24th Feb. MSS. *Rolls Office.*

'all this realm appears that it is proved; which I 'pray God that I may die the shamefullest death that 'any died afore I may mean any such thing: and to 'this present hour I protest, afore God who shall judge 'my truth, whatsoever malice shall devise, that I 'never practised, counselled, nor consented to any-'thing that might be prejudicial to your person any 'way, or dangerous to the state by any means. And 'I therefore humbly beseech your majesty to let me 'answer afore yourself, and not suffer me to trust to 'your councillors; yea, and that afore I go to the 'Tower, if it be possible, if not, afore I be further 'condemned. Howbeit I trust assuredly your high-'ness will give me leave to do it afore I go, for that 'thus shamefully I may not be cried out on, as now I 'shall be, yea, and without cause. Let conscience 'move your highness to take some better way with 'me, than to make me be condemned in all men's 'sight, afore my desert known. —— I pray God that 'evil persuasions persuade not one sister against the 'other, and all for that they have heard false reports, 'and not hearken to the truth known; therefore, once 'again kneeling with all humbleness of my heart, 'because I am not suffered to bow the knees of my 'body, I humbly crave to speak with your highness, 'which I would not be so bold to desire, if I knew not 'myself most clear, as I know myself most true. And 'for the traitor Wyatt, he might peradventure write 'me a letter, but on my faith I never received any 'from him; and for the copy of my letter sent to the 'French king, I pray God confound me eternally if 'ever I sent him word, message, or token by any 'means; and to this my truth I will stand to my 'death your highness's most faithful subject, that 'hath been from the beginning, and will be to the end. 'Elizabeth.' In a postscript she adds—'I humbly 'crave but one word of answer from yourself.'*

Before this letter could be delivered the tide had

* Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, vol. ii. 255–257.

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ebbed so far that the voyage to the Tower could not take place that day, and to send Elizabeth as a prisoner through the streets of London was regarded as highly dangerous. Mary, in place of being moved to compassion or considerateness by this letter, became deeply incensed against the members of the council who had permitted this delay, 'and told them plainly 'that they were not travelling on the right path; that 'they dared not have done such a thing in her father's 'lifetime, and she wished he were alive again, were it 'but for a month.'*

Mary shows no pity. March 17.

Sources of this strong feeling.

In these words we have the real feeling of Mary towards Elizabeth, and her settled conviction in regard to the temper in which it became her to exercise her sovereignty. Elizabeth had so much the advantage of the queen in her youth and beauty, and in the spontaneous popularity which followed her, that the jealousy of Mary, if not to be justified, is not difficult to understand. The daughter of Anne Boleyn came between her and the affection of her people; between her and the event on which her heart was so intently fixed—her marriage with Philip. So long as Elizabeth lived, it was pretended, England could be no safe place to his highness. Mary's happiness, both as a queen and a woman, was thus considerably marred by the presence of her sister. She probably suspected Elizabeth of having been more or less guilty in regard to Wyatt's proceedings. She would certainly have welcomed sufficient evidence on that point; and would, after the Tudor manner, have sent her father's daughter to the scaffold without a sigh, or a reluctant thought.

Divisions in the council —their effect on the policy of the queen.

But the power of the queen in relation to the princess, and to some other obnoxious persons, did not keep pace with her inclination. In this early portion of her brief reign her council was much divided. Gardiner, who sustained the high office of chancellor, had his party. But the party which included Arundel,

* Renard to Charles V. March 22nd, MSS. *Rolls Office.*

Pembroke, and Sussex, from among the nobility, and Paget, Petre, Cornwallis, and the admiral, lord William Howard, from among the commoners, was the most formidable. The men of this last party, though accommodating themselves very freely to the times, were described by their opponents as heretics, and as the patrons of heretics. More than once the plottings of these factions against each other, seemed to threaten a renewal of the scenes which had taken place in the history of Somerset and Northumberland during the last reign. The liberal party proved itself powerful enough to stay the hand of the queen in the career of blood to which she was stimulated against the followers of Wyatt.* The lord admiral, moreover, was related to Elizabeth, and the strength of the kingdom was at his command. It was feared, and not without reason, that in the event of any harsh proceeding towards the princess, the queen might find the army and navy turned against her. At one time, Gardiner himself seems to have been disposed to spare Elizabeth, though mainly from his regard for Courtenay, and Mary and Renard began to complain of him as impeding their plans. But that mood was of short continuance. In less than two months after the insurrection, we find Renard urging on Mary, 'that it 'was of the utmost consequence that the trials and 'executions of the criminals, especially of Courtenay 'and the lady Elizabeth, should be concluded before 'the arrival' of Philip. To this the queen replied, 'that she had neither rest nor sleep from the anxiety 'she felt for the security of his highness at his coming;' and Gardiner then added, that 'while Elizabeth lived 'there could be no tranquillity, and that things would 'go better if everybody went as soundly to work in 'providing remedies as he did.'† If Elizabeth was saved, accordingly, it was not from any friendly feeling

Gardiner seeks the death of Elizabeth.

April 3, 1544.

* Renard to Charles V. March 22nd, MSS. *Rolls Office.*
† Tytler, ii. 365.

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towards her on the part of Mary, or of the Catholic faction in the government. When it was felt to be necessary to remove her from her confinement in the Tower, Gardiner advised that she should be sent to safe keeping in Pomfret castle; and had that course been taken, it is only too probable that another royal murder would have been associated with those old walls.* Elizabeth's removal was not to Pomfret, but to Woodstock. But, so long as Mary lived, she never ceased to be under strict oversight and restraint.

arch 19.

Gardiner's policy frustrated for awhile.

Gardiner, having failed to secure any available evidence against Elizabeth, would have had her excluded from the succession by a bill for that purpose; and sought an outlet for his restless discontent in attempts to restore the clergy to the possession of those dangerous powers of which they had been deprived by the Reformation Parliament, and to place the machinery of an inquisition at their disposal after the model of Spain. But the lay lords, and especially lord Howard, were opposed to his policy; and everything likely to cause disturbance was made to give way for the present, that so Philip might no longer hesitate to commit himself to his intended visit and marriage. For these delays and troubles were making sad inroads on the health and spirits of the queen; and as the council had at length withdrawn its opposition to this ill-starred union, it was resolved that the requisite measures should be taken to ensure that the reception of his highness should be as peaceful and satisfactory as possible. Of the landing, the journey, the meeting of the bride and bridegroom, and the marriage ceremony, full accounts have been preserved, which may be consulted by those who can feel an interest in the proceeding. Mary's affection for this man was a

The marriage.

* An attempt had been made to remove Elizabeth's servants, that her food might be prepared by strangers. Elizabeth protested against this, and by the help of lord Howard succeeded in her resistance.—Renard to Charles V. April 7th, MSS. *Rolls Office.* Holinshed.

morbid extravagance, which, through his coldness and indifference, became a perpetual sorrow.

More than twelve months passed away after the accession of Mary, and after those rejoicings in Rome which issued in the nomination of Pole as the person to go as legate to England, and the cardinal was still, as he had been for many long years, a shadow passing from place to place in foreign lands, or hovering near our shores without daring to place a foot upon them. Both Charles and Renard distrusted the judgment of this zealous Romanist. They felt that the ardour with which he prosecuted his priestly policy might bring ruin on their political schemes. England, in their view, was a country very difficult to deal with. Only by a very wise admixture of severity and moderation could the schism which had taken place be healed, and the great interests involved in that event be secured, and Pole, in their estimation, was not likely to be guided by such wisdom. He had spared no labour, and had incurred all hazard, except the personal, in his endeavours to counteract the tendencies towards reform in this country. But all his projects had been failures. More than once he had fanned discontent into open insurrection, and the blood of his nearest kindred had been shed upon the scaffold mainly through his influence. But his machinations had tended to consolidate, rather than to demolish, the power against which they were directed. And now, from causes wholly independent of effort or foresight on his part, England is about to come within the domain of the papacy. But the cardinal is an Englishman, a man of high rank, of distinguished ability, and his life has been all but exhausted through his solicitude to bring about such a change. Not, however, until the marriage between Philip and Mary had taken place, nor until the pope was understood to have consented that the property which had recently passed so freely from ecclesiastical to lay hands should remain undisturbed, was the cardinal suffered to make his

appearance in England. Pole being empowered to speak decisively on this great preliminary point, and the selfish passions relating to it being hushed to rest, the hollow and humiliating spectacle was exhibited, of lords and commons sinking to their knees, confessing the sin of their late spiritual declension, and accepting at the hands of this man; as representative of the apostolic see, full absolution of the same. Our sense of shame, of deep national dishonour, prevents our attempting a description of that scene.* Let it lie in shadow, and, if possible, be forgotten. But so complete, for the moment, was the ascendancy of Romanism, in outward seeming, if not in reality, over Protestantism.

* Tytler, ii. 462 et seq. Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* 246 et seq. Foxe: Froude.

CHAPTER II.

THE BAPTISM BY FIRE.

Legislative revolution.

THE first parliament under Mary swept away all the acts which had distinguished the church of England under Edward VI. from what it had been during the later years of Henry VIII.; and the third parliament of this reign, the Reconciliation Parliament as it may be called, swept away all the legislation which had distinguished the church of the Reformation Parliament under Henry, from the church of the Middle Age. So Protestantism was made to give place to Nationalism, and Nationalism, in its turn, to Romanism. Not only was the see of Rome accepted in all the pretensions formerly recognised as pertaining to it, but the jurisdiction of the national clergy was re-established, with its old plenitude of inquisitorial power. Pole himself might well grow jubilant as he became the witness of a revolution apparently so thorough and complete. No man's civil possessions were to be invaded under purely ecclesiastical pretences, but in all other respects the days of Wolsey were to return. No less than sixteen acts of parliament relating to ecclesiastical affairs were now rescinded. The pope was once more supreme head of the church; the crown of England was no longer to be associated with that title; appeals to the see of Rome might be resumed as in former times; first-fruits and tenths might be claimed by his holiness according to ancient custom; the election and consecration of bishops must be in the manner provided by the canons; the clergy are released from their recent subjection to the civil power; and

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even the law which said that persons charged with ecclesiastical offences should not be made to answer in any court beyond the limits of their own diocese, ceased to be law. The enactments thus erased from the statute-book extend from the twenty-first year of Henry VIII. to the thirty-seventh.*

These changes the work of the Nationalists.

Nevertheless, the men who really approved of these extreme proceedings, were comparatively a feeble minority, both in the parliament, and among persons possessed of any measure of education through the kingdom.† In reality, the Protestant party was much stronger than the Romanist party; but the balance between these was in the hands of the Nationalists, and to please the queen, to ensure their church lands, and in the hope of being allowed to live unmolested and at ease, this party agreed to throw its weight for

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* 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13. 23 Hen. cc. 9, 20. 24 Hen. c. 12. 25 Hen. cc. 19–21. 26 Hen. cc. 1, 14. 27 Hen. c. 15. 28 Hen. cc. 10, 16. 31 Hen. c. 9. 33 Hen. c. 38. 36 Hen. c. 3. 37 Hen. c. 17.

† The account of the reception given to their majesties on their public entry into London was significant to all men. 'King Philip and queen Mary rode through the city, attended with the cardinal legate, and bishop Gardiner, lord chancellor. The bishop rode on the one side before the king, with the great seal before him; on the other side rode the cardinal before the queen, with the cross carried before him, he being all in scarlet, and blessing the people as he went: *for which he was greatly laughed to scorn, for few of the people now had any conceit of the pope or of his creatures' blessings.* Nor did they put off their caps nor make courtesy to the cross, neither was there scarce any expression of joy at the sight of the king and queen, none saying, God save them. The bishop of Winchester was sore offended at this, saying,—Such a sort of heretics who ever saw, that will neither reverence the cross of Christ, nor yet as much as once say—God save the king and queen!'—Strype, iii. 266. Mary's proclamation after the reconciliation said to the sheriffs, 'We *require* you to *give orders* for making of bonfires in all places.'—265.

Mary's letter to the sheriffs when summoning this third parliament enjoined that 'the knights, citizens, and burgesses' chosen should be of 'the wise, grave, Catholic sort, not such as would have heresies return, and the realm, by the just wrath of God, brought to confusion.'—Strype, iii. 245. Thirty-nine members, dissatisfied with the course of proceedings in the commons, after awhile absented themselves from the meetings of the house. The government affected to be displeased, and issued an indictment against them.—Ibid. 262, 263, where the names are given.

the present into the scale of Romanism. Had there not been something better, nobler, in the heart of Englishmen, than was to be found in the heart of these 'judicious' politicians, England would not have furnished a single martyr under Mary, might never have become Protestant, never have become the England of to-day. Such men do not make revolutions. They are always a drag upon them, sometimes attempering such movements not unwisely, but often bringing bad influences to bear against them.

What the Nationalists might have done, and should have done.

It is probable, indeed, that had the Nationalists in parliament determined to resist the wishes of the queen, the result would have been a civil war, dividing something like one half the kingdom against the other half. For in that case Mary would have made large promises, and would have gained many friends. It no doubt became statesmen to pause before committing themselves to such a struggle. We cannot blame men for consenting to make many sacrifices in the hope of precluding it. But the men of this third parliament in the reign of Mary, knew full well the use which the clergy had made of the power now restored to them, while it was in their hands. They knew also what the temper of the Romanist party had been during the reign of the Six Acts. They knew, moreover, the contrast presented in this respect by the reign of Edward, with all its faults, to that of his father; and they had seen enough in the feeling and measures of Gardiner and Bonner, since the queen's accession, to make it highly probable, that the things which it would be in the heart of these prelates to do, would be the things which history has recorded against them. In the spring of this year, they had seen what Gardiner was prepared to brave, if he might only succeed in bringing Elizabeth to the block; and in the autumn, not three months since, Bonner had covered the diocese of London with spies, who were to report to him all that might be known concerning the history of each clergyman, his character, and the smallest

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things relating to his habits, so that if leaning in the slightest degree toward heresy, the fact might be known.* This proceeding caused great heat in the metropolis. The liberal men in the government, who rebuked the impatient zeal of this prelate, and who had stayed the hand of Mary herself when shedding the blood of the Wyatt insurgents so freely, might have said to the bishops, we cede to you power to act in accordance with your own ecclesiastical preferences, but we do not mean that your authority shall be exercised cruelly, unjustly, or vexatiously. In saying only thus much, they would have taken ground which it would not have been impossible to keep, and which would have entitled themselves to the esteem and gratitude of the living and the unborn. But their course was a timid, narrow, and selfish course. Their own secularities were supposed to be safe, and how it might be with secularities, or life itself, elsewhere, does not seem to have greatly troubled them.

Nothing in the conduct of the Protestants to justify the course taken towards them.

Nor are we prepared to admit that the conduct of the Protestants had been such as to warrant their being passed over as they were into the hands of their persecutors. The last reign had been characterized by an amount of religious forbearance and toleration such as Christendom had not witnessed for a thousand years. Mary owed her crown to the generous confidence of her Protestant subjects. The queen knew this, and her most active supporters knew it. If the followers of Wyatt, were known to be Protestants, the avowed object of their enterprise was rather national than religious; and that movement did not take place until the pledge which Mary had given, once and again, concerning freedom in religious matters, had been forfeited, and the scheme of the court was seen to embrace, not only the Spanish marriage, but the suppression of the Protestant faith and worship. The wonder is, not that there were such signs of discontent,

* Strype's *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 216, Ap. No. 16.

but rather that the men to whom the interests of Protestantism were so precious should have been so far governed by a disposition to hope, and trust, and obey. The most damaging circumstance in Wyatt's insurrection consisted in the real or supposed league between the conspirators and the French court. But what was more natural than that men who accounted themselves as good as sold to Spain, should look to the old enemy of that power in the hope of some friendly offices. If in this policy they opposed themselves to the national feeling, Mary, by her manifest subserviency to her Spanish advisers, had offended against that same feeling in a greater degree, and at much greater hazard both to national independence and to religious liberty.

The clouds gather.

The Reconciliation Parliament, having done its work, was abruptly dissolved. Pole lost no time in reminding the clergy that the powers of which they had been so long deprived were restored to be used, and that they were expected to adopt measures for the suppression of heresy in every form. Mild means were to be used in the first instance, but in all cases of obstinate resistance the body was to be saved by the severance of such corrupt members—in other words, all heretics who did not recant were to be sent to the stake.* The ecclesiastical court for each diocese became an inquisition for that district, restrained in scarcely anything by statute law or common law. In celebration of this great revolution in church affairs, the clergy paraded the streets in grand procession. No less than eight prelates, in their episcopal robes, with Bonner bearing the host, took their place after a long train of priests, that they might thus flaunt their triumph in the face of the Londoners.†

Part taken by the council in the work of persecution.

But it must not be supposed that the persecutions

* Burnet, vi. *Collect.* 33, 34. *Ep.* Reg. Pol. (vol. iv.) To the Cardinal of Augsburg. Speech to the Citizens of London, Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. Ap. No. 68, p. 487.

† Burnet, iii. 541.

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which have fixed so deep an infamy on this reign were wholly the work of the clergy. The ultimate authority, in whose name all these proceedings took place, was the authority of her majesty's council, and the ecclesiastics in the council were greatly outnumbered by the laity included in it. In every stage of these severities the will of the council is pleaded as the great warrant for what is done, and the council is sometimes found stimulating the clergy to a greater zeal in their efforts utterly to subdue the heresy of the times. In such measures we no doubt see the influence of Gardiner and his friends, but we see in them also the depth of servility to which the Arundels, the Pembrokes, and the Pagets could descend.*

The reign of terror begins, Jan. 22, 28; 30.

In less than a week after the dissolution of the parliament which sought and accepted reconciliation with Rome, the government began its reign of terror. Fourteen bishops sat in the church of St. Mary Overy, in Southwark, as judges of heretical pravity, and a still larger number of noblemen and commoners were also present.† John Hooper, bishop of Gloucester; John Rogers, prebendary of St. Paul's; Rowland Taylor, vicar of Hadley, in Suffolk; and Laurence Saunders, rector of All-hallows, Bread-street, London, were among the most considerable persons brought before this tribunal.

Hooper.

Hooper, as the reader has seen, was eminently popular as a preacher in the last reign, and tenderly conscientious in his profession as a Protestant. He wrote also many tracts and treatises in defence of the reformed faith. The man named Babington, warder of the Fleet prison while Hooper was lodged in that place, was there to do the bidding of Gardiner, and he inflicted much unwarranted suffering on the good prelate. The council had given instruction that the liberty of the prison should be ceded to him, but though the bishop gave the warder five pounds to

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 402. † Ibid. iii. 286.

allow him that privilege, in less than a week afterwards he was deprived of it, and during the next three months was subject to the most rigorous restraint. By intercession and by money he obtained permission to come to the common table at dinner and supper. But he was to speak to no one, and the meal over, he was led back to his solitude. This happened, too, though the fees paid by him were according to the rate of a baron. The bed in his cell was a pallet of straw, with a rotten covering. The cell itself was a most offensive place. The common sewer from the whole prison passed down by the side of it towards the town ditch. The natural effects followed. His health failed. His heart was almost broken. The prisoners heard his moans, and pleaded that he should not be thus left to die. But they pleaded in vain. His death would be 'a good riddance,' was the answer of the warder. All this came upon me, said Hooper, from the bishop of Winchester, 'God's enemy and mine.'*

Rogers. Rogers was a man of learning, of blameless life, and known to be devoted to the cause of Protestantism. He had assisted Tyndale and Coverdale in translating the Bible at Antwerp. On the accession of Edward, he had become distinguished in this country as a zealous and effective preacher, and in the public discussions of that time. When the prospect of affairs became threatening to all men of his description, his friends admonished him that his only safety would be in exile. But he appears to have judged that it would not be fitting that he should become a fugitive, while so many who had received the reformed doctrine from his lips were resolved to face the danger. He had, moreover, a wife and a large family. These he could not take with him, and his heart would not allow him to leave them. Bonner sent him to Newgate. Taylor and Saunders were intelligent, devout men, prepared to avow their faith and to die for it.†

* Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 285. † Burnet, iii. 541 et seq.

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Proceedings against these parties.

The proceedings against these confessors may be briefly stated. 'Gardiner urged them all to reconsider their opinions, and to save their lives by returning to the bosom of the Catholic Church. But all declared themselves Protestants, and all were condemned. The bishop of Winchester knew well that nothing could tend so much to detract from the credit of the reformed faith, or to discourage its professors, as the recantation of such men. But the firmness of his victims disappointed him, and their firmness to the death was to add much to his feeling of mortification. It should be stated, that Gardiner was especially exasperated at this juncture against the reformers, by the circumstance that some of them had reprinted one of his publications on the divorce controversy, in which he had spoken of Henry's marriage with Catherine as 'incestuous and unlawful,' and had commended the king highly in seeking a divorce, and in 'marrying his 'most godly and virtuous wife queen Anne.'* Gardiner reminded Rogers, when upon his trial, that by describing the Church of Rome as Antichrist he condemned the queen and the whole realm. 'Rogers 'said the queen would have done well enough if it had 'not been for his counsel. Gardiner said the queen 'went before them in those counsels, which proceeded 'of her own motion. Rogers said he would never be-'lieve that. The bishop of Carlisle said they could all 'bear him witness to it. Rogers said they would all 'witness for one another. Upon that the comptroller, 'and secretary Bourne, being there, stood up in the 'court and attested it.'† Such, no doubt, was the part taken by the queen, from first to last, in relation to these proceedings; and so reluctant were those who were to suffer so much from her hands to believe the worst concerning her.

Martyrdom of Rogers.

Rogers, on the morning of the seventh day after sentence had been passed upon him, was roused from

* Burnet, iii. 540. † Ibid. 543.

a heavy sleep, and told that he must prepare to go to Smithfield. Bishop Bonner, it was said, was waiting to degrade him from his priesthood. If it be so, said the prisoner, still little more than half awake, there needs not any great care in adjusting my points. Hooper had been summoned at the same time, to undergo the same ceremony, though his time to suffer had not yet come. Certain priestly vestments were thrown over them, and taken off one by one, and then their priesthood had come to an end, and they were left to pass through their ordeal, not as priests but as laymen. Rogers petitioned Bonner, as he had before petitioned Gardiner, that he might be allowed to see his wife—but his petition found no favour with either. According to their maxims, it became him to repent of that connexion as an adulterous sin, instead of so cleaving to it. But on his way to the place of execution, his wife, with nine children, one an infant at the breast, were ready to greet him, to utter cheering words at his side as he passed along, and to welcome widowhood and orphanage, so the husband and the father might be seen to die the faithful death. The people all caught the infection of this feeling, and cheered the good man loudly. Nothing could be more self-possessed or noble than the manner in which this first in the list of Marian martyrs yielded his nature to the terrible penalty decreed against him—decreed by the council of an English queen, against opinions which had been pronounced not long since by convocations and parliaments as true and holy.*

Bishop Hooper as the next victim.

It was decided that Hooper should suffer at Gloucester, the city which had been the centre of his labours. It pleased him much that the council had so determined. Nothing, to his feeling, could be more fitting than that he should die in attestation of the doctrine he had taught amidst the people to whom it had been especially addressed. He was conducted from

* Foxe. Burnet. Strype.

London to Gloucester on horseback. The journey was accomplished in three days. He reached that city about five in the morning, somewhile before day-break. But it had been arranged that the authorities should meet him thus early, as the feeling of the district was known to be strongly in his favour, and there was apprehension of a rescue. Even at that hour the crowd of people was great. But Hooper's best friends were thoughtful and pious men, and were wise enough to see that the time had come in which good men were to serve the cause of truth by suffering for it, more than by acting for it. It had been ordered by the council that the 'detestable heretic' should not be allowed to speak, either during his journey, or at the place of execution. But those about the pious man were constrained to be little mindful of that order. His friends had free access to him, and some, in the fulness of their affection, would have had him save life by submission. But he shook his head at all suggestions of that sort, and counselled better things to his advisers. The mayor and aldermen came on his last evening to take leave of him. It strengthened him much to see them, and to find that his lessons to them in past days were not likely to be forgotten. He prayed them to see that the fire did its office as quickly as possible; and added, 'If you 'think I do amiss in anything, hold up your fingers, 'and I have done, for I am not come hither as one 'enforced or compelled to die; I might have had my 'life, as is well known, with worldly gain, if I would 'have accounted my doctrine falsehood and heresy.' The next morning came, a cold, rainy, February morning. But several thousand persons were present. The stake had been fixed in an open space, under the shadow of the cathedral, on a spot from which the bishop had often preached to out-door crowds of attentive hearers. Looking round on the old place, and on so many faces, many of them old and familiar faces, he would fain have spoken once more of the things of

which he had there spoken so often, but he remembered the order—he must not only die, but, in common with so many victims of Tudor cruelty, he must echo the bidding of the court, or die in silence. Sickly and lame, from the prison discipline to which the humanity of his brother bishops had consigned him for a long time past, he made his way, by the help of his staff, to the fatal spot. Unhappily for him, though happily for themselves, the people of Gloucester had no experience in sending men out of the world after this barbarous manner. The ground was damp; the wood they brought was green. The rain and wind checked and scattered the flame. The torture began, but it was only the burning of the feet and legs. Much time passed, which to the sufferer must have been very long, and he was still seen wiping the sweat of agony from his brow. At length he cried out, 'More fire! for God's love, good people, more fire!' More fire came, and a powder-bag which had been hung at his waist, in the hope of hastening his end, exploded. But even this did not do what was expected from it. Through full three-quarters of an hour the death-struggle was perpetuated. The last words heard from his lips were 'Lord Jesus, receive 'my spirit!' On the same day, Saunders stood exulting in the flames at Coventry; and Taylor exhibited the meekness of his Master on Aldham common, where his brutal executioners added blows to burning.*

Effect of these proceedings.

Deep was the discontent, and loud the talk, called forth by these proceedings. The expectation of Gardiner seems to have been, that the Protestants, when brought to the test, would recant, and that heresy, disgraced by such means, might be hushed, and kept down, until it should expire. That the men would suffer as they did, and that the people, and persons much above the crowd, would sympathize with them

* Foxe, vol. vi. Burnet, iii. 546–548.

as they did, was not the state of things which he had flattered himself would follow. The disposition to resist his policy, in place of being subdued, had become tenfold stronger, and tenfold more manifest. While the old bishops, as the deposed Romanist prelates were called, were weak, and in some measure oppressed, they had many friends; but men who had pitied them before, began to execrate them now. Six years, said the Protestants, our friends were in possession of the government, and not a drop of Romanist blood was shed—and this is the return that is made to us. Not less than half the nation, they said, gravely believe as Rogers and Hooper believed, and are all these people to be coerced into perjured hypocrites, or to be sent as fuel to the fire? Religious men might well ask that question, and statesmen might well ponder it.* Renard looked with alarm on the new feeling thus evoked. Philip shared in his apprehension. One of the king's chaplains preached a sermon in his presence denouncing the proceedings of the government as unchristian and unjust. Philip was no believer in such reasonable maxims, but he knew it to be prudent, necessary perhaps to his personal safety, to clear himself in this manner from the suspicion of having been a party to what was done. He even spoke of leaving the kingdom; and Renard expressed his hope that he might not, in that case, be left behind. Of ten men who had been examined with Rogers, nine had resolutely confessed their faith, and had declared themselves willing to die in attestation of it. Bonner frowned on one of his victims, and demanded—canst thou bear the fire? The man,

* Mr. Hallam supposes the Protestants to be two-thirds of the nation at the close of this reign. Lord Macaulay inquires how, if the case were so, came the Protestants to submit. The answer is, that the religious feeling of the gentry and nobles bore no comparison to that of the middle and lower classes. Protestantism was apparently feeble, not from want of numbers, but from its want of leadership.—Macaulay's *Essays. Burleigh and his Times.*

in answer to the question, placed his hand over a candle in the presence of the prelate, and remained unmoved as the flesh was burnt to the bone. When the reform spirit began to partake of that temper, it became the men who had arrayed themselves against it to look well to their measures.*

Failure of the Nationalists.

Now was the time for the Nationalists to have shown themselves true men. They had made the queen to understand that she must desist from her course of vengeance against the followers of Wyatt; that she must consent to leave the church property question undisturbed; that she must abstain from all meddling with the succession; from pressing the coronation of her husband; and from doing anything that might endanger the rights of Elizabeth—and could they not now have rallied on the maxim of Philip's chaplain, and have insisted that these attempts to sustain religion by means of such horrid spectacles should come to an end? They might so have done. But with the vacillation and feebleness which beset them on all such matters, they caught at excuses for inaction, until the moment for action had passed away. Once more they had been weighed in the balances as a party, and found wanting.

From this time, Gardiner ceases to be prominent in proceedings of this nature. The prime movers in all the severities which followed were Bonner, the cardinal, and the queen. The council consisted, partly of zealots who were prepared to conform to the wishes of the queen and her ecclesiastics to almost any extent; and partly of latitudinarians, who persuaded themselves that a quiet acquiescence was to be preferred, even on public grounds, to the trouble and hazard of resistance.

The burning spectacles are renewed.

Only one month had passed since the executions we have mentioned had taken place, when eight men were sent by the bishop of London to edify the dif-

* Foxe, vol. vi. Burnet, iii. 547–550. *Granvelle Papers*, iv. 400–404. Strype, iii. 282 et seq.

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ferent quarters of his diocese in being burnt to death under the charge of heresy. Five of these were mechanics, but one was a priest, one is described as a gentleman, and another was a London apprentice not more than nineteen years of age. This youth was sent to die in his native village, where his parents were still living, and the people would be about him who had known him from his childhood. He submitted to his martyr-death with a quiet firmness and dignity which tended much more to make heretics than to convert them. During the next month the martyr-roll was nearly doubled, one name in the augmented list being that of Ferrars, bishop of St. David's, who suffered at Carmarthen, and of whom the reader has seen something, as a young man, at Oxford.*

Mary hopes to be a mother—what was to follow.

Some time had now passed since the queen had flattered herself that she was about to become a mother. In the hope of disposing the Almighty to look with favour on her circumstances, Mary resolved to give back to religious establishments whatever possessions had come to her from such sources. Her exchequer, which, without pressure upon her people, was to have been always in a prosperous condition, was in a state to occasion much solicitude to her ministers. But, in Mary's estimation, the birth of a child would have been the promise of salvation to an empire, and no sacrifice could be too great to secure such an object.†

Mary's hope is delayed—why? She has not duly punished the heretics.

All this spring the queen's event was supposed to be near at hand. Every sort of preparation was made for it. In April it was hourly expected. But it came not. Mary was not merely disappointed; she became unhappy, deeply distressed. What could she have done, was her inquiry, that the favour of Heaven should be thus withdrawn from her? She began to suspect, or was taught to suspect, that the cause was

* Page 140. Foxe, vol. vi. vii.

† Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. Burnet, iii. 571, 572. Ap. No. 22.

to be found in her having yielded to the suggestions of a worldly prudence, and of a lukewarm heart, so as not to have made due use of her power for the extirpation of heresy. The result was, that towards the end of May, a royal circular was sent to all the bishops, expressing surprise and regret that greater strictness had not been used to suppress prevalent errors, and commanding that measures should be taken to ensure that all persons charged with heresy should be made to abandon their opinions, or suffer 'according to the order of the laws.' So Heaven was to be propitiated with new victims, and in the course of the next three months, more than fifty persons perished by fire within the provinces assigned to three only among the bishops, those of Canterbury, Rochester, and London. Every other diocese no doubt contributed its share to the aggregate in this great peace-offering.* But by the end of these three months the answer to this propitiatory service had come; and it was that the queen was not to give birth to prince or princess. And now Mary's troubles became deep and lasting.

Many die—but Heaven is not propitiated.

Some historians wish us to believe, that had Mary become a mother, there would have been little or no persecution. But it should be remembered that the queen had commenced her burning policy with great earnestness, while she was fully expecting offspring. In the event, too, of her wishes in that respect being realized, great changes were to come. Peace was to be brought about between France and Spain. Spanish soldiers were to be transported from the Netherlands to this country. The English parliament was to be compelled to recognise the king's title to the throne. The kingdom was thus to be placed in thorough subjection to a Spanish policy—that is, to the policy

* Burnet, iii. 562. Ap. No. 20. Bradford's martyrdom was one of the effects of this new outburst in the history of these persecutions.—Ibid. 564–567.

which had taught Mary herself to look on the extirpation of heresy as the first duty of a Catholic sovereign.* In either case, our poor country was doomed to pass through a fiery ordeal. It is admitted that Mary's childlessness had a considerable influence on her conduct as a persecutor; but had there not been failure in that respect, the persecution would have been greater—not less. Tragedies and slaughter like those in the Spanish Netherlands would have had their place in our history. Mary regarded herself as bound to suppress heresy to the extent of her power, and the greater her power, the greater would have been her obligation in that direction. Two courses of events were possible, and Providence mercifully allotted to us the course fraught with the least calamity.

Philip could not settle his continental difficulties so as to be at liberty to attempt anything by force in England. Without offspring by the queen he had no prospect even of a regency. Elizabeth stood as heir apparent. So his marriage had proved in nearly all respects a failure. How to escape from a yoke so little agreeable to him became his great object. Had the crown been by any means within his reach as the husband of Mary, he would have spared no pains to ensure that there should be no queen Elizabeth. But in present circumstances, it was to the interest of Spain that the life of that princess should be guarded, and that her rights should be sustained. In the absence of Elizabeth, the next person in succession was the queen of Scots, whose accession would naturally tend to league England, France, and Scotland against the power of Spain. Philip, accordingly, endeavoured to prevail on the queen to become reconciled to her sister, though with little apparent success; and his majesty laid strict injunctions on official persons to conform themselves to the wishes of the princess, and to be watchful of her safety.

* Noailles, *Ambassades*, vol. iv. 330–333. Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. Ap. 45.

Philip will now leave England.

Now, Mary had to learn, by degrees, that Philip considered the declining health of his father, and the unsatisfactory state of his affairs on the continent, as demanding that he should leave England for a season. To the queen the parting was sad and foreboding. But it came; and the weeks to which the absence of the king was to have been restricted passed away, and he did not return. Months also passed, and the prospect of his coming back seemed to recede with time. Mary felt herself not only childless, but husbandless. Nor could she longer conceal from herself, that she had married a man, who, in place of being the model of purity which Renard had affirmed, was capable of avoiding her society that he might give himself to licentious indulgence in its lowest forms. So all the fond visions on which the queen had gazed so often were dissolved and gone!

Mary is more than ever unhappy—must recover the favour of Heaven by new cruelties.

In these circumstances, the narrow religious training to which Mary had been subject, left her to become the victim of the most distressing illusions. Affliction, instead of being viewed as a means of discipline, and as often coming most upon the best, she was disposed to interpret as a sign of the Divine anger. And now the question came again—In what had she offended that Heaven should have sent these dark clouds upon her path? Her principal advisers at this time must have been Bonner and the cardinal. Gardiner did not encourage such thoughts, and was himself near his end. Bonner, too, was not so much the counsellor of the queen, as her instrument. The blame of what was done during this memorable winter, when Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley, and so many more, were sent to their death, must be divided between Mary and the cardinal.* We see no room to doubt that this sickly and sorrowing woman became

* 'His opinion [Pole] is of such authority with the queen, that, by a mere sign of his hand, he could remove any person from the situation he holds, or bring him to punishment; whence he is envied and hated by the principal ministers.'—Micheli's *Report*.

in this respect all that the courtly and scholarly enthusiast, to whom her conscience had been surrendered, was disposed she should become. If Pole often counselled that heretics should be won, if possible, by mild means, he spoke in that respect only as such men have commonly spoken. 'Ecclesiastics have always seen, that heretics who recant, do the greatest possible damage to their faith; while those who die for it, often give it root, sanctity, and power. But, according to Pole's philosophy, the men who would not recant should die. If his hand was ever stayed in relation to such cases, it was from the dictates of prudence, not from a sense of duty.*

Latimer, Ridley, and Cranmer.

Latimer was sent to the Tower a few weeks after the queen's accession. His enemies knew that harsh dealing with him would be most unpopular. They would rather, therefore, that he had fled, and timely notice of his intended arrest was conveyed to him, in the hope that he might be disposed to make his escape. But he waited the summons of his prosecutors, and obeyed it when it came. On entering the Tower, he found an old acquaintance in the office of warder, and with the light-hearted honesty which never forsook him, he said, 'Ah! my friend—how do you? You 'see I am come to be your neighbour again.' As the winter came on, the old man suffered severely from cold, and sent a message to the lieutenant saying, that if more care were not taken of him, he should 'give 'him the slip.' Cranmer, too, while he advised others to save themselves by flight, felt that 'it would be in 'no ways fitting for him to go away.' The part which

* Burnet, who, in common with many of our historians, is disposed to regard Pole as being personally opposed to persecution, supposes him to have assented to these cruel proceedings, even in his own diocese of Canterbury, to gratify the clergy and prelates, and from apprehension that his enemies in Rome would have charged him with a criminal laxity had he taken a more humane course. But the facts and documents of the times seem to me to be strongly against such a conclusion. (*Hist. Ref.* iii. 567, 568.) To suppose that Pole virtually did all this from mere policy, is to judge him more unfavourably than to suppose that he did it from principle.

he had taken in favour of lady Jane, though most reluctantly taken, was construed as treason, and on that charge he was arrested and condemned; and had not the canon law provided that no functionary below the sovereign pontiff could degrade an archbishop, he would have been executed as a traitor in the February following the queen's accession. It happened, that nearly two years from that time passed before Latimer, Cranmer, and Ridley were put upon their trial as heretics in Oxford.* During those two years, as the reader has seen, the opinions of the council were much divided, and even the Spanish ambassador, while calling for the greatest severity against traitors, was urging caution and moderation in dealing with questions purely religious. But now, the nation had been reconciled to Rome; the queen had become the wife of Philip; and Philip had retired to the continent, leaving the queen to her feeling and her confessor. How bravely Latimer and Ridley submitted

* 'Concerning Ridley,' says Dr. Turner, dean of Wells, writing to Foxe, 'I am able to say more things, and more certain than you have set down in your book, being born in the same county with him, and many years his collegian in Pembroke Hall, and his opponent in theological exercises. He was born in Northumberland, and sprung of the genteel pedigree of the Ridleys. After his return from the foreign universities, he lived with us in Pembroke Hall, but at length was called away from us to the bishop of Canterbury, whom he served faithfully. Concerning his memory, and his manifold knowledge of tongues and arts, although I am able to be an ample witness (for he first instructed me in a further knowledge of the Greek tongue), yet without my testimony, almost all Cantabrigians, to whom he was sufficiently known, can and will testify. How able he was in confuting or overthrowing anything, yet without any boasting or noise of arms, not only I, but all with whom he disputed, easily perceived. His behaviour was very obliging, very pious, without hypocrisy or monkish austerity,—for very often he would shoot in the bow or play at tennis with us. If there were no other witness for his beneficence to the poor, I will testify this to all, that before he was advanced to any ecclesiastical preferment, he carried me along in company to the next hospital, and when I had nothing to give to the poor, besides what he himself gave liberally according to his estate, he supplied me that I might give too. Being such a man, so learned, so chaste, and in all respects so holy, what cruel sovereigns and bishops had England, when by their joint counsels they delivered him to be burnt.'—Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. 385.

to the penalties of their alleged heresies is well known; and, not less so, how Cranmer, after all his vacillation, displayed that lofty heroism in death, which had been the great element wanting in his character during life.*

Extent of the persecution—the part taken by Pole.

Persecution under Mary may be said to have begun with her reign; but the form of it which has made her name infamous dates from the martyrdom of Rogers in February, 1555, and extends to the burning of three men and two women in Canterbury, in October, 1558. In this interval, nearly three hundred persons, of both sexes, passed through this terrible baptism, and not less than another hundred are said to have died from torture, want, or ill-usage while in prison.† The longer these severities continued, the more merciless they became. The passions of the persecutors were exasperated, not appeased, by the policy they had pursued. For awhile, life might always have been obtained by recantation, but in the end even this vestige of moderation disappeared. The patient endurance, or defiant triumph, with which the sufferers passed through their death-strife, and the bold outspoken sympathy of spectators, were as gall and wormwood to those who had hoped to reduce the nation to a quiet submission by such spectacles. One of Pole's latest acts, was to declare to the citizens of London, that heresy was a greater crime than murder, adultery, or treason; to complain heavily of the favour which the citizens had shown to such criminals; and to describe the constancy of the martyrs, by which the people were so much influenced, as nothing better than a satanic obstinacy.‡ Mary, in the meanwhile,

* Foxe. Strype. Burnet.

† Strype, *Eccles. Mem.* iii. Ap. No. 85. Burleigh's *Execution of Justice.* Grindal made the number executed to be 800. This is probably an exaggeration, but I am disposed to think the lower numbers mentioned were below the mark. It should be mentioned also, that among the Marian martyrs, *fifty-five* were women!

‡ *Speech to the Citizens of London in behalf of Religious Houses.* Strype, iii. Ap. No. 68.

saw in every form of adversity—in a new dearth, a new pestilence, or in some new disaster by sea or land, only a new call to a more relentless crusade against the enemies of the true faith.

Mary's troubles continue—her last parliament, and death.

In fact, Mary could not avoid seeing, that all her proceedings seemed to take the blight of misfortune along with them. Through the connexion of the court with Spain, this country was drawn into a war with France and Scotland; while the disorders of its finances, and of everything relating to the government, exceeded anything known in our history since the time of the civil wars. It is at such a moment that Mary proposes to transfer the first-fruits of all vacant livings from the crown to the pope, to whom they were formerly paid; and joins with Pole in raising anew the complaint against those laymen who continued to be holders of ecclesiastical property. But this was a topic on which even the parliaments of this reign could be resolute. The nobles spoke of appealing to their swords if anything should come up about church lands; and the commons reminded her majesty that a government with two expensive wars upon its hands, and burdened with debt, should be better employed than in voting away a large revenue like the first-fruits to a foreign power, and that, too, a power with which the government was at war. Mary, finding she could do nothing with this assembly, dismissed it in anger, and punished the free speech of several members of the lower house by sending them to prison.* No marvel, in such circumstances, if plots and conspiracies were abroad. But so did difficulty

Oct. 1555.

* *Parl. Hist.* i. 625–628. The first-fruits and tenths were not to be paid in future to the pope or to the crown, but were to be retained by the church and appropriated in various ways for her benefit, according to the discretion of the lord legate, cardinal Pole. The lay impropriators were to make over such contributions to the crown, and by the crown the sacred treasure was to be surrendered to the cardinal. In this form the bill passed, after a long discussion, by a majority of 193 against 126.—*Commons Journals.*

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thicken about the path of Mary, until the fall of Calais, the loss of the last footing of the Englishman in France, seemed to fill up the measure of ill-fortune and dishonour. The queen did not long survive that event, and her death must be attributed to mental as much as to physical causes.*

Extent of the revolution in religion under Mary.

We have seen that the Romanists under Mary did not acquire their ascendancy over the Protestants at once. The first legislative movement halted in Nationalism; and it was left to another parliament, and to other influences, to displace Nationalism in favour of the order of things which had preceded. The only points on which the Reconciliation Parliament did not accede to the wishes of the queen and her clergy, were points relating to property. The pope was received as the spiritual head of Christendom, and as holding all his ancient spiritual relations to this kingdom. But the church lands possessed by laymen were still to be possessed by them, and, in some respects, the court of Rome was not to be enriched from the revenues of the English church as in former ages. In all other matters the past was to return. The doctrine of the church was to be what it had been before the accession of Henry VIII., and the power of the clergy to deal with opinion was to be what it had been in the time of the Lollards. Such was the amount of revolution involved in the reaction which reached its culminating point in 1555.

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* 'Some personal infirmities under which she [Mary] labours are the causes to her of both private and public affliction; to remedy them recourse is had to frequent blood-letting, and this is the real cause of her paleness, and the general weakness of her frame. The cabal she has been exposed to, the evil disposition of the people towards her, the present poverty and debt of the crown, and her passion for king Philip, from whom she is doomed to live separate, are so many other causes of grief by which she is overwhelmed. She is, moreover, a prey to the hatred she bears my lady Elizabeth, and which has its source in the recollection of the wrongs she experienced on account of her mother, and in the fact that all eyes and hearts are turned towards my lady Elizabeth as successor to the throne.'—Michiel's *Report*.

The reaction.

In 1558, the queen, to whom all this concession had been made, by a large majority in parliament, if not by a majority in the nation, had become more an object of disaffection with all ranks than any sovereign in the history of this country since the time of king John. Mary ascended the throne amidst bright hopes and loyal acclamations. The news of her death was as the passing away of a dark nightmare terror, which allowed the nation to breathe again. In recovering its consciousness, its execration of the power which had so weighed upon it was soon manifest.

Causes of the reaction.

How are these changes, so marked, and succeeding each other so soon, to be explained? We have seen what the circumstances and influences were which had given Mary her crown, and the popularity which attended her accession. The tendencies towards reaction were soon visible. The people saw that the mass was restored on state occasions without any waiting for the sanction of parliament; that the Protestant prelates were deposed and imprisoned, and Romanists raised to their place, without due form of law; that court preachers could at once assume a strong anti-protestant tone in their discourses; and, above all, that the queen and her instruments were using every means to ensure a suppression of the ecclesiastical changes introduced under Edward, and to bring back as much as possible of thorough Romanism. All this, too, was done, in violation of her reiterated pledge to leave what had been settled in the time of her brother as he had left it. The suspicion and discontent thus awakened, became much more formidable, when Mary's proposed marriage with Philip alarmed the nationality of the country, by menacing it with a subjection to Spanish influences; and alarmed its piety no less, by threatening to bring the intolerance of Spain into the place of the comparative religious freedom which had been realized by Englishmen. From these apprehensions sprang Wyatt's insurrection.

But it was not until the reconciliation with Rome

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had been accomplished, nor until the queen's government began its career of crime against humanity in the name of religion, that the instinct of the nation rose against the new power, and gave expression in so many ways to abhorrence of its proceedings. To understand the impression made on the mind of England by those proceedings we must look much beyond the number of the persons who perished in the flames. The conscience of at least a third of the nation was deeply moved by this crisis. Men and women who had embraced the doctrine of the reformers, felt that to be faithful to their convictions, would be to hazard the loss of all things; and to be unfaithful, would be to surrender their religious peace. Ruin in this world or the next was the choice placed before them. The amount of mental anguish resulting from the conflict thus raised the Omniscient only could know. Multitudes, to escape from the necessity of facing this dreadful alternative, became exiles; and in those days, when English families were much more fixed to their homesteads than now, even exile was felt as a distressing calamity.* Suffering at the stake, moreover, was brief, and in reality even light, compared with the continued pressure of misery—the lingering death, entailed on many as prisoners under the charge of heresy. If a hundred persons are known to have died under this treatment, how many more may be supposed to have endured miseries which fell somewhat short of the insufferable? Darkness and cold, filth and want, sickness and sorrow, all did their work on such victims. Jails and jailors in our history, were associated with horrors sufficiently appalling not a century ago, but the eighteenth century was humane, in this respect, compared with the sixteenth. It should be remembered, too, that every victim at the stake, or sent to the cells of the inquisitors, had been

* Strype makes the known emigrants to be not less than 800.—*Cranmer*, c. 15.

torn from a circle of neighbours, friends, and relatives. In apprehending such persons, and in the course of proceeding against them, natural affection was often grossly outraged, kindred being threatened with death on refusing to become witnesses or informers against kindred. To obtain information against suspected persons torture was used without scruple.* Hence, when a delinquent was snatched from a district, thought of the disclosures that might be extorted, was sufficient to send terror to the heart of all who were left. Of all the classes who fell under these evil influences, perhaps the greatest sufferers would be found among those who saved themselves by recantation. We know that some of these, conscience-smitten and heart-broken, challenged the death at last, from which they had shrunk at first; and that to some life so dishonoured became insupportable. Nor should we forget, that among the clergy, great numbers during the last reign had become married men, and on that ground alone were now expelled from their livings, and cast, for the most part, in poverty and homelessness on society. In the spring of 1554, more than forty clergymen in the diocese of Bath and Wells were deprived of their cures for this cause within the space of two months, and the process went on to the spring of the year following. What was done in this respect in one diocese, may be supposed to have been done very generally.†

It is only by taking in all these aspects of the policy pursued by the queen and her council, that we

* Cuthbert Simpson, a man in deacon's orders, 'was put to much torture. He lay three hours upon the rack; besides two other inventions of torture were made use of to make him discover all those in London who met in their private assemblies, but he would tell nothing.'—Burnet, iii. 657. Simpson was burnt in Smithfield.

† Strype, iii. 352, 353. Parker, archbishop of Canterbury, who lived through those times, reckoned these sufferers at 12,000. Burnet is probably nearer the truth in limiting them to 3000. The numbers at the lowest estimate may suffice to show the extent to which a disposition to conform to the new order of things had made way among the clergy under Edward.

can judge adequately concerning the feeling of the English people towards Mary and her government at the time of her decease. It was no small matter that the queen's general policy should have been so feeble, and that disgrace and disaster should have been followed by that crowning dishonour the loss of Calais. But a proud nation found it especially difficult to bear with such a course of affairs, when it was remembered that all this had happened, partly as the consequence of Mary's personal devotion to the interests of Spain, as centred in her Spanish husband; and partly as the natural result of those narrow conceptions which had taught her to account all policy as insignificant, compared with the duty of upholding a factitious creed, and a persecuting priesthood.

The first Protestant power in English history was the power under Edward, and compared in its religious policy with the Romanist power under Mary, the advantage was immensely in its favour. Comparing the two reigns, it would seem to be clear, either that Protestantism is greatly more tolerant than Romanism; or that Romanism has in it nothing of the spirit of martyrdom, if compared with the rival faith. Questionable as either of these conclusions may be deemed, recent events were strongly in favour of the one or the other, if not of both, and could hardly fail of being so regarded by a large portion of the English people. Pole was so much alive to the impression made on the public mind by these facts, that in his address to the citizens of London, he has employed all the resources of his rhetoric in an endeavour to remove it. But the martyrdom of More, and Fisher, and the Carthusians, which he sets forth in all the odour of sanctity, was not martyrdom inflicted by a Protestant government, but by a king boasting of being a Catholic; and the assertion that those deeply injured men suffered for truth, while the slain under Mary suffered for error, and in sheer obstinacy, was an assumption, and was resented as insult added to mis-

representation. In fact, the feeling of Pole and Mary at the last, evidently was, that they had tried their final expedient and had failed—that the faith they would have destroyed had only acquired reputation, power, and probable triumph, as the result of their mistaken and cruel proceedings. The people of Spain, whose whole history had been a war against men regarded as enemies to their religion, and with whom the capital punishment of such enemies had been at all times familiar, might learn to hate the heretic as they had hated the Moor. But it was not so in England. The English were not so much counterparts to the Spaniards as to the Flemings. With the former, the *auto de fe* was a holiday festival; with the latter, it was a time in which to give loud utterance to discontent, to pelt the executioners with stones, and to rescue the victims from the stake.

Much may no doubt be said in extenuation of the heavy fault chargeable on the unhappy queen. Mary had reached her eleventh year when the troubles of her mother on the matter of the divorce began, and she was seventeen when that question came to its close. Her mother died soon afterwards. From that mother, and from such confessors as that mother would naturally choose, Mary received those impressions concerning religion which she never lost. Nor must it be forgotten, that those Spanish attachments which are so observable in her history, and which did so much towards making the later portion of it sad and dark, had been imbibed along with that high Castilian language which she had learnt from her mother's lips. In childhood she had been betrothed to Charles, afterwards the emperor; and though not more than ten years of age when that contract was abandoned, she was old enough to feel some childish disappointment, and to be capable of remembering that such a relation between herself and the emperor had once existed. To the papal church her mother had looked as to her friend in her trouble, her strength in her weakness. Mary.

In the people inclined to the new doctrine, Catherine saw, as she supposed, the enemies of her cause, and the friends of the woman who had become her rival. What marvel, if the daughter who had prattled at her knees, and grown up to the verge of womanhood at her side, was found, not only to be a Romanist—but a Romanist more after the Spanish type, than after the English. Mary, indeed, as the reader has seen, had professed in the time of her father to renounce all the pretensions of the papacy, and to be, as he was, an Anglo-Catholic. But her subsequent course forbids our supposing that she really felt at that time as she spoke. Her veracity and sincerity, though generally credible, were not unimpeachable. The interference with her religious prepossessions in the time of her brother, appears to have deepened her old feeling in favour of Romanism. It probably cost her something to promise protection and freedom to English Protestants: but it does not appear to have cost her anything to ignore that promise, when she flattered herself that she might do so with safety. Her accession to the throne came upon her as a burst of sunshine after a cloudy and stormy day, and for a season she sincerely rejoiced in it. But though she spoke then of being wedded to her people, there was not an Englishman about her in whom she could confide, and her private resolve was, that she would never marry an Englishman. The man to whom she disclosed her real thoughts, and who, until her marriage, may be said to have governed her, was Renard, the Spanish ambassador. The adviser to whom she looked in all her difficulties was the emperor. Sovereigns do not find equals among their subjects, and, in consequence, know little of real friendship. Their choice commonly lies between having no friend, or incurring the penalties of favouritism. In the case of Mary, this isolation of royalty is especially observable. But the betrothed of Charles soon became the betrothed of Philip; and soon the state of public feeling; the ill-concealed

indifference of her husband; her disappointment and mortification in regard to her supposed pregnancy; the accumulation of debt, disorder, and disaster; and her rapidly declining health—all combined to place her at the mercy of the worst influences of the superstition in which she had been educated. Her course towards the Wyatt insurgents showed the relentless Tudor temper in which she was prepared to rule. The gibbet had never been so used in London as it was then used. Nor had there ever been an execution in its annals evincing such an absence of all pity as the execution of lady Jane Grey.

Mary, in the estimation of those who are disposed to take the most favourable view of her character, was a woman of amiable feeling in domestic life, of high principle, and of conscientious and earnest piety. But, if the case was so, the question comes—What must that religious system have been, which taught an amiable woman to do such deeds; a woman of high principle to be so little mindful of her word and obligation; and a woman of deep piety to look on hundreds of men and women burning at the stake, as the most fitting offering with which to appease the wrath of the object of her worship?

Pole, and Gardiner, and Bonner were representative men. So were Cranmer, Latimer, and Hooper. Their characters give us the outline of parties.

Cardinal Pole.

Pole declined promotion in the English church, promotion that might have led to the primacy, and chose the life of an exile, rather than surrender the prepossessions and sympathies which bound him to the Catholic church. How far this decision was really the decision of conscience, or the result of taste, or of some feeling of a lower kind, is beyond our knowledge, and was, no doubt, in great part, a secret even to himself. The papal hierarchy was present to his imagination as it was his pleasure to conceive of it, much more than as it was in reality. It was pleasant to him to gaze upon it as a vast spiritual fabric, admirable in its

symmetry, gorgeous in its symbolism, the offspring of a celestial inspiration, and the great medium through which the Deity condescends to communicate with mortals, and to enrich them with his favour. In comparison with this spiritual sovereignty, thus especially God-given, all other sovereignties were essentially limited and poor; and in comparison with the gifts bestowed through this unearthly power, all other gifts were necessarily trivial, perishable, of the earth, earthy. Under the shadow of this heaven-born guardianship, men might dwell securely, if they could only be made to see their own danger; and under its more than maternal care they might be nurtured to all good, if they could only be made to see their need. Such freedom as this power had ceded to men was good for them, everything beyond that must lead to evil, to infinite evil. Hence, to rebel against this authority was a treason deeper unspeakably in its guilt than any earthly treason.

But what shall we say of the understanding which could accept this vision as a reality in the presence of a world of facts proclaiming it a fiction? It is evident that the understanding and the reason had little to do with Pole's conclusions. They had their origin rather in his imagination, and in his æsthetic feeling. His eloquence was full, high-toned, apparently inexhaustible, and strongly imbued with scriptural language and allusion. But the Bible in his hand became a book of allegories, or of ingenious analogies which served him in the place of reasons. The Catholic church was present to his mind as it is often seen by women, and as it is rarely seen by educated men. He lived a pure life, and he would have had all men of his order live pure lives. But his belief was charged with intoxicating elements. It prompted him to speak as in the name of God. It fed his egotism and arrogance enormously. It led him to confide in the dictates of his own passions, as in the voice of an oracle; and to imagine that he had only to speak, and men would

see as he saw, or at least ought so to do. His mind was often so disturbed by these influences, that he failed to see the nicer shades of truth, gratitude, and integrity, where interests of that order might be served by slighting them. Above all, believing in the Catholic church after this manner, he not only learnt to look on her adversaries as the adversaries of God, but to suppose that he did the weightiest service to the Deity and to humanity, by persecuting such persons to the death. Pole, nevertheless, was a favourable specimen of the better class of Catholics—the cultivated, imaginative, and really devout class.

Gardiner.

Gardiner was a man of quite another order. He was endowed with some political sagacity. No dream of the fancy or imagination ever led him astray. Priestly refinement had not much influence upon him. But his heart was set on priestly power. He was, in truth, a coarse man—coarse in language, in feeling, and in habit. He had his convictions in relation to certain things as being either true or expedient, and he suffered for those convictions. But he could say and unsay on a large scale, and no blush came when reminded of his gross inconsistency. In one letter, written by him concerning the proceedings of the government soon after Edward's accession, he has expressed himself in such terms as a Christian bishop might have been expected to employ.* But the rules of truth and honesty which he there commends so justly, were not allowed to govern his own ways more than very partially: and the right words he there employs, and appears to have employed not unfrequently, touching the security and freedom which the sovereignty of parliamentary law had conferred on the Englishman, were words, unhappily, which he could remember or forget according to the occasion. During his residence in Rome on the divorce errand, he had seen so much of the infirmity that might beset

* Burnet, iii. *Collect.* 13.

a college of cardinals and a sovereign pontiff, as to have become personally indifferent to anything that popes or conclaves might say or do. But whether England was to sustain its old relation to the papacy, or to stand apart from it, the English bishop, in his view, was to be the same man in all his functions. If Mary could have been content with the Anglo-Catholicism which her father had introduced, Gardiner would have been content with it. But he would have been a persecutor under the rule of the Six Acts, as much as under the dictates of Pole and the papacy. Gardiner, too, in all these respects, was the type of a class of English Catholics, and of a much larger class than that represented by Pole.

Bonner.

Gardiner and Bonner were men of the same mould, but in the latter all the exceptionable qualities of the former were exaggerated. He is described as of a convivial temperament, with occasional indications of right feeling; and there was a time, it seems, when even Bonner became weary in the work of cruelty, and his royal mistress deemed it necessary to stimulate his flagging zeal. But when Gardiner began to distrust the faggot process, Bonner was the instrument to supply his place, and he ceased not to be thus prominent so long as this dark reign lasted. He possessed nothing of the dignity proper to his office. He could mix up a low levity with his cruelties. He could add insult to revenge. He could trample on his victim when disarmed and prostrate. The vulgar insolence of the language in which he addressed Cranmer when degrading him from his office preparatory to his execution, may be cited as characteristic of the man:—'This is the man,' exclaimed this bishop of London, 'that hath despised the pope's holiness, and now is to 'be judged by him; this is the man that has pulled 'down so many churches, and now is come to be 'judged in a church; this is the man that has con-'temned the blessed sacrament of the altar, and now 'is come to be condemned before that blessed sacra-

'ment hanging over the altar; this is the man, that, 'like Lucifer, sat in the place of Christ upon an altar 'to judge others, and now is come before an altar to 'be judged himself.'*

Cranmer deserved better treatment even from the hands of Bonner. Henry VIII. was a shrewd judge of character, and in his estimation, the archbishop was a man much too guileless and confiding to keep his own as opposed to the policy and craft of the bad men who were often uppermost during this period in our history. It was the lot of the primate to witness the fall of several eminent persons to whom he felt bound by grateful attachment. His was the only voice raised in behalf of Anne Boleyn and of Cromwell, when their adversity came upon them. His influence was exerted no less honourably in favour of Somerset, when the duke came into his first trouble; and in the after trouble, he hazarded the displeasure of Northumberland by 'showing his conscience secretly' as one not satisfied with the proceedings of that nobleman against his rival.† He no doubt concurred in what was done in the case of Joan Bocher, and in the case of Van Paris. This was a grave fault in his life. The enemies of the Reformation were eager to accuse it of giving licence to all kinds of heresy; and the primate, with his characteristic caution and timidity, had persuaded himself that it became him to guard the sacred cause against a charge so injurious. The reserved protest under which he accepted the sanction of the papacy to his consecration as primate, does not admit of vindication. Concerning the part taken by him in relation to lady Jane Grey little need be said. Writers who may be disposed to censure him on that ground, and on the ground of his confession, and reconfession, as made at

Cranmer.

* Foxe, viii. 73. It was charged as a great crime against Cranmer that he had sat on a platform as commissioner which had an altar beneath it.

† Foxe, vii. 573.

last, in the hope of saving his life, would probably be found to look more considerately on those incidents, were they to be themselves exposed for a season to a similar trial of their firmness. Compared with the men of his time, Cranmer was tolerant and humane, and incurred the reproach of the zealots on that ground. His spirit in his last moments was the true martyr-spirit, such as became the man who in an age of church-robbing retained clean hands in that matter; who, while others were venting their selfish nature in intrigue and conspiracy, avoided all such practices, kept to his retreat at Lambeth, and there prosecuted his quiet labour in issuing Bibles, homilies, articles, and other helps, to meet the religious wants of the people; and laboured especially in translating those ancient prayers, which, as set forth in the book to be used in our churches, were to come, from their simplicity, pathos, and beauty, as the breathing of a new life and hope into the hearts of myriads through the next three centuries. All that is most precious in the English church may be traced to the mind of Cranmer more than to any other mind—to that admixture of reverence for the past and sympathy with the freer thought of the present, which qualified him to adjudicate between the old and the new with a high order of wisdom. His learning, and piety, and moderation, place him before us as reflecting one of the best phases of the English mind in his time—that which was to survive in the future English church, and to be its strength and beauty. In such labours he found an able and genial coadjutor in Ridley.

Latimer.

If Cranmer was the representative of the more thoughtful and moderate Protestantism of his time, Latimer may be said to have represented the religious life which had its seat in the instinct and feeling of the people, and which may be described as the Protestantism of the heart—the offspring, not so much of logic as of intuition. His preaching was Protestant in its substance and tendency, while as yet men were

sent to the stake in punishment of the opinions to which that name was given. His concern, as he often said, was not with what might be accounted as Lutheranism or the contrary, but with what was manifestly true, honest, and real. His New Testament was in his hand, and his avowed object was to teach reality as it had been there taught. He did not see, as we have said elsewhere, that in taking this ground he was assuming the right of private judgment, and rejecting the dogma of an infallible church. He simply meant to say that religion in his view was a power from Heaven which made men sincere, in place of leaving them hypocrites; honest, in place of leaving them rogues; and devout, in place of leaving them formalists. If to preach after this manner was to be suspected of Lutheranism, that was to be regretted, but it must be his to preach after this manner. He must be allowed to denounce grimace and fraud as being grimace and fraud, and to commend the true, and just, and good, as being true, and just, and good. If, in pursuing this course, it became him to say sharp things concerning prelates and people, concerning traders in their traffic, and drones in their religious houses, what it became him to say he was resolved should be said. During a long interval he can hardly be said to have preached the doctrine of the kingdom. His mission was to prepare the way for such preaching. His doctrine of repentance and of remission of sins, limited as it was, tended much to make the rough places smooth, and the crooked straight. In all these respects he was not only a voice preparing the way for what was to follow, but a voice which gave expression to the new thoughts and passions that were then labouring for utterance among no small portion of the people, especially in towns and cities. Latimer had his work to do; and the light given him went so far and no farther, that his work might be done. The time came in which Latimer himself was to ripen to a fuller man, and the people to whom his voice had been

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so long familiar ripened with him. Both found themselves committed to a formal rejection of Romanism, almost without being aware of the tendencies of the process which had brought them to that issue.

Hooper.

Hooper possessed some qualities in common with Latimer. He was a man of simple-minded piety. He combined much tenderness of heart with strict purity of life, and with a strict determination to exact that purity from others, especially from the clergy. He was also highly popular as a preacher, and earnestly devoted to labour in that form. But here the points of resemblance end. What remains is difference, if not contrast. Hooper had passed some time in exile among the foreign Protestants. This circumstance, along with the cast of his mind, disposed him to examine the dogmas and usages of Romanism with greater freedom than was permitted at that time in England. In consequence, he drew a line of separation between that system and Protestantism which proved to be more Puritan than Anglican. We have seen, that, from this cause, he had to complain of some hard treatment, even from the hands of such men as Cranmer and Ridley. The germ of Puritan feeling as it then existed in England, and as it was to be developed in our history, may be said to have been represented by the good bishop who ended his course amidst the fire in the cathedral court at Gloucester. The conscience which demurred so strongly to the use of the popish vestments, was essentially the conscience which was to become distinctive of English Puritanism.

BOOK IX.

ANGLICANS AND ROMANISTS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ECCLESIASTICAL SETTLEMENT.

IN Mary's last days, the disease which she had been so much disposed to regard as pregnancy, was followed by a low fever, brought on by many unwelcome memories. It is remarkable that Pole, the man whose career had been so much associated with her own, expired in less than twenty-four hours afterwards. The health of the cardinal had been declining for some time past. But in his case, too, the fever which brought life to a close, had its connexion probably with vexation and disappointment. England had not been won to the Catholic church; was not likely so to be. Pole had aspired more than once to fill the papal chair. Paul IV. had not only been his rival, but was his enemy. The pontiff had revoked his commission as legate, in punishment of the part taken by the English court in declaring war against France, and on some other pretences. The pope had allied himself with France, and the policy of the English government—though just grounds of complaint against the French king were not wanting—was known to have been dictated by Spain. Mary, however, would not surrender the cardinal, and rejected the man sent to displace him.

Death of Pole. Nov. 17.

The reader will observe that from this time in our history, the old feeling of hostility to France, gives

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Change in national feeling towards France and Spain.

place to a hatred of Spain. Mary's Spanish connexion and Spanish policy, were viewed as having brought nothing but disaster on this country, and as having filled it with cruelty and bloodshed. The inquisition which had so long thrown its dark shadow over the land, was regarded as Spanish, and it had taught the people to look with abhorrence on everything connected with that nation.

Interview between the envoy of Philip and Elizabeth.

Philip was in Flanders when Mary breathed her last. Only a week before the decease of the queen, Count de Feria arrived in this country with private despatches from the king. He found that Mary was not expected to live many days, and passed from her sick chamber, to pay a visit to Elizabeth. The Spaniard delivered the message with which his master had entrusted him, and has recorded the impression made upon him by the conversation of the princess, now everywhere regarded as the future queen. 'I fear 'much,' he writes, 'that in religion she will not go 'right, as I perceive her inclined to be governed by 'men who are held to be heretics; and they tell me 'that the ladies most about her are all so. Besides 'this, she shows herself highly indignant at the things 'done against her in the lifetime of the queen. She 'is much attached to the people, and is very confident 'they are all on her side—which is indeed true— 'indeed, she gave me to understand that the people had 'placed her where she now is. On this point she will 'acknowledge no obligation either to your majesty or 'to her nobles, although she says they have one and 'all of them sent her their promise to remain faithful. 'Indeed, there is not a heretic or traitor in all the 'country who has not started, as if from the grave, to 'seek her with expressions of the greatest pleasure.'*

Elizabeth proclaimed —her early life.

Parliament was sitting at the time of the queen's decease, and a few hours after that event, the two

* *Memorias de la Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid,* tom. vii. 254, 255; cited by Tytler, ii. 497, 498.

houses recognised the accession of the new sovereign. The proclamation of Elizabeth as queen was then made, at Westminster Hall, Temple-Bar, and the Exchange, amidst abundant expressions of delight and loyalty on the part of the populace. Elizabeth had recently entered on the twenty-sixth year of her age. When not more than seventeen, beside the female accomplishments usual in that age, she had acquired a knowledge of French, Italian, and Latin, and some acquaintance with Greek. At a later period, she read freely, not only in the Latin of Livy, but in the Greek of the New Testament, and in that of Isocrates and Sophocles. From the gravity of her early studies, her brother Edward had given her the name of Sister Temperance. It must be confessed, that these very learned occupations, and the comparative seclusion in which her early life had passed, gave a frequent air of pedantry to her taste and manner, which is not to her advantage as compared with lady Jane Grey, or with Catherine Parr. But she possessed a much more masculine capacity than either of those distinguished persons, and such as qualified her in an extraordinary degree to fill the high place which Providence had now assigned to her. We have seen, that in the schooling to which Elizabeth had been subject, the discipline of adversity had not been wanting.

Sir William Cecil.

The great adviser of the queen at this juncture, was Sir William Cecil, who at once became her secretary of state.* This statesman, as Sir William Cecil and as lord Burleigh, holds a conspicuous place in this portion of our history. He came from the stock of our English gentry. His father, Richard Cecil, Esq.,

* Elizabeth's words to Cecil are characteristic. 'I give you this charge that you shall be of my privy council, and content yourself to take pains for me and my realm. This judgment I have of you, that you will not be corrupted with any manner of gift, and that you will be faithful to the state, and that without respect to my private will, you will give me that counsel that you think best.'—Harrington's *Nugæ Antiquæ*, i. 56.

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was yeoman of the wardrobe under Henry VIII. In 1541, William Cecil was a student at the inns of court, and was then twenty-one years of age. In the following year, he married the sister of Sir John Cheke. In 1544, Sir John became tutor to prince Edward, and through his influence, Cecil's connexion with the court would seem to have commenced. Three years later he is known as filling the office of private secretary to the duke of Somerset. He does not appear to have become secretary of state before 1550. His capacity for public business was of a high order, and he was influenced through life by a strong disposition towards such employments. When his first master, the duke of Somerset, came into his troubles, Cecil took care, as the reader has seen, not to be involved in them. The duke resented his conduct as betraying a want of fidelity and gratitude. It is certain, that Cecil passed from the confidence of Somerset, to become the great instrument of the good or bad in the government of his rival, the duke of Northumberland. Cecil had been fully committed, though with some reluctance and misgiving, to what was done in favour of lady Jane Grey; and had been one of the first to see that scheme as a failure, and one of the most active in endeavouring to propitiate Mary's government, by hastening the overthrow of the government opposed to her. It is probable that office would have been open to him on Mary's accession, if he could have avowed himself a convert to the queen's religion. Subsequently, when the intolerance of the government diffused so much terror, Cecil consented to do, for the sake of life, as not a few men of his class did—he conformed in religious matters to what the law had so imperatively enjoined. In those evil times, Cecil appears to have found more occupation in husbandry than in state affairs—though we find his name, strange to say, in the list of persons deputed to conduct Cardinal Pole to this country on his mission to reconcile England to Rome. On the whole, we may

believe that Sir William Cecil was in conviction a Protestant, but his religion was that of the statesman, rather than that of the martyr or the saint. His general policy, too, was evidently of that flexible kind, which allows a man to become a party to many things which, in his own estimation, are neither wise nor good, for the sake of much better objects, which he could not hope to see accomplished in the absence of such compliances. The science of politics has much to do with great principles, but it is, nevertheless, in a special degree, a science of compromise—a science in which something has nearly always to be ceded, for the sake of something which could not otherwise be gained. No general rule can be laid down to determine the morality or immorality of such concessions. Every case must be judged apart, and in regard to every case there will be room for a difference of judgment. In the ethical sense, Sir William Cecil may not realize our loftiest idea of the statesman; but among all the men about her, Elizabeth could not have fixed upon another combining in himself so great a measure of wise intention and real ability.*

The council.

Under the influence of Cecil, the queen retained the names of fourteen persons who had been in office under Mary, and who were all accounted Romanists. But to these eight new names were added, and it was observed that these names were all the names of persons known to be Protestants. Among these persons, the man next in importance to Cecil himself was Sir Nicolas Bacon, brother-in-law to Cecil, and father to the future lord Bacon. Bacon was made lord privy seal.† In a council with so large a number inclined to the mediæval faith, Protestantism might seem to be at a great disadvantage. But the new men had the confidence of the queen, and her known disposition,

* Tytler's *Edward and Mary*, i. 71–74, 237–245, 316, 317; ii. 24–74, 102, 110, 172–205, 435–437.

† Camden, 369.

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and the known feeling of the country, sufficed to turn the scale in their favour.

Peace concluded with France and Scotland.

Elizabeth succeeded to a war with France and Scotland, and to a bankrupt exchequer. But the new secretary of state adopted vigorous measures to strengthen the force at sea, and to place the country in a posture of defence. The hundred ships of war at the command of the government under Henry, had dwindled to forty under Mary. Measures were at the same time taken to bring about a peace, if to be accomplished by any honourable means. In little more than two months after Elizabeth's accession, a conference with this view was opened at Cambray, which ended in the settlement of the differences between this country and France, and peace with France of course included peace with Scotland. The French promised to restore Calais, but not until after eight more years of possession, and on condition that nothing should be done in the interval in violation of the treaty including that pledge. In this manner the people of England were to be prepared for the ultimate loss of their last possession in that country. It was of the first importance that the English government should be left at liberty to deal with the weighty domestic questions which were about to arise.

Policy and difficulties of the government.

In this home policy the great matter was the expected change in religion. We possess a paper written when this change was in contemplation, setting forth the danger that would be attendant on such an enterprise, showing what such a revolution should include, and how it should be brought about. The writer of this paper says very justly—France, Scotland, Ireland, all Europe still allied with the papacy, and especially the papacy itself, will take umbrage at such a proceeding. All persons deprived of office in church or state, from the highest to the lowest, will be persons pledged to discontent, if not to treason. The Romanist will be displeased with seeing innovation carried so far; and a large class will be displeased on

seeing it carried no further, and will describe what is done as 'a cloaked papistry,' and 'a mingle mangle.' To steer the vessel of the state through so dangerous a sea, caution and moderation will be indispensable on the part of the queen, of her ministers, and of the parliament. What Mary did on her accession, to place the authority of the country in the hands of her friends, must be in a great measure done again. Functionaries who cannot be trusted, must be displaced by men entitled to confidence; and adequate provision must everywhere be made against the secret machinations, or the open revolt, of the disaffected. We have no certain knowledge concerning the author of this paper, nor are we sure that it was ever submitted to the government. We only know that it presents the views substantially which any man competent to carry out the policy of Elizabeth must have entertained.*

Release of persons under the charge of heresy. Nov. 28. Dec. 7. Jan. 4.

One of the earliest acts of the queen was to issue injunctions to the magistrates, to discountenance the spies and informers who had been so much encouraged by the late government in searching out persons suspected of heresy. Great numbers in prison under such accusations were released, and went everywhere uttering the praises of her majesty.† Order was also given that the gospels and epistles, the Lord's prayer, the Apostles' creed, and the ten commandments, should be read in English in the public service. The English Litany was also to be used, and the priest was not to elevate the host in the mass. This order was to continue 'until consultation may 'be had by parliament, by her majesty, and her 'three estates of this realm, for the better conciliation 'and accord of such causes as at present are moved in 'matters and ceremonies of religion.'‡ It was felt to

Dec. 27.

* Strype's *Annals*, ii. 392–398. † Ibid. i. 37, 55, 56.

‡ Strype, *Annals*, ii. Paper No. 3. These injunctions were issued on the 27th Dec. The following extract relates to what took place two days before. 'This night I came home late from London: and for news you shall understand that yesterday, being Christmas-day, the queen's majesty

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be prudent to guard against all tendency towards excess and disorder in such proceedings. The passions of not a few, both among Protestants and Romanists, required to be laid under some restraint. The pulpit in those days was so powerful an instrument in affecting the public mind, that, as on the accession of Edward, and afterwards of Mary, it was now deemed expedient to prohibit all preaching for a season; and to forbid all innovation on the existing order in the church service, until such matters should be changed or settled by competent authority.

Preaching suspended —and innovation forbidden.

Nearly two months intervened between the queen's accession and her coronation. On that occasion London was the scene of an outburst of splendid pageantry and popular enthusiasm, such as England had not witnessed since the return of Henry V. from Agincourt. The young queen made a good use of the happy season. Her noble presence, and her elegant and genial manner, won all hearts. It was then that Elizabeth first brought those little devices into play, which cost her little, but which were to do so much towards securing her a high place in the affections of her people. At one point of her progress from the Tower towards Westminster, Old Time came forth from his cavern, leading his beautiful daughter, Truth, into the presence of the queen of England, and the offering which Time and Truth presented to her majesty, as the best at their disposal, was an English Bible. Elizabeth seized on the spirit of the incident, raised the book aloft in the sight of the people, kissed it, placed it on her bosom, and bid them all be sure that it would be to her not only a book to be care-

The coronation.

repaired to her great closet with her nobles and ladies, as hath been accustomed in such high feasts; and she passing a bishop preparing himself to mass, all in the old form, she tarried there until the gospel was done; and when all the people looked for her to have offered, according to the old fashion, she and her nobles returned again from the closet and the mass into her privy chamber, which was strange unto divers.'—Ellis's *Letters*, 2nd Series, ii. 262.

fully kept, but to be diligently read. She had her special notice for all the companies and all persons, as she passed; and the rich offerings of the wealthy, and the humblest expressions of affection from the poor, called forth alike her smiles, and with them words long to be remembered.*

Elizabeth and the bishops.

But the brightest day is rarely without a cloud, and the day of Elizabeth's coronation was to reveal in a signal manner the difficulty with which her path would be beset. It disclosed the wide chasm which separated between the feeling of the English people and that of the English bishops. Of fourteen prelates holding office in the English church, one only could be induced to be present at this great national ceremony. Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, was that prelate, and from his hands Elizabeth received her crown. Whatever some of her modern enemies may insinuate, it was no secret that the queen was a Protestant, and that it was her intention to rule as a Protestant sovereign at the head of a Protestant church. The existing race of bishops consisted either of old men, who had changed so often as to feel ashamed at the thought of changing again; or of younger men who had been chosen on account of their zealous mediæval tendencies, and who were not disposed to change at all. All had been more or less parties to the late persecutions, and stood before the people as men stained with the blood of England's martyred saints.

Spirit of the inferior clergy.

One of these dignitaries, White, bishop of Winchester, preaching at the funeral of the late queen, gave strong expression to the malcontent feeling of his order. He not only indulged in high commendation of Mary and her government, but spoke in most offensive terms of the reformers, and of the policy which had brought them into prominence under Edward. Early in the spring, the silence imposed on the pulpit was withdrawn, and then the inferior clergy,

* Holinshed.

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slipping from the leash, took up the same strain in many quarters.*

General state of feeling.

The language of disaffection at this juncture was not confined to the pulpit, nor to the clergy. In the common talk of the discontented, great licence was assumed, such as the laws of that time had been constituted to punish and suppress. The boast, so often hitherto made, that the Catholics were the majority, could now be made no longer. It was generally understood from this time, that the majority had gone to the other side, especially in the great cities and the towns. But zeal is blind, and men possessed with it do not often see when they are defeated. Even those who saw that they had been losing ground rapidly at home, could hope for large help from abroad. The rumour was, that all the Catholic powers were about to join in solemn league for the suppression of the reformed faith. No one could doubt the zeal of Spain in that direction, and the feeling of France promised to keep pace with it. Mary queen of Scots had become the wife of the dauphin—and the evils which Henry VIII. and the duke of Somerset had seen as likely to result from such an alliance, were to follow. The heir to the French monarchy, in virtue of that marriage, had openly assumed the arms of England. They were ostentatiously used in the jousts at Paris, and the ushers of the court, as Mary passed to the chapel royal, were heard to cry, 'Give place to the 'queen of England.' Elizabeth was thus virtually declared a usurper. According to the notions of the papal party, questions concerning the validity or invalidity of marriage, were not questions to be determined by any secular authority; the clergy, and in the last resort, the supreme pontiff, were the only competent and legitimate judges in relation to such cases. But Clement VII. and Paul III. had declared the marriage between Henry and Anne to have been

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 60–62.

no marriage, and had pronounced Elizabeth a bastard. It was not to be supposed that such a sentence, once published, could be easily revoked. The existing pontiff had assured the English ambassador that the case so stood, and could not stand otherwise. Had Elizabeth accepted the hand of Philip, his holiness would have been placed in some difficulty. Certainly, in the judgment of all sound Romanists, Mary queen of Scots, and not Elizabeth, should have been raised to the English throne. Hence the name of this second Mary was heard everywhere on the lips of those who were opposed to Protestantism. The reign of Edward had been short, why should that of Elizabeth be long? The old faith, though utterly proscribed, had come back once, why should it not come back again? In that age, belief in witchcraft, in astrology, and in pretended prophecies, was so prevalent, that the body of the nation may be said to have been influenced by it. And those who were pleased with evil prophecies had no great difficulty in finding them. According to some of these, the reign of the queen was not to extend to a second year. Even the nonconforming prelates, who had seen one Protestant ascendancy come to an end, were willing to believe that a second, if permitted to come, might prove equally unstable. What the reign of Elizabeth was to be, is to us matter of history; but to her contemporaries, in the early years of her sovereignty, the prospect possessed no such certainty.

A parliament. Jan. 23. May 8.

Elizabeth's first parliament sat ten weeks. Of the forty bills passed during that interval, the greater part related to manufactures and trade; but several, as will be supposed, had respect to ecclesiastical affairs, and these involved changes of the highest importance. In prospect of such discussions, five Protestant peers had been added to the upper house; and the electors, without much influence on the part of the government, returned a majority of persons who were of that faith. Sir Nicolas Bacon addressed the two houses in behalf

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of the crown, in a long discourse. He stated that the subjects demanding attention came under three heads —religion, domestic affairs, and foreign policy and finance. In settling religious matters, it became the wisdom of parliament to guard against 'idolatry and 'superstition' on the one hand, and against anything like irreligion, or a want of reverence for sacred things, on the other. To this end, he observed, it would be well that speakers should avoid the use of all 'oppro-'brious words,' such as 'heretic, schismatic, or papist.' The queen, he assured them, like the good kings among God's ancient people, was intent on doing the will of God, that so his favour might rest on herself and on the nation.*

An act recognising the queen's right to the throne was readily passed. But the bill to restore ecclesiastical supremacy to the crown, which was brought into the upper house on the following day, was strenuously opposed by Lord Montague, and by several of the bishops. The speech delivered by Heath, archbishop of York, on this occasion, sets forth the objections felt by English Catholics on this point—such as were then urged, and continued to be urged, in the common homes and talk of the times. The supremacy proposed to be given by this bill, he observed, was a spiritual supremacy, and it became their lordships to look carefully to what was involved in it. Paul IV. had shown himself 'a stern father' to this country, and severance from his person might be a small matter. But severance from the papacy was severance from the great councils of the ancient church, and from her whole system of canonical law. It was to take the sovereignty of England out of all common ecclesiastical relationship with the sovereignties of Catholic Christendom, and was, in fact, 'to leap out of 'St. Peter's ship, hazarding ourselves to be over-'whelmed and drowned in the waters of schism, sects,

* D'Ewes's *Journal.*

'and divisions.' This spiritual supremacy, he insisted, if things were to be called by their right names, was really a priestly supremacy, and the intention of this bill was to confer that function on the sovereign, who would always belong to the laity, and, in this instance, to make the case more unnatural still, the sovereign was a woman. It pertains to the priest to administer the sacraments, to absolve from sin, to feed the flock as a teacher; and does it pertain to the layman, or, if we may say it, to the laywoman, to be thus employed? Has not Paul said that he did not suffer a woman even to speak in the church?

It was not an easy thing for an Anglican to meet some of these objections on his own principles. But he had adopted the rough idea, that ruling in the church was not meant to be exclusively a priestly function; that, in fact, to rule pertains of right to the laity even more than to the priesthood; and that the function of the priest should not be legislative in any case without the concurrence of the secular power. Hence, in the act of supremacy, the laity were to be understood as consenting to vest their ruling power in the parliament, and, ultimately, in the crown. It was this idea that carried this memorable bill, in the face of all the ingenious exceptions which the dissentient prelates could urge against it.*

Debate concerning the liturgy.

The next field-day in the history of this parliament was on the bill which proposed to set forth the Book of Common Prayer as used in the time of Edward, as the book to be used, with some modification, in

* Strype, ii. 399–423. The 37th article of religion as revised in 1562, was intended to meet a portion of the above reasoning. 'Where we attribute to the queen's majesty the chief government, by which title we understand the minds of some slanderous folks to be offended: we give not to our princes the ministering either of God's word or of the sacraments: but that only prerogative which we see to have been given always to all godly princes in holy Scripture by God himself, that is, that they should rule all estates and degrees committed to their charge by God, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and restrain with the civil sword the stubborn and evil-doers.'

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all churches. This bill was opposed in elaborate speeches by Scot, bishop of Chester, and by Dr. Feckenham, lord abbot of Westminster—the last ecclesiastic of his rank whose voice was to be heard in an English parliament. The speakers affirmed that the religion which the bill would reject, was the oldest religion, professed among us from the beginning of our history; the religion which stood alone in the unity of its faith and order; the religion professed the most widely, and therefore entitled to the name of catholic; and the religion which conduced most to good order in affairs of church and state. Parliaments might consist of wise and useful bodies of men, but their authority was the authority of laymen, and such assemblies passed beyond their province when attempting to legislate on matters pertaining to religion. The most was of course made of the differences which had grown up between Protestants both in Germany and in this country; and their lordships were warned against a course of proceeding which promised to expose everything sacred to profanation, and to bring the good order of the state under the late queen into confusion.*

Protestants did not find it difficult to reply to this reasoning. They maintained, that the religion professed in this country from the beginning had not been the religion which was enforced by such terrible penalties in the last reign. The unity of faith claimed by the church of Rome they treated as a huge fiction, her doctrines having been manifestly the growth of time, so much so, that Protestants did not differ so widely from each other, as the modern Catholic differed from the ancient. It was true, it had so happened, from the course of events, that for some time the majority of professed Christians had been professed Romanists; but if religion was to be determined by numbers, the majority of votes would be on the side

* Strype, ii. 399–450.

of paganism. Protestants, indeed, did not at once see their way to truth, nor can that seem strange when it is remembered how long they had been forbidden all exercise of independent thought. If some measure of spiritual disorder may be said to be incident to liberty, spiritual death is the sure result where there is no liberty. Nor is it to be tolerated, it was said, that the clergy should assume such an attitude towards the civil power. The bishops claim to arrest, examine, and imprison people at their pleasure, on religious grounds. To them it pertains to determine all matters concerning religious faith, order, and worship. To the magistrate they look to secure them in such freedom, to accept of such decisions at their hands, and then to stand prepared, as their lordships may desire, to inflict civil penalties on religious error. In this servile capacity—the capacity of constable and executioner—the lay power may come into action, but in no other form. Gallio, said the bishop of Chester, declared himself a civil judge, and as such would take no cognisance of religious causes, an example worthy of imitation. But the reply was obvious. Gallio did exercise his function when the quarrel of the disputants passed from words to blows, and his interference then, was not to take sides, but to punish the strikers, as men who breed uproars. Would Gallio have been a magistrate to the mind of our bishops under the late queen?

Such, in substance, was the conflict of opinion going on at this time, both in parliament and through the country. The cardinal error of all the parties at issue consisted in their distrust of the power of truth, and in their tendency to look to the civil sword as its most effectual guardian. But the men who claimed that the bearer of that sword should act as an intelligent agent, and not as a passive instrument, were the men moving in the right direction.

The Book of Common Prayer as presented to parliament, had been revised by a committee, consisting of

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divines, and members of the council. It had been prepared from a comparison of the first and second books set forth under Edward. Guest, afterwards bishop of Rochester, appears to have been the person most responsible for this revision. But both Cecil and the queen made their suggestions in relation to it. Not to give unnecessary offence to the feeling of the Catholic, two references to the bishop of Rome were omitted. The elements of the communion might be taken from the hands of the priest either kneeling or standing. The book did not differ in any material matter from the second book as revised by Cranmer. In the communion service, its language was derived in part from the book of 1553, and in part from that of 1549; and if somewhat obscure in its meaning as thus altered, it was explicit enough as opposed to the doctrine of transubstantiation. Nine bishops, and the same number of temporal peers, voted against this book. But when published, of the 9400 clergymen then in England, 189 only, of all ranks, became nonconformists, relinquishing their preferments.*

The Prayer-book approved by Parliament.

The revision of the Articles did not take place before 1562. Of the forty-two of which the series consisted, as left by Cranmer, the last four were now omitted, and one on the procession and divinity of the Holy Ghost was inserted. The alterations made, as in the case of the liturgy, were not considerable, but were such as to show a tendency to recede somewhat from the advanced ground taken towards the close of Edward's time, rather than to go beyond it.†

The Articles.

The oath of supremacy became a test act. All ecclesiastical persons, from the highest to the lowest, all persons taking degrees in the universities, or holding any civil office, or any beneficial relation to the government requiring homage to the crown, were required to bind themselves according to this instrument. And all persons who should by word or deed

Penalties of the Act of Supremacy.

* Strype, *Ann.* i. 104–124. † Burnet, iv. No. 55.

'advisedly, maliciously, and directly affirm,' anything contrary to this act, were liable for the first offence to a forfeiture of lands and goods, for a second offence to the penalty of the premunire statute, which added excommunication and outlawry to forfeiture—and the third offence became high treason.*

Penalties of the Act of Uniformity.

The clergyman not duly using the Book of Common Prayer, or chargeable with doing or uttering anything in depreciation of it, was fined to the value of his living for one year, and was to be imprisoned for six months. By a second offence, his preferment was wholly forfeited; and a third subjected him to imprisonment for life. The punishment of a layman offending against this act, was, in the first instance, imprisonment during one year; imprisonment during life in the second instance; and the penalty of the third offence was imprisonment with the loss of land and goods. It was further enacted, that all persons failing to attend their parish church, or some recognised place of worship on the Lord's day, should pay the fine of one shilling for each absence, unless reasonable cause for such absence could be shown.†

Court of High Commission.

In the general discipline of the church, what should be accounted 'error, heresy, or schism,' was left to be decided by certain commissioners, to be appointed under the great seal of England, who were not however to judge anything as heresy which had not been so determined 'by the authority of the canonical 'scriptures, or by the first four general councils, or 'any of them, or by any other general council, wherein 'the same was declared heresy by the express and 'plain words of scripture, or such as shall hereafter be 'ordered, judged, or determined to be heresy by the 'high court of parliament, with the assent of the 'clergy in their convocation.'‡ These were the powers of that Court of High Commission whose proceedings were to hold so memorable a place in our history from this time to the fall of the monarchy.

* 1 Eliz. c. 1. † 1 Eliz. c. 2. ‡ 1 Eliz. c. 1.

First-fruits and tenths.

This parliament restored the first-fruits and tenths to the crown, which had been restricted to ecclesiastical uses in the last reign. The first-fruit—the first year's value on a new appointment—was not to be exacted when the value of the living fell below a certain sum. But the tenths—a tenth of the yearly value as a permanent payment—was to be demanded without limitation.*

By these measures, Romanists were excluded from all places of trust. Their worship, even the private mass, was prohibited. They were subject to fines if they did not conform to the religious observance recognised by the state; and to heavy penalties if they should attempt, either by word or writing, to disparage those services. The case of the puritans was hardly less a case of hardship. The men constituting the Court of High Commission might bind them to anything which they should themselves account as sanctioned by parliament, by a general council, or by the canonical scriptures. Good men might well rejoice in the change which had taken place, but in these stringent laws it is easy to discern the seeds of future trouble.

Retrospect.

From this point in our history we lose sight of our old friends the Nationalists. All idea of a church which should be severed from Catholic Christendom in polity, and be one with it in doctrine, has come to an end. The Anglo-Catholic party may be said to have died out. Attempts will be made hereafter to revive it, but they will be failures. Transubstantiation is finally rejected; the theory of the seven sacraments is a speculation of the past; the clergy may marry; confession is left optional; the theology settled in the English church is a theology derived in part from Augustine, much more from Luther and Melancthon; and the civil power is made to be supreme in all things over the ecclesiastical. Strong language from

* 1 Eliz. c. 4.

the mediæval time is retained concerning priestly absolution and the effect of water-baptism; but obscure expressions in the Prayer-book must give place to clear expressions in the Articles. Nationalists under Henry VIII. plot with Romanists in the hope of crushing English Protestantism. But under Edward Protestantism shows itself stronger than both, and after an interval of reaction, it gives these new signs of strength under Elizabeth. While cruel men were perpetrating their deeds of blood, and while selfish men were busy in their scrambles for gain, men of firm religious conviction braved the loss of all things in sowing the good seed, which, in its season, was to bring this large return. The cells into which bishops thrust their victims, and the flames which the hands of our native inquisitors kindled, were to be great helpers towards this consummation. And now, the nationality of Englishmen is consolidated. Their patriotism and loyalty are no longer to be disturbed by the pretensions of any rival power. They acknowledge no authority on earth beyond the four seas by which their own island home is girded. This is a great revolution. It is far from being faultless, and is to retain its footing with difficulty for some while to come; but, in the main, it is to last.

The Anglicans.

It was as influenced by this more Protestant feeling, along with the desire of national independence, that the Anglicans, with whom we shall now have to do, are distinguished from the Nationalists. They are not merely politicians, they are men with religious preferences. They do not content themselves with rejecting the pretensions of the papacy, nor with imposing wholesome restraint on the jurisdiction and power of the national clergy. They have religious beliefs which are substantially Protestant. They have chosen their course because they think it both right and Christian. In their view, the clergy do not constitute the church, and a prosperous hierarchy may be something quite distinct from a prosperous religion. They have learnt

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to regard the people, the 'congregation of faithful men,' as the church, and to account the church as prosperous only as the people are instructed and devout. It is not in their manner, nor in the manner of the queen, to encourage priestly airs among churchmen. Sacred persons and sacred things must be treated with reverence; but modesty, moderation, and submission, are assumed to be the virtues proper to men sustaining the sacred office. Any man disposed to indulge in the talk of a Becket, a Pole, or a Laud, will find the court of Elizabeth a most ungenial place. Its weighty common sense precludes even the appearance of such follies. The men we describe as Anglicans not only avowed themselves Protestants, but accounted themselves the natural allies of Protestants everywhere, and were prepared to hazard much in defence of the creed and principles supposed to be comprehended under that name. In this respect, the men about Elizabeth stand far in advance of the men who were about her father; and they evince a consistency, integrity, and stability of character which were too often wanting among the statesmen who acted in the name of her brother. Every year, the domestic affairs and foreign relations of the country are to expand, to become more complex and more difficult. But the new men are to prove equal to the new exigencies. The kingdom is to grow, and these men are to grow with it. The Cecils, the Bacons, and the Walsinghams of that age were statesmen of their own order. It was hardly possible that men of such a mould should have become chiefs in our history at an earlier period. They were the growth of time, and they came in their season. Grave men they were, and they knew the times to be grave, and they lived to grave ends. Nor should it be forgotten, that these elements of character in the ministers of that time had their place largely in the queen.

CHAPTER II.

COERCION AND CONSPIRACY.

Elizabeth and the papacy.

THE measures which excluded the papal authority from this country would not fail to call forth the enmity of that power: and the English government had to calculate on meeting with hostile influences from that source, in all the channels through which such influence might be extended. No monarch could propitiate the papal court more certainly, than by showing himself a foe to the sovereign, who had not only presumed to adopt the schism of her father, but had allied it with heresies of her own. To impose a check on the Grand Turk would have been a small service, compared with the virtue of inflicting some signal chastisement on such a delinquent. If Catholic Christendom could be armed against Elizabeth, so armed it would be.

The deprived and conforming clergy.

With such feeling abroad, the ministers of the English queen had to reckon on finding their path beset by many signs of discontent at home. The bishops, with one exception only, had declared themselves opposed to the proceedings of parliament in relation to the English church, and the only course left to the government, was to raise other men to their place. Some of these Romanist prelates, such as Heath, archbishop of York, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, were estimable men. But the majority, bearing in mind what their own conduct had been under Mary, had no right to complain of harsh treatment. By no one of them was the complaint of injury raised so openly as by Edmund Bonner, late bishop of London.*

* Bonner was committed to the Marshalsea, but suffered nothing from 'want, hunger, or cold. For he lived daintily, had the use of the garden

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Of the somewhat less than two hundred ecclesiastics who surrendered their preferments, the majority consisted of men above the rank of the parochial clergy. Not more than eighty parishes in all England were left without ministers. But a large proportion of those who subscribed to the terms of the government did so under reservation. These persons had persuaded themselves that such a policy might be justified, inasmuch as it allowed them to retain influence they would otherwise lose, and saved their pulpits from passing into the hands of men whose doctrine would be poison to the souls of the people. The existence of this mass of concealed disaffection was no secret to the ministers of the queen. The causes, moreover, which had transferred authority and power, in this manner, to new hands among the clergy, led to similar results among the laity. While the relations between England and the see of Rome were such, the loyalty of the English Romanists was sure to be more or less suspected. They were excluded from the service of their country, and to account men as untrustworthy, is commonly to make them so.*

Elizabeth declares her policy.

News of the changes taking place in England soon became familiar to all the courts of Europe. Ferdinand of Austria urged Elizabeth not to withhold liberty of worship from her Catholic subjects. To this

and orchards when he was minded to walk abroad and take the air. Nay, he had his liberty to go abroad, but durst not venture, for the people retained in their hearts his late bloody actions.'—Strype, *Ann.* i. 214. This was the severest treatment to which a deprived bishop was subjected. Bonner died a natural death in 1569.

We see in the conduct of Bonner and some others, that the return of Protestantism was felt to be the return of a power whose forbearance might be abused. A man named Story, an old agent of Bonner in his worst deeds, had a seat in Elizabeth's first parliament, and was insolent enough to tell the house of commons, that much as he had done to bring heretics to punishment during the last reign, his only regret was that he had not done much more.—Ibid. ii. 115. This man went, as was fitting, into military service under Philip, but was caught in his treasons some years afterwards, and hanged.

* Camden, 376, 377. Strype, *Annals*, i. 198–220, 410 et seq.

he appears to have been prompted by his own liberal opinions: and with our ideas concerning the duty of the civil power in such cases, we may well regret that Elizabeth did not rise so far above the prejudices of her age as to act upon his advice. But some generations were to pass away before England was to become thus wise. Elizabeth replied, that to permit separate places of worship was not consistent with her honour or conscience, nor with the safety of her government; that to the better portion of her subjects such a proceeding would be intolerable; that the deprived prelates, in whose behalf this plea was chiefly urged, had most of them conformed in the time of her father, or of her late brother, to everything now exacted from them; that some of them had so behaved themselves towards her, as to be little entitled to favour at her hands; that she would, nevertheless, be mindful of those who had acquitted themselves more discreetly and dutifully; that it was her intention to exercise a considerate forbearance towards the religious scruples of such persons; and that she felt bound, in defence of herself and her people, to declare, that the faith and order established by the solemn acts of her parliament, were not capricious novelties, as some men were pleased to affirm, but matters which could be vindicated by an appeal to the history of the church in her earliest and purest times—the novelties were on the other side.*

Foreign affairs.

Elizabeth's first parliament was dissolved in the spring of 1559, her second was not assembled until the opening of 1562. In this interval, Henry II. of France had been killed in a tournament. His son, Francis II., husband to Mary queen of Scots, had died. Mary had sought her home as a widow in Scotland, the country to which she was related by birth, but not at all by education or attachment. In

* Camden, 377, 378. Strype, *Annals*, i. 220–223; ii. 572–575.

Scotland, as in England, great changes had come to pass. The reform party had become powerful. The political ties which had so long bound that kingdom to France, were fast giving place to those religious ties which were to bind it for the future to England. The Protestants of Scotland and of France began to look to this country for influence and assistance, and the most influential persons in the government of Elizabeth were disposed to encourage them in so doing. So England began to take her place in a great Protestant confederacy, which was to hold its ground, amidst many alternations of disaster and success, during the next half-century.

Pius IV. writes to Elizabeth. May 15, 1560.

In this interval, also, Paul IV. had died, and the pontiff who succeeded him was disposed to pursue a more considerate course towards this country. His Holiness sent to 'our most beloved daughter in Christ, 'greeting, and apostolic benediction,' deputing an eminent ecclesiastic to express his affectionate solicitude for the welfare of herself and her kingdom, and to confer with her on the posture of her affairs. It was believed at the time, that Pius IV. was prepared to withdraw the objection of the papal see to the marriage between Henry and Anne Boleyn; to grant the use of an English liturgy; and to allow communion in both kinds. But these concessions, considerable as they seem, would have left the doctrine and temper of the hierarchy all that they had been under Mary. The queen was further invited to send representatives to the council of Trent. But Elizabeth had taken her position. The papal envoy was in Flanders, and was informed that he could not be received at the English court. Concerning the council of Trent, the queen declared herself favourable to the meeting of a general council, but, in her judgment, it pertained to the sovereigns of Christendom, and especially to the emperor, to convene such assemblies; in the bishop of Rome she could recognise no authority that might not be claimed by any other prelate. So ended the

last overture of this nature to be made to England from the papacy.*

Enlarged use of the Act of Supremacy. Jan. 1562.

The first enactment in Elizabeth's second parliament, gave an alarming application to the Act of Supremacy. It not only enjoins that all persons holding ecclesiastical or civil offices, and many beside—such as members of parliament, heads of colleges, barristers, and schoolmasters—should take the oath required in that act; but further declares, that all 'persons who shall 'wilfully refuse to observe the orders and rites for 'divine service, that be authorized and used in the 'Church of England, after that he or they shall be 'publicly, by the ordinary, or some of his officers for 'ecclesiastical causes, admonished to keep and observe 'the same; or such as shall openly and advisedly de-'prave by words, writings, or any other open fact, 'any of the rites and ceremonies at any time used, and 'authorized to be used in the Church of England; or 'that shall say or hear private mass, prohibited by the 'laws of this realm—all such persons shall be compel-'lable to take the oath upon the second tender of the 'same, and incur the penalties for not taking the 'said oath.'† It was provided also, that the lord chancellor might, by commission, tender the oath to any person, at his discretion. The penalty for refusing, was, in the first instance, that of premunire. By a second refusal, the penalty incurred was that of high treason. But offence against this statute was not to entail corruption of blood, nor were those condemned on the premunire statute to be placed in all respects beyond the protection of law. Such, however, on the whole, was the drift and purpose of this formidable enactment. It possessed one redeeming quality. Con-

* Camden, 384. Strype, *Annals*, i, 339, 340. The pope's nuncio, who had reached Flanders on his way to this country, was informed that he must not land in England. The same intimation was given to a second envoy in the next year.—Ibid.

† 5 Eliz. c. 1.

viction could only take place in open court, and by the verdict of a jury.

It was stated in the preamble to this act, that the conduct of the persons who would fain uphold the bishop of Rome in his usurped 'jurisdiction and power,' had amounted to 'marvellous outrage and licentious 'boldness,' and called loudly for more 'sharp restraint 'and correction.' But in a speech made by lord Montague, in the upper house; and in another by Mr. Atkinson, an able lawyer, in the commons, it was affirmed as notorious, that the catholics had furnished no cause for this greater severity of proceeding against them, but had conducted themselves, since the queen's accession, with remarkable quietness and loyalty.

We know, however, that Philip, since Elizabeth had declined his proposal of marriage, had become cool.* We know also, that before this act was passed, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine had been plotting to give their niece, the queen of Scots, in marriage to the king of Navarre, and to raise her to the English throne. Two Englishmen, Arthur Pole and Sir Anthony Fortescue, were attainted as having been parties to this conspiracy.† Such schemes always involved communication with sympathizers in this country. We know not what had come to the knowledge of the government; but there had been light and shadow in the foreign relations of England during the last five years, and it had been seen that men pledged to be faithful to a foreign power, are sometimes in danger of looking upon the misfortunes of their country with feelings scarcely proper to the good subject.

* He had returned the order of the Garter; and his minister, count de Feria, had presumed to send a servant in the household of the English ambassador to the Inquisition.—Camden, 383, 384.

† Pole and Fortescue said that they did not intend to carry this scheme into effect during the lifetime of Elizabeth. But this was because it had been prophesied that she would die within a year, and they believed the prophecy. 'They were pardoned, for the sake of that royal blood that was in their veins.'—Camden, 389.

Nothing had happened, however, to justify such a course of legislation. It was a recurrence to the cruel error of the monarch in whose favour the act of supremacy had been devised. It was not deemed enough that the Romanist should pledge himself to loyalty of *conduct*. He was required to say, on oath, that he renounced his speculative opinion touching the supremacy of the pontiff, in any sense whatever—an act to which no sincere Catholic could descend without accounting himself perjured and impious. The words of the act are 'that no prince or prelate hath, or 'ought to have, *any* jurisdiction or authority within 'this realm.' To say to the Catholic, you must swear thus, or suffer the penalties of treason, was not only absurd, it was signally cruel. 'Understanding,' said lord Montague, 'may be persuaded, but cannot be 'forced.' 'Religion,' said Mr. Atkinson, 'must sink 'in by persuasion; it cannot be pressed in by violence.' Noble language—it is sad that men in possession of power should have been so slow to admit its weighty rectitude and wisdom. Persons holding forbidden opinions do not cease to hold them because made to swear the contrary. Such laws may make hypocrites—they do not make converts.*

Elizabeth's administration not so rigorous as her laws.

The temper of these enactments might lead us to regard the administration of Elizabeth, even in this early portion of her reign, as partaking of a merciless rigour. But it is certain that the queen, in common with her father, while concerned to possess the means of promptly reaching disaffection, was disposed to suspend the use of such large powers according to circumstances. This was not a policy to be commended, inasmuch as it tended to substitute personal inclination, not to say personal caprice, in the place of legal certainty. But our legislators who gave such severity to law in the sixteenth century, appear to have so done in the full expectation that it would be thus attempered in its administration.

* *Parl. Hist.* 686.

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Forms of persecution in the early portion of this reign.

It must not be supposed, however, that the laws against Romanism, in the first, or in this second parliament of Elizabeth, were a dead letter. We learn from two of Elizabeth's bishops, Grindal of London, and Cox of Ely, that not long after the queen's accession, persons suspected of hearing mass in private were frequently put to trouble. The house of lady Carew had been entered on suspicion, but no discovery of the sort expected had been made. 'The cause,' say the prelates, 'is only this; neither the priest, nor 'any of his auditors, not so much as the kitchen-maid, 'will receive any oath before us to answer to articles, 'but stoutly say they will not swear, and say also 'they will neither accuse themselves nor none other. 'This is grown now lately, as *we find by examinations*, 'to be a rule *to all the scholars of that school.*'* The bishops, we regret to say, suggest that if the priest they have found 'might be put to some kind of tor-'ment,' confessions of a useful kind would probably be obtained. But so the proscribed priesthood could discipline their flocks even in such times; and so persecution had bound Romanists together down to the kitchen-maid.

Beginning of capital punishment on religious grounds under Elizabeth.

It should not be forgotten, however, that Elizabeth had been nearly twenty years on the throne before any Romanist was sentenced to suffer capital punishment on account of disaffection to the government. Through this long interval the penalties of nonconformity were restricted to fines and imprisonment. During those twenty years, the great majority of the persons exposed to this harassing and irritating form of persecution avoided it, by becoming regular, or occasional conformists. It was not until the authorities to which the consciences of the English Catholics were subject had declared such conformity to be unlawful, that the laws which had suppressed the one form of worship, and enforced the other, became so greatly and generally grievous. Recusancy, as non-

* Haynes, 395.

conformity with the proscribed worship came to be designated, everywhere gave the intolerant churchman or magistrate, and the mercenary-informer, a clue to the homes of their victims, and a coarse and cruel use did they often make of their power. As usual, the weak endeavoured to counteract the power of the strong by almost any device available for that purpose. Their priests were disguised. Their forbidden services were performed in secret chambers, and under the cover of the night. The necessity which made these practices familiar to them, and which was so costly in other ways, gave them a place, in their own estimation, with that true church which in past ages had been so often called to suffer for righteousness' sake.

Romanism the natural ally of arbitrary power.

But it is not possible to judge fairly concerning the policy of Elizabeth towards Romanism, without looking carefully to the relations in which she stood to the professors of that faith, abroad as well as at home. It is a notorious fact, that ecclesiastics adhering to the see of Rome, were never weary in endeavouring to persuade sovereigns that the reformed faith was not more adverse to the authority claimed by popes, than to that claimed by princes. Nor is it to be denied that the principles which are opposed to arbitrary power in one form, are likely to be found opposed to it in other forms. It is to the honour of Protestantism that such are the tendencies of its maxims. Nothing was more natural, accordingly, than that sovereigns disposed to rule very much according to their pleasure, should be inclined to avail themselves of the large assistance which the papal priesthood might be expected to render in support of such a policy. It is true, a people trained in passive obedience can never be a great people. In the civil and religious sense, they will be children rather than men. The powers of the earth will not pass into such hands. Strangers to the government of themselves, they must be strangers to the power necessary to be governors of

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others. But certain as this truth may be, princes have rarely seemed to understand it. Their manner has been to look to an immediate supply of men and money for the prosecution of immediate objects, and to leave projects aiming at anything more remote and complex to dreamers. Ordinarily, kings account themselves great, in the measure in which they are at liberty to be despotic. It has not been often given to monarchs to see, that to divide power with their subjects, is not to exist in diminished strength, but to receive their own again as with usury. The Catholic sovereigns of Europe in the time of Elizabeth, seem to have been firm believers in the doctrine of their priests concerning the relation between Protestantism and anarchy. Protestantism, it was said, under the plea of religion, has its natural issue in the destruction of all religion, and in the disorganization of society. It was made to be to the good Catholics of those times, very much what French republicanism was to our fathers towards the close of the last century. Hence the policy of combining to put down heresy, was felt by Catholic princes to be their common duty and interest.

Continental persecution — Francis I.

So far back as 1533, we find Francis I. committing himself to an enterprise of this nature with the most unscrupulous severity. His hope was to see, as the result of his schemes, 'the iniquities, and the damnable sects and heresies of Luther and others, extirpated and rooted out.'* This was the language of Francis to Clement VII., who at once issued his bulls enjoining that all Lutherans refusing to abjure should be 'excommunicated, anathematized, and cut off.'† The marriage of the son of Francis with the niece of Clement—the Catherine de Medici of French history—was the event which was accepted as the confirmation of this guilty compact. Nor was this compact a

* *Lett. di Principi*, v. 23.

† '*abscindi decreverimus*,' Legrand, v. 571 et seq.

matter of words and parchments. The religious people dwelling in Merindol, in Provence, were crushed and destroyed as such in the very manner which the savage language of the prince and the pontiff had foreshadowed. In the district of Cabrières, twenty villages were destroyed. Even Catholic authorities admit, that in this persecution, not less than three thousand persons were destroyed, many being put to death with studied barbarity, besides some hundreds who were sent to the galleys.* Calvin, in his memorable address to Francis, says, 'Our accusers, 'O sovereign, tell you that this new gospel aims at 'nothing better than to give licence to the traitorous 'and the vicious; that our great intention is to over-'throw kingdoms—we, whose voice is never heard 'among the factious.'† This language points to the true source of these atrocities. Francis was not governed by any religious motive in originating such deeds. His object was wholly political and selfish. Well might his last hours be dark and foreboding.'‡

Henry II. adopted the intolerant policy of his father, and hoped to complete the work which Francis had left but partially accomplished. The Protestants of France included princes of the blood, and many persons of high rank. Edicts were nevertheless issued 'forbidding private assemblies on pain of death '—for Protestants were wont to meet in private houses 'in the night to practise their worship—and by these 'edicts half the confiscations were made to the in-'former.'§ Death was the penalty to be inflicted on every Protestant refusing to abjure. The parliament of Paris was disposed to spare the life of one Lutheran who adhered to his opinions. Henry went in person

Henry II.—Mary Queen of Scots.

* Beza, *Reveille Matin*. De Thou, *Hist.* vol. i. 409 et seq.

† 'This sect, and every other,' said Francis, 'lead to the fall of kingdoms and governments, more than to the salvation of souls.'—Brantôme, 334.

‡ Maimbourg, i. 205. § Castelnau's *Memoirs*, bk. i. c. 3.

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to the assembly, arrested five of the members, and one of them was put to death.*

Mary assumes the arms of England.

It was the work of this king to require that his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scots, should assume the title and arms of England; and the heraldry adopted, moreover, was such as to assert that Mary, in not being accepted as queen of this country, had been kept out of her right. Henry flattered himself that he should be able to subdue heresy at home, and that he should live to see it vanquished once more in England. The swords of France and Scotland were supposed to be powerful enough, if rightly wielded, to raise Mary into the place of Elizabeth. By indulging this vain dream, Henry laid the foundation of that rivalry and jealousy between Elizabeth and Mary which was to last so long, and to end so tragically.

Elizabeth was prompt in demanding an explanation of what had been done by the queen of Scots and her husband. It was said in reply, that the queen of England carried the arms of France, and that this use of the arms of England by the queen of Scotland, could not, accordingly, be any just ground of offence. But every one knew that the two cases were not parallel. The arms of France had been borne by twelve English sovereigns, and though retained by Elizabeth, the usage had become, as all men felt, a piece of harmless pedantry. When the arms of France were first taken up by our English kings, it was preparatory to an attempt to seize the French crown. Was it not just, therefore, to suppose, that the Scottish queen and her husband had assumed the arms of Eng-

* Adverting, soon after this time, to the strength of the Protestant party in France, Castelnau says, 'A great many of the nobility were of that party and religion—as the king and queen of Navarre, the prince and princess of Condé; the admiral Chatillon, and D'Andelot, his brother, who was a colonel in the French infantry; the cardinal Chatillon and the dukes of Nemours and Longueville. Besides, the chancellor de l'Hôpital, and several bishops, whom the pope excommunicated, were very well affect towards them, together with a vast number of the magistrates, inferior officers, and common people.'—*Memoirs*, bk. iii. 113.

land with a similar intention? The question was natural, but the Guises, and the Italian school of politicians which had now become rooted in France, had no satisfactory answer to return to it. It was while discussions on this subject were pending, and while the English ambassador in Paris was invited to tables served with plate on which this understood insult to his country was emblazoned, that the French government sent military aid into Scotland to curb the zeal of the Reformers.*

Elizabeth and the Scots.

The queen-regent of Scotland had sprung from the stock of the Guises, and was an adept in the art and dissimulation which seems to have been hereditary in that family. Her brothers, the princes of Lorraine, were men of large and determined ambition, and were bent on the suppression of reform in Scotland, preparatory to the exclusion of a bastard from the throne of England, and of heresy from the English church. With the knowledge of these intentions, nothing could be more manifest than the duty of Elizabeth to aid the Scottish Reformers to the extent of her power.†

While Mary was inflicting her cruelties on the English Protestants, Knox had raised his memorable *Blast* against the *Regiment of Women*, and had thus placed himself in an unfortunate position towards the successor of that princess. Elizabeth felt that the doctrine which proscribed female sovereignty altogether, proscribed her own. But Knox softened his *Blast*, and Elizabeth, after some while, softened her resentment, much to the advantage of both countries.

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* Camden, 378, 379.

† Cecil, writing on this aspect of affairs, says, 'It is agreeable to God's law for every prince and public state to defend itself, not only from present peril, but from peril that may be feared to come. It is manifest that France cannot any way so readily, so puissantly offend, yea, invade and put the crown of England in danger, as if they recover an absolute authority over Scotland. The long deep-rooted hatred of the house of Guise, which now occupieth the king's authority, against England, is well known.'—Forbes, *State Papers*.

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Progress of the Reformation in Scotland.

In little more than six months after the accession of Elizabeth, Knox put himself in communication with authorities south of the Tweed, in the hope of obtaining assistance from the English government. By that time, the insincerity and bad faith of the queen-regent had become so known, that no pledge she might be disposed to make could be received with any measure of confidence. While there were political reasons on the side of such a policy, the queen had been tolerant, and even courteous, towards the Protestants. But when the time for acting in accordance with her inclination had come, she did not hesitate to tell two of the reform nobles, that in spite of anything they might do, their preachers should all be banished from Scotland. On being reminded of the inconsistency of such a threat with her recent promises, she answered, with the pride and effrontery characteristic of her house, that 'it became not subjects to burden their 'princes with promises further than they pleased to 'keep them.'* But, by the time the first parliament under Elizabeth had restored the Protestantism of the English church, the Scotch reformers, under the leadership of certain lords, called the Lords of the Congregation, had succeeded in introducing the reformed worship in many of the towns and districts of Scotland; and had appeared in arms, prepared to vindicate their proceedings by the sword. The populace, in many places, had demolished images and pictures, and had rased monasteries to the ground. And had the struggle been simply a struggle between Scotchmen, the reformers might have decided and settled their affairs without foreign help. But five-sixths of the men in arms against them were disciplined French soldiers, and no one could say to what extent reinforcement of that kind might be sent to the aid of their Romanist countrymen.

During the spring of 1559, Elizabeth was occupied

* Knox's *Hist.* 126.

in negotiating a peace with France, and to the close of that year she hesitated to declare herself openly on the side of the Scottish reformers. The members of the council, who, from their Romanist sympathies, were called Philippians, were desirous that nothing should be done, or that a secret supply of money should be the utmost assistance rendered. The queen was influenced considerably by that party, still more by her old feeling of dislike to Knox, and by reports concerning the violent proceedings of his followers, but most of all by a wish not to displease Philip, nor to furnish any new ground of complaint to France.* Not until the Lords of the Congregation had proceeded to the length of suspending the queen-regent from her function; had failed in an assault upon Leith, and in an encounter with the French soldiers; and had retreated from Edinburgh to Stirling with diminished numbers, and almost in despair—not till then did Elizabeth enter into formal treaty with the Protestants of Scotland. To defer interference so long had been a policy of some hazard, to have deferred it longer would have been the extreme of weakness.

Feb. 1560.

The effect of the measures taken, consequent on

England leagues with the Scottish Reformers—its effect.

* 'Cousin Cecil,—I heartily thank you for your letter and friendship daily sent and showed, the continuance whereof with all my heart I require; and to be plain with you, so much the rather because I well understand you are the only maintainer of God's cause and the defender of your country. And as to the Philippians, both abroad and nigh her council,—nay, ye may rather say of her council (and daily in her council)—her highness must either disperse them abroad to their own houses, or else wipe them quite out of her council, in which number I reckon my lord of Arundel, Petre, and Mason. Well, what I think of Parry, the treasurer, I would rather tell him to his face than write it or say it to any one. I tell you truly, cousin Cecil, too much lenity and gentleness hath marred all. My trust is her majesty will now go through with that she has begun, because it is God's cause, the commonwealth's safety, and her own surety.'—Letter from Lord Gray in Haynes's *State Papers*, 295. Much light is thrown on the transactions with Scotland at this juncture in Forbes's *State Papers*; and at the close of the second volume of the *State Papers and Letters* by Sir Ralph Sadler. Cecil, having to do with a divided council and a capricious queen, was sometimes heard to lament his hard fate in strong terms. —Forbes, i. 454, 455, 460.

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that treaty, was the entire withdrawment of the French. Amidst these exciting scenes the queen-regent died. The Scottish parliament was speedily assembled, free to deliberate on the religion of the future. The reformed faith was known to have become the faith of the great majority, both among men of rank and among the people. Everywhere the mediæval worship, which had almost ceased to be visible, was prohibited, and a worship of the simple character which still obtains in that country was introduced and established. In Scottish history, the fall of French influence and of the Catholic religion came together. The changes in England may be said to have called forth the desire of change in Scotland, and the assistance of England realized the object of the desire so awakened. England will not be at peace with the states of the continent in the future any more than in the past, but Scotland will no longer be a gate always thrown open to her enemies. A policy of that nature on the part of the Scots had seemed to them to be dictated by the law of self-preservation. But in the time to come, the best interests of Scotland will be felt to be identified with the best interests of England.

August.

Mary in Scotland.

The next move in the affairs of that country brought Mary queen of Scots into a nearer and a more inconvenient relation to Elizabeth. On the death of her husband, Francis II., Mary ceased to be queen of France; and, as is well known, she soon afterwards began to assume her functions as queen of Scotland. To the Catholicism she had imbibed in France, Scottish Protestantism was especially repugnant. Differences between herself and her subjects concerning religion were ceaseless and bitter. Her marriage to lord Darnley added to her troubles; and the murder of that nobleman, the deed of the man who became her next husband, and in which, according to common rumour, she was herself implicated, exhausted the forbearance of the nation, made her a prisoner in

Scotland, and ended in her flight from that country into England.*

Mary in England.

Rulers who have been deeply censured when in the height of their sway, have often become objects of sympathy, and of a new feeling of loyalty, when divested of the signs of their former greatness, and no longer powerful. The queen of Scots, just escaped from her prison on Lochleven, criminal as she was supposed to have been, could draw many bold and generous hearts to her standard. And when that sudden burst of sunshine has passed away, and the same woman, a model in beauty and attraction, who had worn the crown of two kingdoms, rushes a scared and deserted fugitive into England, as her only chance of escape from a second prison, many hearts in which she had no place before, are moved with pity towards her. The fall of greatness is always affecting, especially when the fall is from the highest place. What to do with Mary queen of Scots was a perplexing question to the government of Elizabeth—the sagacity of that government was not to be tasked by one more difficult.

During the recent changes in Scotland, Elizabeth, while continuing her friendly relations with the Protestant party in that kingdom, had expressed herself as amazed, and deeply offended, by their temerity in presuming to depose and imprison one sovereign, and to raise another to the vacant throne. It was not thus that subjects should demean themselves, in any case, towards their princes. Elizabeth had also written to Mary in these circumstances with more cordiality and sympathy than at any former period. Mary could not hope to escape from her pursuers, and to reach the continent, without passing through England. The recent communications of the queen no doubt disposed her to look with more confidence in this direction. Before taking this step, however, her

* *Collections relating to the History of Mary Queen of Scotland*, by James Anderson. Mignet's *Life of Mary Queen of Scots.*

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faithful follower, lord Herries, was instructed to write to the governor of Carlisle, to learn whether she might look with safety to that place as a refuge. The governor answered that lord Scroop, the warden of the borders, was at a distance, and that he could only promise for himself, that if the queen came to Carlisle, she should be received with the honour due to her rank, and that he would be responsible for her safety until the pleasure of the queen of England should be ascertained. But the country was full of excitement; Mary could not wait for this answer, and hastening across the Solway, she placed herself unconditionally in the hands of the English queen.*

Mary sent lord Herries at once to Elizabeth, praying that she might obtain admission to her presence, and that assistance might be granted her to inflict a fitting chastisement on her rebellious subjects.† The answer of the queen, given no doubt with the advice of her council, was, that she was very sorry not to be able to comply with those requests—that the murder of lord Darnley, and the queen's marriage with Bothwell, had subjected her to such imputations, that until the ground of those charges should be examined, she could neither render the assistance solicited, nor grant an interview. Mary thus found herself a captive, and saw there was no prospect of obtaining her liberty, except as the result of investigations which she naturally wished to avoid.

The case before the English government.

Judging the case strictly, there was nothing in the maxims of municipal or international law to justify the conduct of the English government. The question is, were there not principles more ultimate than those defined in such maxims that might be adduced in support of such a course of proceeding? May not self-defence become a duty in cases not anticipated by existing law, and for which no provision has in consequence been made? Did the case of the queen of

* Anderson's *Collections*, vol. iv. 1–29. † Ibid. iv. 29.

Scots belong to this class of peculiar and extreme cases? To judge on this point we must look to the different courses that may be said to have been open to the cabinet of Elizabeth. Cecil looked at the question in this light. Would it be well, he asks, that Mary should be restored to Scotland, and that the government there should remain as at present? Or would it be well that she should be restored to some joint exercise of sovereignty, but under cautious restrictions? For England, the first would be the best, and the easiest; the second would be the next best, but would be more difficult. But there remains this common fame that she has been a party to the murder of her husband, and the strongly suspicious circumstances out of which that fame has grown. On this point there must be investigation, and conclusion of some kind, before the English queen and the English nation can be parties to any new settlement of affairs in Scotland.*

But why should England concern herself at all about any settlement? Why not release the queen, and leave her to her own resources in her own cause? This question, if it has any meaning, must mean that England should encourage the queen of Scots to go to France or Spain, and to do her best towards subduing her Protestant subjects, the next neighbours and steady allies of England, by the aid of the Guises, or of king Philip. Elizabeth, through years past, had been assuring the Protestants of Scotland that they might confide in her friendship. Would such a course towards that people have been consistent with such assurances? Would not their voices have been raised in execration of it as perfidy, cruelty, and madness? Further—Elizabeth had allied herself with the cause of Protestantism over Europe; and would it have been consistent with that policy to have allowed either of the great Catholic powers to have so established

* Anderson, iv. 34–44.

itself at her very door, knowing that the effect must be to make her powerless abroad, by exposing her to constant danger at home? Scotland was of value in the estimation of the intolerant spirits who ruled in Paris and Madrid, purely because to possess a solid footing there would be to make England feeble elsewhere; and would be, moreover, in the event of Elizabeth's decease, to possess a vantage-ground, from which to assert the claims of a second Mary to the English throne, and to attempt a second restoration of Romanism in the English church. The idea that this quarrel was a quarrel of mere jealousy between two vain women, is to the last degree childish. The writers who indulge in such fancies, have not the capacity to see the material of which society was then composed, or to comprehend the character either of Elizabeth or of Mary. Every step taken by Elizabeth in this grave business was taken by advice of her council; and the ambition of Mary was large, masculine, and determined. She was a woman, who, in one of her flights, clothed herself in male attire; who in a season of danger could put herself at the head of her troops on horseback, with loaded pistols in her saddle; and who could lament that it was not possible she should be a man, to take on the military gear, and scare her enemies from her path. In the moral sense, Mary was a weak woman, but in no other. She was beautiful, intelligent, insinuating, unscrupulous, ceaseless in her activity, and fast wedded to the superstitions, and to the maxims of arbitrary power, in which she had been educated. Sir Francis Knollys, who was much with her soon after her coming to England, writes, 'This lady and princess is a notable woman. 'She seems to regard no ceremonious honour beside 'the acknowledging of her estate royal. She shows 'a disposition to speak much, to be bold, to be pleasant, 'and to be familiar. She shows a great desire to be 'avenged of her enemies. She shows a readiness to 'expose herself to all perils in hope of victory. She

'desires much to hear of hardiness and valiancy, commending by name all approved hardy men of her country, although they be her enemies; and she concealeth no cowardice even in her friends. The thing that most she thirsteth after is victory, and it seemeth to be indifferent to her to have her enemies diminished, either by the sword of her friends, or by the liberal promises or rewards of her purse, or by division and quarrels raised among themselves. So that for the sake of victory, pain and peril seem pleasant to her, and in respect of victory, health and all things seem to her contemptible and vile. Now, what is to be done with such a lady and princess, I refer to your judgment.'*

The commissioners at York.

Yes—that was the question, and Cecil insisted that no answer could be given to it, until the result of an inquiry concerning the charges preferred against the Scottish queen should be ascertained. In the end, it was agreed that commissioners should be appointed to hear the case between Mary and her subjects, and to report upon it. The duke of Norfolk, the earl of Sussex, and Sir Ralph Sadler, acted for Elizabeth; the bishop of Ross, lord Herries, and others, acted for Mary; and the case of the Scottish government as against the queen, was entrusted to the regent Murray, her half-brother, and others, including the names of Lethington and Buchanan. Mary's commissioners dwelt with much ability on the revolutionary proceedings of the popular party in Scotland, which had ended in the imprisonment of the queen, and in her flight into England. Murray and his friends assigned reasons in defence of what they had done. But they kept back their main charges—those affecting the moral conduct of the queen, and so long as that course was pursued, the issue was not such as Elizabeth was likely to account satisfactory. Murray submitted for awhile to this disadvantage. But at length he solicited protection from Elizabeth, if he should

* Anderson, iv. 71, 72. 11th June, 1568.

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proceed to state other and much graver reasons. He now laid before the English commissioners a series of letters, which had passed between Mary and Bothwell, showing that the murder of Darnley, the divorce of Bothwell from his wife, and his marriage with the queen, were all parts of a joint scheme. Norfolk, who deeply lamented the appearance of such evidence, concurred with the other commissioners in stating, that the letters bore every appearance of being genuine, and that he did not see how such evidence was to be met. The contents of the letters were laid before the queen and the council. The earl of Lenox, too, father to the murdered Darnley, now came into the discussion, affirming his belief that Mary had been a party to that deed, and demanding vengeance. Norfolk said, that if these letters were made public, the accession of Mary to the English throne, under any circumstances, would be impossible. He knew also that Elizabeth was not disposed to settle anything concerning the succession, and he feared the consequences that might result from such a position of affairs.

Mary's commissioners make new demands—will not proceed.

It had been agreed, however, that the conference at York, which had settled nothing, should be succeeded by another at Hampton Court. But now, when these letters are produced, and the charges against the queen come to be charges of atrocious crime, the bishop of Ross and lord Herries decline meeting the accusations. They now say, that the queen of Scots must be 'allowed to justify herself in the presence of the 'queen of England, the whole nobility of the king-'dom, and the ambassadors of foreign states.'* But it was to be remembered, that the ground on which this investigation should be conducted, had been settled by mutual agreement from the first; that the inquiry in York had been conducted in accordance with that agreement; and that the proposed meeting at Hampton Court had been assented to, with the tacit understanding that it was to be conducted after the

* Anderson, iii. 31.

same manner. The charges, indeed, had become more serious, but the original mode of procedure was meant to embrace all possible charges—the whole case, whatever it might include. The course taken by Mary's commissioners was the virtual confession of a bad cause. They must have known, that the new conditions now insisted upon were not likely to be granted—and had they been granted, it was hardly to be doubted, that means of evading any further scrutiny would have been discovered. So this memorable inquest came to an end, leaving little room to doubt concerning what the issue would have been had it been carried out on its broader basis. The circumstances which preceded and followed the murder of Darnley, are all in favour of the genuineness of these fearful letters.*

Course of affairs on the continent—the papacy. July, 1568.

Such was the condition to which the queen of Scots was reduced in less than eighteen months after the death of Darnley. And while events in Scotland during the last six years had been such as the reader has seen, the course of affairs on the continent was not less significant of the character of the age. The papacy was not to be reformed in the Protestant sense, but it had been undergoing a considerable reform after a manner of its own. Thoughtful men could not conceal from themselves that the lives of the clergy, and

* The commissioners writing to Elizabeth say, 'The letters discourse of some things which were unknown to any other than herself and Bothwell, and as it is hard to counterfeit so many, so the matter of them, and the manner in which these men came by them, are such that it seemeth that God, in whose sight murder is abominable, would not permit the same to be hid or concealed.'—Anderson, iv. part ii. 31 et seq. Haynes's *State Papers*, 465–493. When Mary took this final ground, it was very naturally said to the Scotch commissioners, 'As for her coming to her presence, considering that at the first, when she came into this realm, her majesty could not find it then agreeable to her honour, being defamed only by common report, much less would she now think it meet or honourable for her to come to her presence, considering the multitude of matters and presumptions now lately produced against her.' Elizabeth mentioned several courses which Mary was at liberty to take for the full vindication of her character, and warned her that her refusal to take any of them would be interpreted as evidence of her guilt.—Ibid. pp. 491, 492.

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especially of such as were resident in Rome, had long been a great scandal to Christendom, and a great cause of the heresy and schism about which so much complaint was made. The popes are representative men. They are chosen by the clergy. If a more prudent or a more spiritual habit of thought shall become prevalent, so as to affect that class of persons, we may expect to see the effect of it in the character of the men whom they raise to the papal chair. An indication of a change of this nature is seen in the choice of Marcellus II. in 1555, a man of unblemished character, from whose influence the happiest results were expected. But Marcellus died a few weeks after his election.

Paul IV. a representative man.

The next pontiff, Paul IV., was also a foremost man in the party disposed to enforce a professional strictness upon the clergy. It seems, indeed, to have been generally thought about this time, that the church could never hope to regain the power she had lost except by means of such men. But it must be remembered that these men of severe ecclesiastical consistency, were valued, not simply, nor mainly, as church reformers, but rather as men who might be opposed with most effect to the Protestant temper of the times. 'Now, if ever,' said a contemporary, on the election of Marcellus, 'it will be possible for the 'church to put down heresy, and to reform abuses.'* Paul IV., as cardinal Caraffa, had been a zealous supporter of the inquisition, and of the unaltered creed of the church in the council of Trent. On his election he had reached the seventy-ninth year of his age. He was tall, thin, with eyes far sunk into his head. But his glance had the fire of youth. His strength was extraordinary. His step was firm. His mind had lost none of its power. His memory astonished every one. He was an admirable linguist, spoke several languages with fluency, and had few equals in theo-

* *Lett. di Principi*, iii. 141.

logical knowledge. His eloquence, moreover, was flowing, and often highly impassioned. Thirty years since he had founded a religious order—the Theatins—whose duties were not to be confined to the routine of a convent. They were to become powerful as popular preachers, and to win the hearts of the people by visits to the sick, and burying the dead. In the rigid discipline of his daily habits the new pope had never spared himself, and had spared others as little. And now, how best to uphold the ecclesiastical power to which his vows had pledged him, and how best to crush all opposition to that power, were the objects to which his life was devoted, and with an intensity which only increased with age. He had never turned aside from these objects to any by-ends; had always been self-consecrated to this work; and how a man who had never sought to make friends, should have found friends enough to raise him to the place of supreme pontiff, was to himself a matter of wonder. His own words were—it is of God.

For awhile, indeed, even the hatred which Paul IV. felt towards the Lutherans, seemed to give place to his hatred of Spain. But even this feeling was only another form of his ruling passion. He was a Neapolitan by birth. His family had been distinguished among the opponents of the Spanish ascendancy in that kingdom. That love of Italian independence, and hatred of foreign rule, which have been so conspicuous in a large class of Italians in modern history, had been a strong passion in the soul of Paul IV. from his youth upwards. When cardinal, it had produced a breach between him and Charles V. When he became pope, it remained as strong in him as ever. He appears to have judged, that the pontiff who should enable the papacy to throw off the Spanish yoke, would confer a weighty obligation on all who should succeed him. The affairs of Spain were not prosperous, and seemed to promise, that by availing himself of an alliance with France, and other means, this coveted

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emancipation might be realized. Nothing could exceed the passion of his holiness when the war which he had thus originated began to take an unfavourable turn. He would walk up and down his apartment, says one of his advisers, for an hour together, talk of nothing but his own grievances, and of cutting off our heads, until he had stormed himself out of breath.* But, mortifying as it may have been, he was to find that his care, and toil, and treasure had all been expended in vain. Seeing this, and obtaining a semblance of submission to his imperious will, while losing the reality, he turned, with marvellous self-possession, from the field of politics to his old field of church reform. Could he have seen all that was to flow from his policy, the cup of his old age, which was bitter enough already, would have been intensely more so. The war which he originated was to consolidate the Lutheran power in Germany. By means of German soldiers, who fought both with him and against him, the seed of Lutheranism was to be sown both in France and in the Netherlands. He was to see Scotland become Protestant under the Regency, and England become Protestant under Elizabeth — to see Geneva become a centre of power second only to Wittenberg; and the people on the shores of the Baltic leagued in the same faith with their brethren of the north of Germany. So do men devise their schemes, and so are they frustrated by a power greater than man.†

Pius IV.

Paul IV. was succeeded by Pius IV., a man in nearly all respects the reverse of his predecessor. Pius IV. was of humble origin, genial in his temper and conversation, Spanish in his attachment, but with nothing of the ostentation or measured dignity of the Spaniard in his manners—a fresh, portly, joyous man,

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* Sismondi, *Hist. France*, ubi supra.

† Giannone, *History of Naples*, bk. xxxii. c. 1. Ranke, *Lives of the Popes.*

diffusing pleasure in a large degree among all who came within his influence. But Pius IV. was not wanting in firmness. He was, moreover, a man of much practical sagacity. In ecclesiastical matters he adhered substantially to the policy of the more austere man who had preceded him.

The great event of the pontificate of Pius IV. was the reassembling of the council of Trent, and the conclusion given to its deliberations. Pius was strongly in favour of seeing this great ecclesiastical parliament once more convened. It was not probable now that the civil power would interfere injuriously with its proceedings. All thought, moreover, of any reconciliation between Romanists and Protestants had now come to an end. Nothing remained but that Catholics should know how to agree among themselves. On this last point there seemed for a time to be some difficulty. The Spaniards in the council called up warm discussion by insisting that bishops were such by divine right, without any necessary dependence on the bishop of Rome. The representatives of Austria raised greater difficulty by urging that the cup should be ceded to the laity, that the clergy should be allowed to marry, and that much of the public service should be in the vulgar tongue. The king of France, also, through the cardinal of Lorraine, was in favour of having the communion in both kinds, and the psalmody, and some other parts of the administration of the church, in the language of the people. The French clergy, indeed, wished that the decisions of the council of Basle should be accepted; and maintained strongly that the authority of a general council was above the pope. It is clear, that had the representatives of the four powers been equally proportioned, the conclusions of the council of Trent would hardly have been such as we now find them. But so little equitable was the constitution of this assumed representation of the church, that the Italians alone outnumbered the other three nations. After much hesitation, the Spanish ques-

tion concerning episcopacy was disposed of in terms which meant nothing, and Austria and France were prevailed upon to surrender their preferences for the sake of unity. So there was to be no communion in both kinds, no marriage of the clergy, no service in the vulgar tongue, nothing to distinguish the church in the centuries to come from the church in centuries long departed—except that its characteristic features were now more developed, made more definite, and more secure than ever against change. The fathers of the council wept with joy over this unanimity—looked upon it as inspiration, not seeing that by anchoring their church in this manner in the past, they had made it inevitable that she should lose her place more and more in the stream of the future.

Dec. 1563.

Pius V. another representative man.

Pius IV. survived the settlement at Trent two years. In his successor Pius V. the parties who were expecting so much from a revival of the more severe virtues of the priesthood, saw another Paul IV. Pius V. began his course as an obscure monk, and had been remarkable for his strict and ascetic habits in every stage of his career. He became prior of his convent, a great polemic in defence of the Papal supremacy, and a relentless inquisitor in quarters where his activity in that capacity exposed him to much danger. Under Paul IV. he was commissioner of the inquisition in Rome, and in common with that pontiff, found his daily and his favourite employment in attending to the dark and cruel proceedings of that tribunal. As pope, he was strictly the man he had always been. But in that high station, his simple habits, his great air of piety and humility, and the white locks which fell beside features that seemed to beam with kindliness, contributed to make him an object of much popular veneration, especially in church processions. He was withal most attentive to the administrations of every kind proper to his office. Grave Catholics, like Philip II.; and pious Catholics, like the cardinal Borromeo, looked on the elevation of Pius V. as the

advent of a man sent to do a great work. Certainly, if a narrow, conventional, and factitious piety, and a fixed intolerance—a merciless hate, of everything which did not happen to be in accordance with that piety, were the qualities eminently adapted to make the world better, the pontificate of Pius V. might be reasonably so regarded. It is said of this man, the man with the white locks and the saintly countenance, that he was never known to forego, nor even to soften a penalty; that if he had any regret at all in looking to the past in that respect, it was regret that the punishments he had awarded had not been more weighty. His passion in this direction led him to rake up offences which had been buried ten or twenty years in the past; and any branch of the Holy Office which fell below others in its registration of penal inflictions, came under his suspicion on that account.* Such was the man who wielded the spiritual thunders of the Papacy, when the errors of Mary queen of Scots brought much trouble, not only on herself, but on Elizabeth.

England's need of vigilance.

To the ministers of Elizabeth, the Romanism embodied in the decrees of the council of Trent, was well represented in the character of Pius V. We scarcely need say that it became them to keep a watchful eye on the movements of such agencies. What could be done to depose the daughter of Anne Boleyn from her throne, and to give her kingdom to another, would assuredly be done. Nor are we left in ignorance of the visions of this nature in which statesmen and ecclesiastics in those days were disposed to indulge. Lutheranism in Germany was a stubborn heresy, which had proved too strong to be vanquished by pope or emperor. But Calvinism in France was a more recent growth, and widely as it was diffused, might still, it was thought, be suppressed. Heresy in the Low Countries, too, though old as the origin of

* Ranke, *Lives of the Popes*, bk. iii.

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Lutheranism, and though it had to this time resisted all the wholesome severities which the state and the inquisition could oppose to it, was not supposed to be so formidable as to preclude the hope of its being effectually eradicated. The Catholic powers, especially Spain and France, being thus successful against impiety in their own territories, would be free, it was said, to combine their force against the common enemy in Scotland and England.

So acceptable were ideas of this description in Rome, that even Pius IV., that pleasant, gentle person, who seemed to discharge the duties of his office so cheerily, sent the Guises of France 100,000 crowns to enable them to subdue the Protestants of that kingdom, and defrayed the cost of 6000 soldiers engaged in that pious labour.* The Catholic ambassadors were all in close league with the French government in support of this project. Philip himself was occupied in negotiations to detach the king of Navarre from the side of the Huguenots, and some thousands of Spaniards were in the Catholic army.† Cecil was observant of these events, and looked beyond them. The desire of the Guises, he remarked, is to have Scotland and England in their power as one kingdom; and the desire of the pope is to see his authority re-established without further danger of disturbance—and those parties will not be at rest while they can cherish the least hope that such aspirations may be realized.‡ It was this conviction which disposed Elizabeth to ally England with continental Protestantism, and to send men and money soon after her accession to the aid of the Prince of Condé. The battle of Dreux was proclaimed by the

Dec. 1562.

* Forbes, *State Papers*, ii. 4. What is worse, his Holiness exacted, as the condition of his assistance, that the king of France should rescind all his late edicts, 'which were half Huguenot and half Catholic,' and substitute others, in which there should be no compromise, in their place.—Le Plat. v. 189.

† Ranke, *Civil Wars in France*, i. c. 13.

‡ Forbes, *State Papers*, ii. 6.

Romanists as a great victory, and it was celebrated as such before the fathers of the council of Trent in an elaborate oration. But in this first religious war in France, victory was not declared on either side. Many lives were lost. Much cruelty was perpetrated. The pacification which followed was a compromise—including less than the Protestants had claimed, but much more than their enemies had been willing to grant.*

France and the Netherlands. 1567.

The Edict of Pacification thus obtained, served to keep the two great parties in France in comparative quietude during the next three years. But during the three years which followed, the continent was everywhere moved by the conflict which raged between Catholics and Protestants. The progress of the reformed doctrines in the Low Countries had become such, that Philip had resolved to suppress them by the most coercive measures, and the duke of Alva had committed himself to that career of treachery and atrocity in those provinces which was to make his name an infamy.† In 1567, the Protestants of France were again in arms. In the eyes of Philip, an unsettledness of that nature in France, was as a raging fire in the house adjoining his own. In the eyes of Pius V. it was one manifestation of a cancerous evil, which must be everywhere traced out and removed, if the church or the world was ever to be at rest.‡ Philip

* Ranke, bk. i. c. 13. The prince of Condé assembled 3000 Protestant 'gentlemen at Orleans,' of whom Languet says, 'If they were destroyed, the very seed of masculine virtue would have been annihilated in the kingdom.'—Ibid. p. 317. *History of the Protestants in France*, by Professor Felice, vol. i.

† 'Better is it,' said Alva, 'that a kingdom should be ruined by war, than that it should be allowed to apostatize from God and from the king, for the advantage of Satan, and of the heretics, his retainers.' Words which embody the policy and temper of this man.—Ranke, i. 349.

‡ Letters of Pius, Oct. 13th, 16th, 19th, 1567. In the following year his Holiness writes to Alva, saying, 'Continue as you have commenced. Let nothing be left undone that may re-establish the Catholic religion in your provinces;' and assures the duke—this Alva—that 'all he could expect from an affectionate father' he shall find in him.—Lett. Aug. 26th, Dec. 12th, 1568.

volunteered large aid to the French Catholics. Pius was especially liberal in his offers of assistance, and earnest to the last degree in denouncing all compromise with heretics. In these circumstances, it was natural that the Huguenots should look to Germany and England, and no less natural that Germany and England should respond to the call thus made upon them.*

Now the reader has to remember, that it was while this second war between the Catholics and Huguenots of France was pending, and with a doubtful prospect to the latter; while Alva was crushing Protestantism with an iron hand in the Netherlands; and while every step in the expected triumphs of the Catholic belligerents was regarded as a step towards their ultimate achievement—a change of sovereigns in England, that Elizabeth and her ministers were called to deliberate on the question—What is to be done with Mary Stuart?

Elizabeth would restore Mary.

Little satisfactory as the late investigation had been, the English queen, with her known disposition to favour crowned heads, was so far moved by the condition of her exiled cousin, and perhaps by a feeling of the inconvenience of detaining her a prisoner, that upon her pledging herself not to look to any foreign aid in her quarrel with her subjects, Elizabeth 'used very pressing mediations with Murray and other 'nobles, for the restoration of the queen to her regal 'authority,' or, at least, to some portion of it.† But these 'pressing mediations' led to no result; and soon afterwards, the name of the Scottish queen became implicated in so many doubtful matters, as to render it improbable that thoughts of that friendly description would be longer entertained.

Norfolk's conspiracy.

Early in 1569, there was a rumour that the duke of Norfolk was about to marry the queen of Scots. Suspicion also arose, that behind this project of

* Ranke, *Civil Wars in France*, i. c. 14.

† Camden, 419.

marriage were other schemes, fraught with treason against the liberties and the crown of England. But nothing of this more serious description could be detected. It was deemed prudent, however, to subject the captive queen to a stricter oversight. Search was made for her private correspondence. Certain noblemen were summoned to make their appearance at court. Several lords obeyed the summons, but confessed nothing beyond some talk about the proposed marriage, which they professed to think, if sanctioned by her majesty, might be for the public good. Among these lords we find the earls of Arundel and Pembroke. Norfolk was summoned, but excused himself. He was suffering from ague, and would attend in a few days. In truth, he was suffering from fear, and had hastened to a distance in the hope of ascertaining what the government really knew concerning his unfortunate course of proceeding in this matter. When he presented himself, in obedience to the peremptory command of the queen, it appeared that the rumour about the marriage was true, but nothing more could be proved. Nevertheless, the suspicions of the government were such, that it was deemed expedient to send the duke to the Tower. And the bishop of Ross, Mary's ambassador in London, a busy man in all these affairs: and an agent named Ridolfi, a much more dangerous person, were sent to the charge of Sir Francis Walsingham.* The earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland were among the persons sent for by the queen. Those noblemen, suspecting that their treason had become known, rushed into premature revolt—a common error in the history of conspiracies. The government naturally supposed that men taking such a course had counted the cost, and knew their strength. There was a mystery in the movement which occasioned perplexity. Beside the mystery, there was great difficulty in dealing with any

* Camden, 421.

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disturbance of this nature in the north. The majority of the people in those parts were still Romanists, and the men in arms collected there came from families in which the nearest kindred were opposed to each other in religious faith, and were not inclined to come face to face in a field of battle. The reader has seen, that under Henry VIII. the question between Romanism and Protestantism, was very much a question between north and south—and it was so still. But when the southern men marched northward, under command of the earl of Warwick and the lord-admiral Clinton, the men in those districts, earnest Protestants and loyal Catholics, rallied largely about them. The immediate effect was, that the insurgents, whose great zeal had been against English Bibles, and whose great cry had been for the old worship, were dispersed, and their leaders sought refuge among the border clans of Scotland.

The papal conspiracy as reported by Romanists.

The conspiracy in progress at this time, and to which Norfolk and others were more or less committed, is disclosed to us by authorities of the most unsuspicious description—viz. the biographers of Pius V. The life of this pope, by Catena, is among the recognised memorials of his pontificate.* From such sources, it appears, that Pius supplied large sums of money, not only to English refugees, but to English nobles about the court. He deputed a special envoy to Scotland with means to stimulate the Catholics of that kingdom into action in favour of Mary Stuart. He took the same course towards England, with the threefold object of liberating the queen of Scots, of 'cutting off' Elizabeth, and of restoring the Catholic religion. His chief agent in England was the Roberto Ridolfi, before mentioned. Ridolfi was a Florentine, who passed for an Italian merchant, but whose real vocation was to urge the great men to insurrection,

* *Vita del glor. Papa Pio V.*, scritta da Girol. Catena. Roma, 1587. Camden, 441.

and to ensure the 'destruction of Elizabeth.' While thus occupied with his own direct agents, his Holiness wrote earnest letters to the kings of Spain, France, and Portugal, calling upon them to co-operate with their Catholic brethren in England in their meditated revolt. Through the influence of Ridolfi, the majority of the English nobles, it is said, were combined, with the duke of Norfolk at their head, to bring about the desired change. The duke was to become the husband of the queen of Scotland, and as the duke was popular, in that way, it was presumed, England might be reconciled to her new sovereign. As this scheme ripened, Ridolfi received 150,000 crowns from the pontiff, which were placed at the disposal of Norfolk, of certain chiefs upon the borders, and of other parties. Everything being thus ready for a rising, earnest suit was made by Pius to Philip, urging him to send the promised veterans from Flanders. The pope highly approved of all that had been done. He wrote to Alva to be prepared to embark the required force. He wrote to Norfolk, bidding him be steadfast and hopeful, and making him every promise adapted to keep him to his misguided purpose. Philip entered fully into this scheme; but, as though even his zeal was scarcely of the required heat, this great spiritual father becomes especially impassioned in writing to him, telling him that rather than this undertaking should fail, he would place himself at the head of it, would pawn the last property of the church, would part with the chalices and crosses of the sanctuary, and even with the garment from his back. Vitelli, a Spanish general, had been some time in London, waiting for the signal to place himself at the head of an invading army. But Alva hesitated to pass the glory of such an enterprise to other hands. The material had been collected. The train had been laid. The match was ready. But there was a pause. Important disclosures were made to the English government—and the moment for action passed away! The duke of Nor-

folk was sent to the Tower. The government, by thus holding the mainspring of all this machinery in their hands, spread distrust among the conspirators, disturbed everything, and in the end crushed everything.

But so admirably had these confederates kept their secret, that to this moment, the English cabinet, while they had reasons to suspect much, had ascertained little. The marriage project, in its first form, was comparatively harmless. Nothing, it was said, was to be done in that matter, except on the basis of a treaty between the two kingdoms.* But that was the outer line of the vortex. Graver influences followed, and Norfolk, and many more, had by this time been drawn in by them.

The secret information which frustrated the conspiracy that had proved so costly to Pius V. no doubt came from Paris.† France had too much on her hands to act as a principal in this combination against England. Success would be the aggrandizement of Spain. Even the union of Scotland and England would not be favourable to French interests. The council in Paris is known to have been divided on those grounds. We learn from Mary herself, that during these negotiations, the cardinal of Lorraine showed to Catherine de Medici 'how hurtful to the crown of France would 'be the union of the isle of Britain, and thought 'meet that she should advertize the queen of England 'to take order thereto,'—which Mary described as an 'unkindly dealing' on the part of the cardinal.‡ The person who betrayed the secret of the conspirators to the English government in 1569 was known to Catena, but was not to be named.§ We can easily suppose that person to have been the queen-mother,

* Camden, 420.

† See a remarkable paper on this subject in Haynes, 466.

‡ *Sir James Melville's Memoirs*, 239. 'This,' says Melville, 'the queen told me herself.'

§ *Vita Papa Pio*, 118.

—Catherine de Medici. In that age, the great springs of action were connected with religion, but the occasions were not few on which political considerations became paramount, and Protestants and Catholics might be seen mingled together in strange confusion. BOOK IX. CHAP. 2.

The inaction of many among the English Catholics was attributed in some quarters to the fact, that however invalid the pretensions of Elizabeth to the throne might be, the Pope had not taken the measures necessary to release her subjects from their allegiance. Pius V., so successfully counterworked in the paths of conspiracy, was in full mood to remove this impediment. Early in the following year, accordingly, the memorable bull was issued which pronounced Elizabeth a heretic, denied her right to the English throne, absolved her subjects from their allegiance, and subjected her to the sentence of excommunication.* Cecil now imagined his mistress exposed, on all hands, to the dagger of the assassin; and supposing the failure of that precious life, he saw a deluge of calamities ready to burst in, not only upon England, but upon Protestant Christendom. Those who had brought that bull into this country, and especially those who had dared to fasten a copy of it on the door of the bishop of London, had so done at the peril of their lives.† The bull of Pius V. 1570. March.

It was to be expected that this blast from Rome would call forth a counter-blast. In the next English parliament, it was enacted, that to attempt the death, or personal harm, of the queen; to declare that she is not the lawful queen of this realm, or that some other person has a better title to that dignity; to describe Parliament. 1571. April.

* Camden, 427, 428.

† Fuller (*Hist.* iv. 365, 366) has enumerated the different opinions of the Romanists touching the pope's bull. Some denied its existence; some said it had been published from false representations; some complained of it as impolitic and ill-timed; some denied the authority of the pontiff to do as he had done; and others contended that obedience to the pope in such a matter was not to be rendered at the hazard of life or property.

her as a heretic, schismatic, or infidel; to usurp the right and title of her majesty during her life; or to affirm that the laws and statutes of the realm may not determine the succession—should be accounted high treason. It was further enacted, that any person who should assert, by printing or writing, that any one is, or ought to be, the queen's successor, except the natural issue of her body, or should aid in publishing any such printing or writing, should be liable, for the first offence to forfeit half his goods and to be imprisoned for one year; and for the second offence, should forfeit all his goods and suffer imprisonment for life. It was also made to be law, that whosoever should receive any bull or rescript from the pope; should be himself reconciled to the church of Rome; or should reconcile others to that church—should be judged guilty of high treason; and that all persons who should conceal such reconcilers, should be deemed guilty of concealing treason; and that the penalty incurred by those who should relieve such persons, or should bring crucifixes, or any other thing consecrated by the pope, into this kingdom, should be a forfeiture of all their possessions and perpetual imprisonment.*

Terrible as these enactments are, it will be seen that their penalties are restricted to voluntary deeds or words; they do not require men to convict themselves, nor do they deal with mere opinion as crime. So far, even these measures are distinguished from the persecuting laws we have seen so conspicuous in our ecclesiastical history. But these English senators do a dreadful thing—they make the priest to be a traitor who shall reconcile a convert to his church, and they make the convert a traitor in being so reconciled, while, according to the speculative belief of both these parties, without such reconcilement there is no salvation. These Protestant legislators, however, are humane persons, in comparison with that old man, who,

* *Statutes*, 13 Eliz. c. 2.

from his safe enclosure within the walls of the Vatican, sends forth his anathemas in such fashion, as to shut up the people of his faith, through a whole kingdom, to the necessity of choosing between being traitors to their sovereign in this world, or children of perdition in the next. For these are his words, 'We charge and 'command all and every, the noblemen, subjects, 'people, and others aforesaid, that they presume not 'to obey her [Elizabeth], her orders, mandates, and 'laws; and those who shall so do, we subject to ex-'communication.'*

The act of reconciliation with the church of Rome, was construed by the parliament as treason, because it was assumed to be a formal adoption of the creed of Pius V., which overflowed with treason — treason against Elizabeth and against the English nation. But fanaticism, whether in pope or Protestant, hath no bowels. Happily, even in that age, intelligent English Catholics were not greatly influenced by such displays of priestly arrogance on the part of their chief.

Norfolk re-committed to the Tower.

The secret information which had led to Norfolk's arrest, had not furnished the evidence necessary to conviction. The duke was released from the Tower in August, 1570. He was, however, under charge elsewhere until the September of the following year. He was then sent to the Tower a second time, and on evidence which proved fatal to him.

Norfolk had assured Elizabeth, that nothing should come of the rumour about his marriage with the queen of Scots. His wish, he said, that his head might be safe upon his pillow, would suffice to prevent his choosing such a woman for his wife. But the connexion was not really dissolved. Epistles, amatory and political, continued to pass between them. This was the state of affairs in relation to the duke in the spring of 1571. In April in that year, a man named

* Camden, 428.

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Bailly was detained at Dover, a packet of letters, written in cypher, being found upon his person. This man proved to be in the service of the queen of Scots. He had been in communication with Ridolfi in the Netherlands; and the letters in his possession were from that emissary to Norfolk, to Leslie, bishop of Ross, and to the baron of Lumley, apprising them of the result of his negotiations with the duke of Alva. These letters passed into the hands of lord Cobham, governor of the Cinque Ports. But Leslie, who was expecting them, hastened to the governor, and succeeded in abstracting the letters Bailly had brought, and in substituting others in their place—old letters which had been before the council, and from which no harm could follow. Bailly, however, was put to the rack, and revealed that the letters which had been entrusted to him had been taken by Leslie, and that in those letters the parties addressed were informed that Alva approved of the projected invasion of England. Close search was made, by lords of the council, in the ambassador's house; but the bishop had provided against that event. The documents were not found. Ross was placed in the custody of the bishop of Ely, and several gentlemen were sent to the Tower. These events brought new suspicion on Norfolk. Three months later, it was ascertained that the duke had certainly been concerned in sending money to lord Herries and his followers, who, as partisans of the queen of Scots, had ravaged the English borders, and had been proclaimed enemies. The documents which now came into the hands of the cabinet, showed that Mary was in active correspondence with the French court, and with the duke of Alva, on her affairs; that she was wont to communicate with Norfolk on all her proceedings; that she was expecting to be married to him, to have her son educated in Spain, to find Ridolfi successful in seeking military assistance from Alva, and to see the Catholic worship restored in Britain.*

August.

* Camden, 434–438.

Happily for England, nearly a generation had passed away since a peer of the realm had been seen on his trial under the charge of treason. The trial of Norfolk was conducted with all the ancient formalities. The place of the proceedings was Westminster Hall. A platform was raised which extended from the entrance gate to the length of the building. On either side rose tiers of benches covered with cloth. At the farther end, raised somewhat above the platform, was the seat occupied by George Talbot, earl of Shrewsbury, who presided, as lord high steward of England. On his right and left sat the peers, twenty-six in number, who were to hear the case, and to deliver their verdict. In front of the president was a large table where the queen's soliciter, the sergeant-at-law, and other official persons, were seated. Across the hall, at some distance from its extremity, was the bar. The lord high steward having taken his place, and silence being proclaimed, the commission appointing his lordship to his office was read. Then garter king-at-arms presented him with a tall white rod, which his lordship delivered to his gentleman-usher, who stood near him during the whole of the trial, holding the rod erect at his side. The names of the earls and barons who had been summoned were then called over, and each answered to the call. Silence being again proclaimed, the lord-lieutenant of the Tower was commanded to return his writ, and to bring his prisoner to the bar. The duke passed through the crowd, with the lord-lieutenant of the Tower on one side, and Sir Peter Carew on the other. Next to the duke, also, followed the axe-bearer, with the edge of the axe turned away from the accused, in intimation that the sentence of guilty or not guilty had not been given. The clerk of the court then called on Thomas, duke of Norfolk, to hold up his hand, which he did. The clerk, with a loud voice, read the indictment. It declared the duke to have been concerned in treasonable communications and proceedings, extending over

The trial of the duke. 1571.

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the last four years, the aim of which was to release the queen of Scots, to make her his wife, to depose her majesty queen Elizabeth, and, in conjunction with Spain and the papacy, to bring an invading army into this country from the Netherlands for the accomplishment of these purposes.*

Norfolk was in much favour with the people. He was regarded as a Protestant. He had done service to pious men of that persuasion. His presence was commanding. His manners were genial. He was the richest subject of the crown.† In all these respects his name had been of value to the bad men, and, we must add, to the fascinating woman, who had never ceased to snare his path with treasonable allurement. He had a right to complain, in common with all state criminals under the Tudors, that reasonable facility had not been afforded him for the vindication of his case. His prosecutors, he observed, had been long collecting and digesting evidence against him, while his own notice of trial had reached him only fourteen hours since. He prayed that the help of counsel might be allowed him, but that was said to be contrary to law. He pleaded the statute which, under Edward VI., had provided that there should always be two witnesses in cases of treason, and that they should be confronted with the accused. But that law was said to have been disowned in the next reign as bearing too hard upon the crown. Whatever may have been the limit of his own intention, it was certain that the duke's conduct had been treacherous and disloyal, exposing him in law to the penalties of treason. He

* Camden was present at this trial, and has described what took place in detail.—pp. 437–441.

† 'Dec. 1, 1565. The duke of Norfolk, the favourite now, both of the court and people, departed from London towards his country, to keep hospitality there now Christmas was drawing on; being accompanied out of the city by the earls of Leicester and Warwick, the lord chamberlain, and other nobles and gentlemen of the court, who brought him onward of his journey, doing him all the honour they could.'—Strype, *Ann.*

was condemned by the unanimous judgment of his peers. The earl of Shrewsbury wept as he pronounced the sentence. Privately, the duke implored mercy at the hand of Elizabeth, in humble, earnest, we may say, abject terms. But on his trial he had acquitted himself with much self-possession and ability; and at his execution, the sympathy of the people was deepened as they witnessed the courage and dignity with which he faced the scene before him. He died avowing himself a sincere Protestant.*

The empire of Spain—its extent and character.

Norfolk had been in league with the Spaniard, and to judge of the feeling with which Spain was regarded at that time, we must take our place among the people who then lived. From the extent of its possessions, Spain seemed to have been destined to give law to Christendom. Charles V. had succeeded in combining the several states of that peninsula—Castile, Arragon, and Granada—which had long maintained an independent existence, into one great kingdom. Eight centuries of war with the Moor had ended in his being chased from the soil of that fine country. Philip succeeded to the undisturbed sovereignty of Spain, and to that of Milan, Naples, and Sicily. Italy was thus at his disposal. Franche Comté was also subject to him. The Netherlands, embracing a cluster of provinces far in advance of any other portion of Europe in their industry and productive skill, in their home and foreign trade, and in their general intelligence and public spirit, were a part of his vast patrimony. The Spanish flag was also seen to wave over several valuable islands on the coast of Africa, and over the Philippine and Spice islands in Asia. But, above all, that flag commanded submission in the West Indies;

* When news of Norfolk's condemnation came to Mary, she 'wept very bitterly—protesting that, for anything she knew, he was a true man to the queen her sister.'—Letter from Sir Ralph Sadler to Burleigh, Ellis, 2nd Series, ii. 330. Such an assertion obliges us to suppose, that Mary had somehow persuaded herself that almost any statement which might serve herself or her friends was allowable.

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and over the extended continent which embraced Mexico and Peru. In short, the colours of the world were overshadowed in all latitudes by those of Spain.

The wealth which flowed to the exchequer of Madrid from all these sources was a matter of huge conjecture. No man affected to know its limits. The government, indeed, like all prosperous governments, was prodigal of its means, and often in embarrassment. But bearing in mind its income, not only from its tariffs on the enormous commerce of the Netherlands, but from the gold and silver mines of the new world, the expenditure of the Spanish ministry must have been such as to sound like fable in the ears of any other government.

The maritime power of Spain was everywhere acknowledged, except by the English, and the exception in that case was limited to the narrow seas. The ships of Spain had come to be of a larger build, and were greatly more numerous, than our own. In military power, too, the palm of precedence could not be denied to that country. Its dark veterans had not only seen service in the greater part of Europe, but had faced the malaria, and crossed the mountains, of South America; and the mercenaries of Europe, in their choice of service, were generally inclined to look to Spain as being the best paymaster. Soon after his accession, the armies of Philip humbled the strength and chivalry of France at St. Quentin and Gravelines, as they had not been humbled since the victory at Agincourt. Both France and the papacy had looked with jealousy on the power of Spain, and had done their best to lay some check upon it; but they had failed, and had learnt to submit as to a master.

For over all the resources mentioned, the will of Philip was supreme. The promise of a constitutional monarchy in Spain had ended in disappointment. Before the sceptre passed into the hand of Philip, the last vestige of liberty in that shape had passed away. No restraint in the form of law could be imposed on the king by peers or people. The only exception to this

order of things, in his wide dominions, was in the Netherlands, where the old forms of republican self-government and independence survived, but survived by sufferance, and under severe restrictions.

In regard to religion, the people of Spain were devoted beyond all other people to the service of the papacy; upholding it in the worst forms of its many-handed tyranny, and finding even holiday amusement in carrying out some of its most atrocious counsels. Philip seemed to gather up, and to embody in himself, all the tendencies of that system in their most intense degree. 'Better not reign at all,' was his language, 'than reign over heretics.' 'Is it thus,' said a nobleman, when passing before him to the stake, 'that 'your majesty can allow your loyal subjects to be 'destroyed?' 'Yes,' was the answer, 'I would send 'my own son so to die, were he to become vile as thou 'art.'*

Deeds of the Spaniards in the Netherlands.

The reader has seen that Norfolk was finally committed to the Tower in 1571. In that year, the communications between the conspirators in league with the Scottish queen and Spain, became especially active. It was then, too, after the Spanish inquisition had been stimulated from year to year to the most relentless prosecution of its work, that Philip was congratulated on having freed his kingdom from the last traces of Protestantism. By that time, moreover, every English seaman or trader who came from the Netherlands, and the crowds of fugitive artisans who rushed from those parts towards our shores to escape the malevolence of their persecutors, all contributed to fill this country with strange news. Men listened with amazement and alarm to descriptions of the reign of terror, and the scenes of blood, by which those once

* 'Now [1555] this was the practice of all Jesuits, to possess their proselytes with high opinions of the Spanish power, as the nation designed by Divine Providence to work the restitution of their religion in England.' —Fuller, *Church Hist.* v. 98.

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peaceful and flourishing provinces were overshadowed. Persecution and proscription, they were told, stalked through the land, as if bent on reducing the most populous and wealthy country in the world to a wilderness. The most pious men of their generation were perishing in the dungeon, on the rack, or at the stake. The best blood of the country was poured forth like water upon the scaffold. Hence the name of Alva came upon the ear of our Protestant countrymen as only another name for an incarnation of the principle of Evil.

Alarm in England.

The bravest and ablest of our statesmen—our Cecils, and Smiths, and Walsinghams—remembering how this triumph of arbitrary power abroad might be expected to embolden machination at home, went forth to their duties every day with the feeling that no man knew what a day might bring forth. The Spanish ambassador was known to have encouraged an assassin in a meditated attack on Cecil. And in the midst of such a confluence of affairs, and while men's thoughts were thus occupied, came the massacre of St. Bartholomew, in which French Catholics seemed to have determined to make it evident, that if they might not rival Spaniards in arms, they might at least hope to prove themselves their equals in intolerance, in treachery, and in cruelty.

1572. Aug.

Seminary priests and Jesuits.

Fear and anger are not good legislators. But, from the circumstances now mentioned, fear and anger had much to do with the course of legislation on the subject of religion through the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth. Some years, however, passed after the death of Norfolk without any new cause of apprehension. Every year since Elizabeth's accession had tended to consolidate her power, and to contradict the prognostications of her enemies. Her reign, it was said, would be short, but it had lasted long, and it promised to last much longer. The queen of Scots was soon to have been on the English throne—but that vision was now more distant than ever. The

great majority of Elizabeth's Catholic subjects had shown themselves more disposed to conform to the Anglican worship, and to conduct themselves peaceably, than to brave the dangers and penalties inseparable from resistance. It was manifest to the more ardent section of Romanists, and especially to the men whose zeal had made them exiles, that if this course of things should continue, their faith in England must soon become all but extinct. Help could no longer be obtained from Oxford or Cambridge, and the failure of educated men as the apostles of the true church in England, must ere long be the failure of the Catholic cause altogether in that kingdom. The object of this class of religionists, accordingly, came to be, to form, and to perpetuate, a better organization of Romanism in England, by means of an organization for that purpose abroad. Two men were especially conspicuous in this effort—Harding and Sanders. Harding had been a zealous Protestant under Edward, but became a conformist under Mary, and was known under Elizabeth by his controversy with bishop Jewell. Sanders became notorious from his attacks on the character of all the persons who had been prominently concerned in the English Reformation—attacks which good bishop Andrews described as made up of 'prodigious 'lies,' sent forth by a man with a razor tongue and a brow of brass.*

Hence the next alarm after the death of Norfolk, had respect to the number of young English priests who became known in this history under the name of seminarists. These persons were so designated from their being educated in seminaries which existed for that purpose at Douay, afterwards at Rheims, and in Rome and Spain.† Several hundred English priests

* *Tortura Torti*, 143.

† The following is the oath by which the students bound themselves to their service:—'I, A. B., one bred in this English college, considering how great benefits God has bestowed upon me, but then especially when He brought me out of my own country, so much infected with heresy, and made

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were sent from those places into this country, to exercise their functions, and to employ themselves, under any disguise and with little scruple, in efforts to sustain and to propagate their proscribed opinions. The jesuits were the guiding spirits in those seminaries, and soon became known in the Catholic families of England as the efficient coadjutors of the missionaries who had been trained to their work by the teaching of that order.* Catholic priests and Catholic laymen had a right to complain of the law which had made even the exercise of the priestly office a crime against the state. Conscience might well assure them, that to violate such a law, could be no offence in the sight of their Maker. But in the estimation of the government, and of the majority of the nation, these emissaries were the teachers of immoral maxims, the apostles of sedition, men prepared to concern themselves with any scheme of conspiracy and blood which might conduce to the success of their schemes. Nor

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me a member of the Catholic church, as also desiring with a thankful heart to improve so great a mercy of God, have resolved to offer myself wholly up to the divine service, as much as I may to fulfil the end for which this college was founded. I promise therefore and swear, in the presence of Almighty God, that I am prepared from mine heart, with the assistance of divine grace, in due time to receive holy orders, and to return into England to convert the souls of my countrymen and kindred, when and as often as it shall seem good to the superior of this college.'—Sanders, *De Schism. Anglo.* Ap. 116. At one time, the college at Rheims included some two hundred students, the college at Rome seventy, but these were the most considerable. The influence of the jesuits in these establishments raised the character of the students, but diminished their numbers.—See Fuller's *Church Hist.* iv. 349–359.

* So early as 1568, one member of this order practised his arts among us in their fullest development. Thomas Heath, brother of that estimable man, Nicholas Heath, formerly archbishop of York, became a jesuit, and was detected under the disguise of a Protestant clergyman. During the last six years, he had been in different parts of the country, affecting the Anglican or puritan, as might best promote his object; and sowing scandal against Protestantism by circulating what purported to be Protestant tracts, but which were the production of fanatics, or of the jesuits themselves. This offender was placed in the pillory, deprived of his ears, and branded in the forehead at Rochester.—Strype, *Ann.* ii. 272, 273.

was it without reason that they were so regarded. Among these ecclesiastical persons, it may be doubted if there was a man who did not, in his private conferences, denounce Elizabeth as a usurper; who did not maintain that the Scottish queen should be raised to her place; who did not inculcate maxims at variance with Christian morality and social order; and who was not especially disposed to attribute authority to the pontiff, which placed the rights of sovereigns, and the allegiance of subjects, wholly at his disposal. At the same time, the libels circulated against the queen, and against all persons whom it was thought expedient to defame, were of the most scurrilous and scandalous description.* The doctrine which sanctions the removal of heretical and deposed princes by assassination, was not generally approved among Catholics even in that age, but it was widely taught and accepted, especially among the jesuits.

Increase of alarm leads to greater severity.

The English ministers were aware of this general restlessness, this organized action, on the part of desperate men; and of much plotting, not only against the throne, but against the life of the queen.† The measures of parliament, in consequence, became still more severe, and the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth began to bear too near a resemblance to the same period in the reign of her father.

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* Camden, *Ann.* 1584.

† 'Here expect not of me a discovery (being no spy by profession) of the cunning contrivances whereby these jesuits pass and repass the seas, without any detection, yea, suspicion of them; sometimes under the protection of a pass secured from some lords of the privy council for a young gentleman to go over into France, with two or three of his serving men, to learn the language; sometimes they shuffle themselves into the company of an ambassador or his menial servants, and so cover their private falsehood under his public faith. Many English gentlewomen, intended for nuns, are first veiled before their going beyond seas, under pretence of travelling to the Spa for their healths. In their return for England, these jesuits have found the farthest way about for them the nearest way home; for out of France or Spain they will first sail into the Low Countries, and thence to England, and so coming immediately out of Protestant parts, escape without any, or with easy examination.'—Fuller, *Church Hist.* iv. 355.

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Parliament. 1580.

1581.

1585.

In 1580, the fine for not attending church was made to be 20*l.* a month, subjecting the recusant to imprisonment in default of payment.* According to a subsequent act, all the goods, and two-thirds of the lands of such defaulters, might be seized by the crown. Oppressive as this law may seem, it was widely enforced. Three years later, an act was passed which required all priests who had been educated abroad, and who had been ordained since 1559, to leave the kingdom within forty days. Priests of this description coming into the kingdom after that interval were declared traitors. Parties harbouring or aiding such priests were declared guilty of felony; and to have knowledge of any jesuit, or of any such priest, and not to reveal it, was to be subject to fine and imprisonment.†

The first priest put to death—other severities.

The first priest put to death under Elizabeth suffered at Launceston in 1577, nineteen years after the queen's accession.‡ Four years later, several priests and jesuits, who had landed in this country from the Netherlands, were apprehended, and put upon their trial as having come upon a treasonable errand. One of these persons was Campian, a jesuit, a man distinguished in those days by his zeal and learning.§ Men of this character, if prepared to disavow the deposing power assumed by the pontiff, seem to have been often pardoned.‖ But many who did not fur-

* 23 Eliz. c. 1. † 27 Eliz. c. 2.

‡ 'We may remember how, in 1571, a severe law was made against such as brought any superstitious trinkets [badges of the Romish vassalage] into England. This law lay dormant for these last six years, that papists might not pretend themselves surprised into punishment through the ignorance of the law. But now [1577] one Cuthbert Maine, a priest, was drawn, hanged, and quartered at Launceston, for his obstinate maintaining of the papal power.'—Fuller, iv. 402.

§ Campian's address must have been courteous and insinuating, but his capacity seems to have been much overrated. His account of his mission to this country shows him to have been a sanguine and credulous person, very likely to be taken in the snares that were laid for him.—Ibid. iv. 415–422.

‖ In 1584, five priests were executed as traitors at Tyburn; but 'no

nish satisfactory answers on that point, and were not in consequence to be regarded as good subjects, were adjudged traitors. From the frequent use of the rack in prison, and from the recurrence for long years together of such scenes of butchery on the scaffold, and all under pretexts so little consonant with law as it should be, we feel constrained to turn aside. The Church which furnished no martyr under Edward, certainly had her martyrs under Elizabeth. Most of the men who died were no doubt traitors in their hearts: but laws so devised as to bring men under the heaviest penalties as the consequence of discharging purely spiritual functions, or of choosing to be silent when questioned concerning their opinions, do not admit of vindication. Better brave much danger than incur the shame of such legislation. Romanism, indeed, had never scrupled to destroy its victims by such means. But that plea is no vindication.

Lord Burleigh—his thoughts on these proceedings.

There were persons, even in those times, who began to see their way towards wiser conclusions on such questions. Lord Burleigh, soon after capital punishments in cases of this nature were resorted to, addressed a remarkable letter to the queen, which showed that his judgment was by no means in favour of such extreme proceedings. On public occasions, he was disposed to put the best colour on what was done by the government; but in reality he was opposed to the policy which aimed to find treason in thought, and to make men convict themselves by forcing oaths upon them. These vices of administration, so inbred in the policy of the Tudors, he ventured to describe as having neither justice nor expediency to commend them. He would have been content to require that all suspected persons should bind them-

fewer than seventy [some of them actually condemned to die,—all legally deserving death] were by one act of grace pardoned and sent over beyond sea.'—Ibid. v. 73. In the following year, thirty-two, who were prisoners in the Tower, the Marshalsea, or the Queen's Bench, were 'pardoned, enlarged, and transported into Normandy.'—Ibid. 92.

selves by oath to defend her majesty against all invasion, whether coming from the papal power or any other. The man refusing that pledge of allegiance, he maintained, might be justly banished as a traitor, and the man who did bind himself by such an oath, would be severed, by that fact, from the vassalage of the papacy. Nor was it to be said that Catholics were heedless of oaths. That an oath was really a sacred thing with the great majority of them, was evident from the suffering to which they exposed themselves every day rather than swear falsely.* Had these enlightened sentiments been accepted by Henry VIII. and his children, how different would have been the reading of English history for their time !†

Babington's conspiracy.

Eighteen years had passed since the Scottish queen fled to England, when the succession of conspiracies in which she had been more or less engaged, was followed by one that became more criminal, and more fully known to the government, than any that had preceded. The detection of this scheme was the work of Sir Francis Walsingham, by means of the spies who were in his service, as secretary of state. The ministers of Elizabeth availed themselves very freely of such agencies, and great complaint has sometimes been made against them on that account. But they had to counterwork adversaries with whom intrigue, in every form, had become a profound and elaborate mystery. All that jesuit sagacity, subtlety, and unscrupulousness could bring into play, was placed in constant requisition against the English government. It is hardly more true that violence generates violence, than that craft necessitates craft. In those days, the safety of the state was not more dependent on its fleet and its armed men, than on the capacity of its rulers to track the enemies of their country in those

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* Somers, *Tracts*, 164.

† They are views, however, which were in some measure acted upon.—See note on the preceding page.

labyrinths of conspiracy from which their feet were never absent. In all these plottings, moreover, Mary Stuart never ceased to be the person whose interests were to be especially served by them.

Savage.

In the spring of 1586, John Savage, a gentleman who had studied for the bar, but who had since become a soldier in the service of Spain, paid a visit to his countrymen and co-religionists in the seminary at Rheims. Dr. Gifford, a teacher in that establishment, listened to Savage as he narrated his experiences and achievements in the wars, and suggested that something much higher was within his reach. And what is that, was the inquiry. To kill Elizabeth, the so-called queen of England, was the answer. Savage hesitated—could it be lawful? Gifford assured him that to take the life of a sovereign whom the pope had excommunicated as being a heretic, and as employing her power to uphold heresy, would be highly meritorious, and, in the case of England, would be fraught with the happiest and most glorious results. After deliberating for some weeks, Savage bound himself by oath to perpetrate that deed, and he came to England to execute his purpose. Having access to the court, he was to watch his opportunity, and to use his poniard or his pistol as the queen should be returning through the gallery from her chapel, or walking in the garden with her ladies chiefly as her attendants.

Ballard.

During some years past, a priest named John Ballard, from the seminary at Rheims, had been traversing England and Scotland, under various disguises, to use his influence in making proselytes, and in strengthening the professors of his faith. By this means he had become well informed concerning the numbers and the feeling of the Romanists in Britain. While Savage was being indoctrinated at Rheims, Ballard was engaged in endeavours to dispose Spain and France to invade England in favour of the Scottish queen. Elizabeth had sent military aid to the

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Flemings. In so doing, it was urged, she had given Philip just ground of offence, and had deprived herself of the means of defence if she should be attacked at home. This priest came to England soon after Savage, and passed himself off as a military officer, under the name of captain Fortescue.

Ballard was cautioned by those who wished well to his project, that his course was not wise—that no attempt to invade England could be successful so long as Elizabeth should be alive. He conferred with a friend named Anthony Babington, a young man of good family and means, and of fashionable habits, and who had been in communication with Mary Stuart, at intervals, for some while past. Babington was also of opinion, that nothing could be done by any foreign power, so long as Elizabeth should be in the way. Ballard had become aware of what Savage had pledged himself to do, and made it known to Babington, who at once approved the design, but said it was too weighty an enterprise to be entrusted to one person, and proposed that it should be undertaken by six gentlemen, Savage being one of the number. Babington induced five of his friends to enter into the scheme, and engaged seven others to assist him in carrying out his ulterior purposes, when the signal for such further action should be given. Babington was invited at this juncture to renew his correspondence with Mary; and he informed her of all that had been done, and of all that was contemplated. The six gentlemen were to accomplish their design. Mary was then to be liberated. Spain and France were then to send the promised armament, the English Catholics were to rise, and all was to be changed.

Babington.

But everything done in this matter by Savage, by Ballard, by Babington, and by Mary herself, became known to Sir Francis Walsingham. A young priest named Gifford knew of all that had passed between Savage and the ecclesiastics at Rheims, and disclosed it all. Another man was in the confidence of Ballard,

Walsingham knows all.

and betrayed him in like manner. Sir Amias Paulet, who had the charge of the Scottish queen, the young priest Gifford, and two or three other parties, contrived to intercept the letters between Babington and Mary, read the cipher, made copies of them, and then sent them to their destination. So matters were allowed to proceed, until all the parties had sufficiently committed themselves; and when the moment came in which all was supposed to be ripe for action, the wheels were suddenly checked, the parties were seized, were separated from each other, and placed under rigorous restraint. It was arranged that Mary should be arrested while out on a hunting excursion, and that her secretaries should be seized, and her papers secured, before any of the documents in her possession could be destroyed. Savage, Ballard, Babington, and four friends of the latter, all implicated in the intended assassination, confessed themselves guilty, and were executed with much barbarity. The other seven were also condemned and executed, but were allowed to hang until they were dead.*

Proceedings against the queen of Scots.

The removal of such men, however, was a small matter. The queen of Scots herself was the great difficulty. That Mary should be disposed to look to Spain, to France, or to any other power whose influence might be used in favour of her liberation, was only reasonable. We can even excuse her in feeling considerable sympathy with those who might be inclined to resort to some measure of stratagem, or force in her behalf. But that she should be found plotting in the most direct manner to bring about an invasion of the kingdom, and to subject both crown and people to a foreign power, was a grave business. Such, however, had been the course taken by the Scottish queen with little intermission through all the years of her detention in England. Any other person in the realm doing once, as she had done often, would have been

* *State Trials*, i. 1127–1160, 1174–1181. Camden, 515–517.

arraigned as a traitor, and executed as such. On this ground, the people and the parliament had been loud long since in their denunciation of her conduct, and in their call for proceedings against her.

The association for the protection of the queen,

In the year preceding the detection of this last plot, a number of persons, of all grades, had bound themselves by a voluntary oath to pursue parties who should make any attempt against the person of the queen 'to the 'utter extermination of them, their counsellors, aiders, 'and abettors;' and should the death of her majesty be procured in favour of any pretender to the throne, these persons further bound themselves to resist the claims of such pretender, or pretenders, and to prosecute every such person to the death. This last provision was evidently levelled against the queen of Scots. Parliament gave its sanction to this organization. We see in its existence the sense of danger which was then abroad, and something of the temper which had taken possession of the minds of intelligent men as the consequence. The dreamers who flattered themselves that to kill Elizabeth would be to enthrone Mary, would have been miserably disappointed had the queen fallen by their hand. Mary would not have survived Elizabeth a week.

Sanctioned by parliament,

Decided that the proceedings against Mary Stuart shall be in open court, and according to law.

The first conference in respect to what should be done with Mary Stuart, was between Elizabeth and Burleigh alone. When the cabinet came to deliberate on that question, some would have restricted the penalty to a more rigorous confinement. But Walsingham, with the ample materials in his hands, pleaded that there should be a trial, and a verdict according to law, and the majority of his colleagues were with him on that point. The case of the queen came within the statute 25 Edward III.; but it was decided that the prosecution should be grounded on the act of the last year, passed in recognition of the 'Association' for the protection of the queen's person. In that act, it was provided that any person claiming the English crown,

attempting to seize it, or to harm her majesty's person, by means of invasion or conspiracy, should suffer death.

The court of justice.

The court of justice before which the queen of Scots was required to make her appearance, consisted of forty-six persons, who were all either peers of the realm or officers of state. Their place of meeting was Fotheringay Castle, where the queen was then resident. Mary disowned the authority of this tribunal. She was not an English subject, and could not, she insisted, be justly dealt with as subject to English law. Moreover, she was a sovereign, an independent sovereign, and responsible to God only. Of course, neither of these pleas could be admitted. Every alien in England claims the protection of English law, whether resident by constraint, or willingly. But no one can claim the protection of law without obedience to law. Security and submission are reciprocal. Concerning princes as being responsible to God only, little needed to be said. Monarchs have too often acted as though that doctrine were true. But positive law, and the instincts of nature, have combined to place a check, and sometimes a very rough check, upon such assumptions—assumptions as impolitic in the prince, as they are unjust towards the subject. Mary, finding that the court would certainly proceed, whether she appeared or not, and would judge her case according to the evidence, consented, under protest, to meet the commissioners, that she might hear the evidence and vindicate her innocence.

It might well seem a hard course of proceeding to place a queen before such a tribunal, strictly alone, without allowing her the benefit of counsel, or the advantage of examining the witnesses whose depositions were produced against her. The complaint of Mary on these grounds was natural. Our law, however, had never ceded counsel in such cases; and, unhappily, the good law of Edward VI., which required the *viva voce* evidence of two witnesses, was a law of

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the statute-book only—it had never been acted upon.* Under these cruel disadvantages, the queen acquitted herself with much self-possession, ability, and dignity. But the mass of evidence against her was irresistible. On the second day she admitted what she had denied on the first—that she had written more than once to Babington. She also acknowledged that she had corresponded with various persons abroad, in the hope that an invasion of the kingdom might give her the liberty she so much desired; and that she had led the king of Spain to expect that her right of succession to the English throne would be conferred upon him. To confess thus much was to confess treason.†

The only questions to settle in this case.

Two questions now remained to be settled—Is there evidence that Mary Stuart was a consenting party to the project for the assassination of Elizabeth? Is it just that conduct which would be accounted treasonable in any other person, should be so accounted in the person of the queen of Scots?

Mary's assertion of her innocence.

The only difficulty in the way of supposing Mary guilty of abetting the assassination scheme, comes from the tone and manner in which she asserted her innocence on that point, even to the last. But it is manifest, that in self-defence, Mary Stuart could assert

* The trial of Sir Nicholas Throgmorton, in the first year of queen Mary, tested the provisions of this humane statute. 'Throgmorton strenuously insisted, before the court and jury, that the written examinations ought not to be admitted as evidence against him, but that the witnesses should be brought before him, face to face; and he referred to the statute of Edward VI. as expressly requiring, in all cases of treason (unless the party accused should confess the crime), that the accusers or witnesses should be brought in person before the accused, at the time of his arraignment, to prove his guilt. The court, however, without giving any answer to this objection, which was in truth unanswerable, admitted all the examinations in evidence.'—Philips, *State Trials*, i. 10, 11. Next in iniquity to this denial of justice, which is common in the history of all our state trials until after the civil war, was the denial to persons under the charge of treason or felony, of the right to produce witnesses to be examined on oath in their favour. This last means of self-defence was not ceded before the reign of queen Anne.—Ibid.

† Mignet, ii. 316.

as truth, what she must have known to be untrue. Her natural tendency to judge in the most lenient manner concerning her own acts, and the casuistry of the training to which she had been subject as a Catholic, in the worst school of that faith, suffice to make many strange things probable in her case. To recover her queenly power, and re-establish the Catholic faith, she was prepared to see Elizabeth, and every conceivable impediment beside, swept utterly away. If not dealt with as guilty of treason and intended murder, it could hardly be for the want of evidence on those points.*

Letters between Mary and Babington—were they genuine?

It is urged by the partisans of the Scottish queen, that the letters produced as having passed between her and Babington were copies only. But it must be remembered, that it was necessary to the success of the persons engaged in detecting this conspiracy, that they should content themselves with copies, and allow the originals to pass to the proper hands. Added to which, the injunction of Mary to Babington, 'Fail not 'to burn this privately and quickly,' was no doubt remembered; and it was quite as important that Mary should destroy the fatal letter which had reached her from Babington, as that Babington should destroy the corresponding letter which had reached him from Mary. It has been suggested that the copies of these letters may have been interpolated, and that the interpolations may have consisted in the series of references to the intended assassination. But Savage, Babington, Ballard, and Don, all heard these copies read, all attested that they knew the contents of the originals, and all declared them to be faithful transcripts. Could this have been, if the most startling feature in the copies had been altogether wanting in the originals? Could their memory so have failed

* 'There are no accessories in treason, as in other offences; all are principals; and any person offending in treason, either by overt act or by procurement, whereupon open deed has ensued, is adjudged by the law to be a principal traitor.'—Philips, *State Trials*, i. 11.

them as to have left them in uncertainty whether Mary did or did not know that the destruction of Elizabeth was a part of the scheme? If not, what could have induced men under the heaviest sentence of the law, to have made themselves parties, as they did in the most explicit terms, to so villanous a fabrication, knowing it to be such? There was nothing disclosed in these letters which these men did not themselves confess; and Savage and Babington, whose confessions were the fullest, gave their information without torture, or any threat of that nature. Mary's two confidential secretaries were slow to furnish information. This course was natural, if they had any affection for their mistress, or any care to avoid being implicated in her treasons. But in the end, they too affirmed the letters in question to be genuine, and confessed all that the conspirators had confessed. Their confession, indeed, was made in the hope of favour, but it is not probable that they would have charged their unfortunate mistress with a crime so infamous, if they had known her innocent.* In the letters produced, there is no trace of interpolation or of mutilation. The parts all hold together, and are necessary to each other. If interpolation was made at all, moreover, it must have been made at a time when the interpolator had reason to expect that his spurious copy would be soon confronted with the original.†

* Nau, Mary's principal secretary, said, in his confession, that his mistress told him to burn the copies of the letters sent to Babington.—Hardwicke, *State Papers*, i. 237. Curl, the other secretary, swore, 'that as well the letter which Babington did write to the Scots queen, as the draughts of her answer to the same, were both burned at her command.'—Ibid. 250.

† Morgan, a man whose restless conspiracies against Elizabeth had led to his imprisonment in Paris, wrote from that place to Mary's confidential secretary, and in that form to Mary herself, using these words, 'I am not unoccupied, although I be in prison, to think of her majesty's state, and of yours that endure with her, to your honours; and there be many means in hand *to remove the beast that troubleth all the world.*'—MS. *Rolls Office*, Morgan to Curl. This was written at Midsummer, 1586.—*State Trials*, i. 1161 et seq. Hardwicke, *State Papers*, i. 218–250.

The court of justice did not deliver its judgment at Fotheringay. That was reserved, in obedience to the pleasure of Elizabeth, to a second meeting. Sentence was pronounced in the Star Chamber. It declared Mary Stuart guilty of treason, and of being privy to the atrocious purpose of Anthony Babington against the person of the queen. Parliament assembled soon afterwards, and petitioned Elizabeth to carry this sentence into execution. The queen hesitated, and the two houses renewed their petition. We can readily suppose that Elizabeth felt real difficulty in coming to a decision. With her high notions concerning sovereign authority, it was not a small matter to send a person who claimed the dignity of queen of Scotland, and of queen-dowager of France, to the scaffold. That person was, at the same time, a near relative; and Scotland, France, and Spain might be expected to take deep umbrage at such a proceeding. It was from these considerations, and from a wish that what should be done might be done with the sanction, and at the demand of the nation, that the queen procrastinated. It was for these reasons that more than three months were allowed to intervene between the appearance of the queen of Scots before her judges in the great hall at Fotheringay, and her appearance in that hall to place her neck upon the block. Mary met that doom with great firmness. No heroine in a Greek tragedy could have shown so much dignity. But she had persuaded herself that her death was a martyrdom, and that, as such, it would be accepted as covering many sins. France and Scotland vowed revenge. Both took counsel from second thoughts. The man who watched these proceedings from his palace at Madrid, was more in earnest.

Sentence pronounced—Elizabeth's hesitation.

The connexion of Philip with England had been altogether disappointing and humiliating. In marrying Mary Tudor, he had married a woman much older than himself, without personal attractions,

Philip's connexion with England.

always diseased, and doomed to be childless. His high and reserved manner, which had given so much offence to the Flemings, he lowered and softened, to the extent of his power, in his intercourse with the English. His ministers congratulated each other on the great change in this respect which they observed in him. But his Castilian pride was wounded as he saw, that after all his condescensions, the hearts of the islanders were not won. The spirit and bearing of the English nobles and gentry ceded nothing to the greatest persons in his retinue. The people, at the same time, betrayed, in many ways, their hatred and scorn of the strangers, and seemed much more disposed to challenge strife than to court amity. All this, in Philip's estimation, was so much insolence, and an insolence which he never ceased to feel it would be a very pleasant thing to chastise. This feeling was not abated when Elizabeth declined the offer of his hand; and it rose into indignation when she sent her soldiers to the aid of his revolted subjects in the Netherlands. From all these causes, the policy of Philip became a policy bitterly hostile to England. One other cause, more weighty than the rest, was to be placed in the same scale. Catholic Europe had no prospect of peace while England remained heretical and independent. This island was the natural base of the great struggle between heresy and orthodoxy. To crush England, would be to crush the many-headed monster which passed under the name of Protestantism.

Prepares to invade England—the Armada.

So far back as 1570 Philip had seriously meditated the invasion of this country. During the last three years he had been especially occupied in preparations for that enterprise. All the ports in his dominions supplied their contingents in vessels, seamen, and able captains. Sicily, Naples, Northern and Central Italy, and Portugal, became tributaries to this object. Above all, the Netherlands were made to furnish ships, men, and means, upon a large scale. The ships built and collected, formed a fleet such as the shores of Europe

had never seen. Some of the vessels were of enormous dimensions, rising high above the water, with heavy tiers of guns in their sides, and their lofty decks skilfully fortified, making a near approach to a modern line-of-battle ship. The fleet was manned by some 8000 seamen, and carried more than 20,000 soldiers, with abundance of arms and ammunition, and provisions for six months. One portion of the apparatus constituting this 'Invincible Armada' must not be overlooked. It bore with it a vicar-general of the Holy Inquisition, and a large number of priests and jesuits, who, when the artillery of the expedition should have accomplished its purpose, were to wield an artillery of another kind.

But the fleet which was to darken the sea along the coast of Spain did not present the most formidable front of the power by which our English home was then menaced. The duke of Parma, who ruled in the Netherlands, was appointed military chief in this great undertaking. Italy sent nine thousand men to his standard. Castile and Arragon, Austria and Germany, deputed their thousands in the same direction. The forest of Waes was levelled to furnish the flat-bottomed boats, which, under the convoy of the Spanish fleet, were to land an army of a hundred thousand strong at the mouth of the Thames. So soon as this should be accomplished, the pope was to send a million of ducats to the service of the invaders. So confident, too, of success was his Holiness, that he made Dr. Allen, president of the English seminary at Rheims, a cardinal, appointed him legate for the apostolic see in England, and issued a new bull against Elizabeth, which denounced her as a bastard and a heretic, as treacherous, dissolute, and tyrannical.

Uncertainty of its object.

It had of course been impossible to conceal these preparations. But vast as they were, their object was kept a profound secret. The whole of this machinery had been put into motion, and the duke of Guise in France, the duke of Parma in the Nether-

lands, Sixtus V. in Rome, and the Spanish ambassador in England, were the only persons who knew the point on which all this thunder was to burst. Some supposed that the blow meditated would fall on the Netherlands. Others gave out that something new and wonderful was to be attempted in the Indies. Until the day on which this memorable force left the Tagus, Elizabeth, and even Burleigh, had been lulled into a false security by Philip's apparent willingness to bring the negotiations for peace going on in the Netherlands to an amicable close. The armada was at sea, and nothing special had been done in England towards meeting such a crisis. Of late, the government had thought more about sending help to the Flemings, than about protecting their own shores. Happily for it, the enemy became exposed to foul weather, and to infectious disease, off Cape Finistère; and to repair damages, and to recruit strength, was obliged to return for awhile to the ports of Biscay and Galicia.

What was done in England.

By this time there was no want of movement in England. Order was issued that every man from eighteen to sixty should enrol his name, and be prepared to take his weapons, as a defender of his country. An army of nearly seventy thousand men, about four thousand of whom were cavalry, was soon brought together. One division of this force was under the command of the earl of Leicester, and was to act against the enemy where he should attempt to land. The other division was entrusted to earl Hunsden, a soldier of experience and fidelity, who was to act in defence of the queen's person.

Meanwhile, the fleet collected from different ports numbered nearly two hundred vessels, manned with more than 15,000 seamen. London did her duty, supplying thirty-eight ships out of the above number, and a large body of able sailors. The names of Drake, Frobisher, Winter, and Hawkins stand out as those of great naval commanders in that hour of life or death. Young men, and men with grey hairs, flocked

from the noblest families to the side of these famous captains. Lord Howard of Effingham, the lord admiral, was chief in command. Next in authority to his name stood that of the immortal Drake, who had often shown his marvellous skill and courage in scouring the Spanish seas. Plymouth was chosen as the place of rendezvous. The fleet from Spain must needs pass that point on its way to act as convoy to the military force collected in the Netherlands. That fleet now put to sea a second time. As it passed Cape Breton, men gazed at it from the shores of that province with wonder, and seemed to confess that it might well be called 'invincible.'

The two fleets in sight near Plymouth.

As this grand armament came within sight of Plymouth, the multitude of ships, and the height and bulk of many of them, presented such a spectacle as mariner had never seen before. In the distance it was as if a great city had been floating on the deep. The strength of the English bore no proportion to the strength opposed to them. Favourable incidents, stratagem, greater skill, and the remembrance of the homes to be shielded from this foe, might give them victory, nothing else could. But they are brave and veteran men in command of the ships now floating under the English flag below Mount Edgecombe, and the men at their command can hope for much under such leadership. The wind is in favour of the enemy. He might bear down upon the English with great advantage. But to the surprise of our countrymen, who are ready for the fray, the Spaniard seems disposed to avoid an engagement, and to pass on. The fact was, the duke of Medina Sidonia, who was in command, had been instructed by Philip, not to engage with the English fleet until he should have joined the duke of Parma, and have conducted the army collected in Flanders to the Thames. The admirals remonstrated. But it was in vain. The duke produced his written instructions; they were explicit and emphatic, and he would not depart from them.

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The Spaniards pass—the English follow.

Lord Howard, seeing the enemy pass on, gave command to follow, and to attack the ships in the rear. This was done with great success, partly from the English ships being comparatively light and manageable, and partly from the better knowledge of the sea and coast possessed by English sailors. Off the Isle of Wight the English engaged a squadron, and vanquished or destroyed every ship which they could bring into the struggle. So the two fleets continued their course, until they came opposite Calais, the one intent on moving forward, and the other resolved to follow. Calais was only a few leagues from the point where the maritime and military force of the armada were to combine, and from which they were to advance conjointly towards their common object.

The fire-ships.

But Drake was as intent upon preventing that combination of forces, as the Spaniard was upon realizing it. Evening came on. The wind became fresh. The sky grew dark and threatening. When the darkness had set in, Drake chose eight of the least serviceable of his vessels, filled them with combustible materials, and having brought them near to the Spanish fleet on the windward side, set them on fire, and drifted them into the midst of the great armament, now fast at anchor. The Spaniards were filled with panic. A whole fleet had been thus destroyed not long since near Antwerp. They cut their cables, and rushed wildly into the open sea. But the wind had lashed the sea into fury. Shifting westward, it drove many of the Spanish ships, and some of the most formidable of them, on the coast. As the day dawned, the English were everywhere upon them. In the course of that night and morning nearly five thousand Spaniards perished, either as wrecked by the storm, or as sunk by the onslaught of their assailants.

The end.

Parma's army could not now be wafted to the Thames. The great armada was felt to be a failure. The Spaniards had imbibed a horror of our narrow seas. Their only thought was how to escape from them as quickly as possible. Rather than enter them

again, and with the exulting English ready to dispute their passage, they determined to sail round Scotland and Ireland, and to endeavour to reach Spain by the northern ocean. The coasts of Elizabeth's dominions, especially the coast of Ireland, were strewed with wrecks. Of the vast force which had sailed from the Tagus, not a man was allowed to place a willing foot on the territory of the English queen. But thousands were thrown, alive or dead, upon the shores which owned her sway. Of the Invincible Armada, a miserable remnant only survived to tell the tale of their disaster and their shame.

Retrospect —and summary.

We have now reached the point in the purpose of this chapter, from which we may glance at the extent of the revolution in the comparative positions of Anglicans and Romanists under Elizabeth.

Altered relations from the death of the queen of Scots.

As the designs of Philip against this country in 1588 were made plain, it became evident that the death of the queen of Scots had brought a very material change into the relations subsisting between English Romanists and their friends in other states. Conspiracy could no longer take the plausible aspect of being in favour of the Scottish queen, whose right to the throne, if not to be admitted as preferable to that of Elizabeth, was generally acknowledged as being next in succession. Nor could any use be made of the son of Mary Stuart, inasmuch as James had avowed himself a zealous Protestant. Hence the mission of Philip was an undisguised mission for himself. His conquest, if it had come, would have been another Norman conquest. The grandees of Philip II. would have been to the Englishmen of that age, what the nobles and knights of William I. had been to our good Saxon fathers.

Conduct of the English Catholics.

We learn, accordingly, that at this grave crisis, even the English Catholics were generally forward to tender their wealth, and their personal service, to the government. Such conduct, all things considered, was highly honourable to that portion of her majesty's subjects. No responsible office was

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entrusted to Catholics, and some of the more suspected among them were made to restrict their residence for the time to the midland counties, or to the Isle of Ely; but we have no reason to doubt their general loyalty. Whatever judgment may be formed concerning the execution of Mary Stuart, every one must have felt that two important results had already followed from her removal—it had obliged the king of Spain to drop the mask, and it had given the queen a much more united people.

Impression made on England by the armada.

Unhappily, opposed to the good impression which should have been made by the conduct of the Catholics subject to Elizabeth, was the deeper bad impression concerning all the professors of that faith which had been produced by the conduct of Philip. Romanism had never been so formidably and openly identified with hostility to England. The feeling of the English people came to be more than ever—no peace with Rome—no settlement of differences in that quarter—Englishmen must hope to be free, only as their own good weapons shall suffice to vindicate their freedom.

Penal laws against Romanists continue.

The penal laws against Romanism, accordingly, continued on the statute-book, and in some respects were made even more stringent. But the enforcement of those laws, both before the year of the armada and afterwards, was by no means uniform, and rarely to the letter. During the eleven years which preceded 1588 nearly a hundred Romanists, prosecuted by the government, suffered death. The number of executions of the same character during the fifteen years which followed was a little above a hundred. The highest reckoning makes the whole to have been 204, which presents an average of somewhat less than eight in a year from the time when such punishments commenced. The average in the year under Mary amounted to ten times that number. It should be added, too, that the sufferers under Elizabeth were all men, not embracing, as in the former reign, a large proportion of women. And if we may accept the public

and repeated affirmations of the ministers of Elizabeth, no Romanist was put to death in her time for purely religious reasons. By this statement, however, it must have been meant, that the persons executed were all traitors, in the common acceptation—such as Babington and Ballard—or persons who persisted in the avowal of opinions, which, though assumed to be religious, were really political, and were construed as incompatible with loyalty. Such was the dogma concerning the supposed power of the pope to depose heretical princes. The man avowing that doctrine, was regarded as declaring, that in his judgment, he owed no allegiance to Elizabeth, and that he should give her none except by constraint. Romanists who died in consequence of such a confession, died, as they believed, for a great religious principle, and were accounted martyrs. But according to their prosecutors, the principle confessed was political, not religious, and their death, in consequence, was the death of traitors.

Injustice and impolicy of the penal laws against Romanism.

Without attempting to settle this difference, we feel no hesitation in saying, that laws which find treason in anything short of overt acts betraying treasonable intention, are laws which cannot have been just or expedient under any circumstances. In the sense explained, it seems to have been true that no Romanist was executed under Elizabeth on account of his religion. Many were known and proved to have been traitors. Such, too, was the sweep of those penal laws, that had the tests which they furnished been generally urged, few could have escaped. We are justified accordingly in supposing, that the persons arraigned according to these severe enactments, were generally persons who had shown more than ordinary signs of disaffection. We do not mean to defend laws which are designed to operate as a terror on the many, and which would become an intolerable cruelty if enforced on more than a few. But such was the intention of the severer statutes against Romanism. The dogma that popes may depose princes *was* inconsistent with

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loyalty. But there was no logical connexion between rejecting transubstantiation or the papal supremacy, and failing to be a good subject. It was, however, on such grounds—grounds purely ecclesiastical, that Mary and her bishops sent their victims to the stake.

Doctrines of the jesuits and seminary priests.

The jesuits and seminary priests who came into England in such numbers during the latter half of the reign of Elizabeth, were resolute in upholding the most extravagant pretensions of the popes. But the great majority of the English Catholics were more moderate men, and the zealots were regarded by them as doing great injury to their cause. Indeed, it was the fact that resistance to the government, and to the spirit of the times, in this body, was becoming visibly weaker, that prompted the refugees of Douay and Rheims, to their covert, perilous, and often guilty mission. The restless and intriguing party kept up by this means in England, were strongly opposed to all measures of conformity, to all pledging of allegiance, in short, to everything that did not look to an extinction of the sway of Elizabeth, and the restoration of their own worship. These were the men whom the government watched with special vigilance, and from whose ranks some of the more turbulent were sent, at the rate of seven or eight in a year, to the gallows. Meanwhile, the moderate party continued to increase, and moderate Romanism, from the natural influence of circumstances, ended widely in Anglicanism—a system which was Protestant, but designed to be as little offensive as possible to Catholics.*

* About 1595, a great schism broke out between the jesuits and secular clergy in England. The clergy complained of the intrigue and ambition of the jesuits, and insisted that the severities of the English government towards the disciples of their faith were to be traced mainly to the maxims and proceedings of the men of that order. The jesuits, on the other hand, described the priests as inactive and incompetent, leaving nearly everything worth doing to be done by themselves. Many pamphlets, and even volumes, were published by the disputants, which Protestants were not slow to enumerate as signs of the boasted Catholic unity. Nothing could be more bitter than this brawl.—Fuller, *Church Hist.* v. 203–211; with Brewer's notes.

Before the death of Elizabeth, the generation over which she reigned in her early years had almost wholly passed away. The next generation in Catholic families, which had grown up about her, did not tread more than partially in the steps of their parents. Rank, and wealth, and custom floated more and more another way, and when such a stream has set in, the young and hopeful, fond of society, and ready to make the best of the world as they find it, are sure to yield, to a large extent, to the current. It is a great mistake to suppose that a system of repression can have little influence on the opinion and feeling of society. If it be strong enough, and continuous enough, it may do much in that direction. How far such ends *should* be sought by such means, is a point about which we do not now dispute—what *may* be thus done in certain circumstances, is another question, and one on which our modern orators sometimes need enlightenment. We may be sure that those who remained Catholics in the later years of Elizabeth, were Catholics of a decided, and sometimes of a desperate cast—women led by imagination and feeling; men, with a high sense of honour, who could not be brought to desert the faith of their fathers in its adversity; and men, in some instances, of the Guy Fawkes and Catesby type. All hope of changing the religion of the country gradually died out; and a more tolerant temper in the legislature and the government, seemed to be the utmost that was deemed probable or possible.

Decline of Romanism—partly through the policy of the state.

But it must not be supposed that this change had come wholly, or even mainly, from the influences mentioned. The Protestant clergy who rallied as such about Elizabeth on her accession, were themselves the fruit of free discussion, and men who lived in the atmosphere of controversy. Many of them had suffered grievously, at home or in exile, during the last reign; and free speech with them, meant freedom to expose the supposed errors and enormities of Romanism, and that with no ordinary iteration and

But in a greater degree by preaching.

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emphasis. Even the court clergy, as they were called, whom archbishop Parker may be said to have represented, were zealous in this matter, to an extent which, in our time, would be accounted extravagant and fanatical. But these were far surpassed in zeal by the puritan ministers, who formed a large proportion of the clergy in the early days of Elizabeth, and grew to be more and more formidable through all the years of her reign. The queen, who never failed to look with jealousy on power which was not her own, regarded this sterner class of public teachers with distrust—we may say with aversion. But the wisest of her councillors, who saw the danger of her time, and saw how that danger might best be counteracted, gave their direct or indirect sanction to these uncourtly orators, and often shielded them from the malice of their enemies. According to Lord Burleigh,* no agency

* Lord Macaulay (*Burleigh and his Times*) is disposed to think that the zealous Catholics in England under Elizabeth were a very small minority, a thirtieth part of the nation probably, but that the mass, who would as soon have been Catholics as anything else, might be reckoned at some four-fifths. This is a strange statement. The great argument adduced in support of it is, that the acted drama in that age is singularly respectful towards Romanism. The drama, it should be remembered, was not intended for the rude sparse populations of remote districts, but almost exclusively for the people in large towns, such as London, Bristol, or Coventry, and are we to suppose that the great majority of the population even in those places were indifferent to Protestantism? In 1592, a pamphlet was published, intitled, 'A Declaration of the True Causes of the Great Troubles supposed to be intended against England,' and which was attributed to Father Parsons. In this publication, the writer complains of England as showing more sympathy with the Turk than with king Philip, and adds, 'Therefore, as an introduction hereunto, to make him odious unto the people, certain players were suffered to scoff and jest at him upon their common stages, and the like was used *in contempt of his religion*, first by making it *no better than Turkish*, by annexing to the Psalms of David, as though the prophet himself were the author thereof, this ensuing metre,—

'Preserve us, Lord, by thy dear word.
From Turk and pope defend us, Lord,
That both would thrust out of his throne
Our Lord Jesus Christ, thy dear Son.'

—Collier, *Annals of the Stage*, i. 287, 288. In one of the acted dramas

in those days was so powerful in diminishing 'the papistical numbers.'* After awhile, the pulpits of the land became the possession, to a large extent, of a thoroughly preaching clergy, and the pulpit in those days was what the pulpit and the press together have become in our own. It was to the nation, what the universities were to a class—a great educating power. Lessons which may be said to have been diffused as widely as the parishes of England, which recurred as constantly as the Sabbath-day, and which were continued, with more or less power, through nearly half a century of years, so far influenced the thought and feeling of the nation as to decide the Protestant character of English Christianity for the time to come.

Position of England in Protestant Christendom determined.

Philip's advisers urged him to raise another armada, and to renew his enterprise against England. But that was impossible. The last effort had cost him the hoardings and labours of nearly twenty years. So far from being at liberty to assail England with any prospect of success, his territory in the Netherlands became exposed to special danger from the altered posture of affairs in France. Soon after the defeat of the Armada, the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the heads of the great Catholic faction in that country, ceased to exist. Henry III. was assassinated. Henry of Navarre, a Protestant, succeeded to the French monarchy, and the Protestant league gave new signs of life. So Philip was obliged to descend from dreams of conquest in England to strenuous efforts in defence of his authority in the Low

in the time of Elizabeth, a Romish priest is conspicuous who keeps his woman, stops people on the highway, gambles, drinks hard, and neglects his flock to turn vagabond. In another, bishop Gardiner is presented as bribing men to swear away the life of Cromwell, and as giving them, in the same breath, absolution for their crime.—*Ancient English Drama*, vol. i.: *Sir John Oldcastle; Lord Cromwell.* But the truth is, the government of Elizabeth often checked the players when disposed to bring parties of the time, or living persons, into prominence upon the stage.

* Somers, *Tracts*, i. 166.

Countries. Where he could make himself felt as the 'Catholic' king, there were his resources and his armies; and there also, to face him, were the influences and the soldiers of Elizabeth, the Protestant queen. By her assistance, Henry IV. subdued the Catholic league in France; and the United Provinces asserted their independence of Spain. The cry raised by the Spanish seamen on the memorable night when Drake sent his fireships among them off Calais, was the knell of Spanish greatness. From that hour the history of Spain has been the history of a declining state; and from that hour the place of England has been that of a state of the first rank, and of a constantly growing influence in the system of Europe. Spain resolved to be the champion of a superstitious and a cruel faith, and her reward has been to sink deeper and deeper in degradation. To England it was given to make a better choice, and she too has had her reward. Wycliffe, and men of his order, have not laboured in vain. The pulsation that is felt and heard through all the changes which have found this issue and settlement, comes from the heart of Latimer and Cranmer, of Cromwell and Somerset.

BOOK X.

ANGLICANS AND PURITANS.

CHAPTER I.

THE ORIGIN OF PURITANISM.

RITUALISM holds a conspicuous place in the history of society. The sentiments and duties which spring from the relations of social life, find their natural expression and embodiment in outward symbols. The coronation of monarchs, the installations of knighthood, and the inauguration of magistrates, all give visibility to the objects of the understanding, and of the imagination. Living principle and feeling, are thus made to live again by means of representations which enlist the senses in their favour. In private life, the pressure of the hand, and the bending of the person, hold relations to our thought and feeling similar to that which our words hold to them. There is a language in such forms, and to that fact they owe their origin, and the value which men attach to them.

Ritualism of social life.

But if forms have this significance and utility in respect to our natural relations, it is only reasonable that a large sphere should be assigned to them in respect to our spiritual relations. If men need them in connexion with the visible and the known, how much more in connexion with the invisible and the unknown. The objects of religious thought soon shade themselves off into mystery, and where reason falters, human nature will cling to sense as a helper.

Its place in religion—paganism.

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Hence comes idolatry. The mysterious forces of nature must have their symbolic figures to represent them; and every species of religious worship must be a worship of the spiritual through the formal—of the unseen by the help of the seen. As this tendency of our nature is pushed to excess, men are accounted pious in the measure in which they are thus outwardly obedient. Not to be conformists is to have no religion. So the first Christians, being a people without any visible procession, or priesthood, or temple, were accounted atheists.

Judaism and Christianity.

In consonance with this want of our nature, especially when allied with imperfect culture, Judaism had its book of Leviticus. Even Christianity could not wholly dispense with such aids. But the thing to be feared was, that the few and simple rites which sufficed in the apostolic age, would soon be overlaid by others, adopted from a very different source. So it happened. The chasm is wide—very wide, which separates between the Christian ritual as administered by St. Peter and St. Paul, and as administered by Gregory VII. and Innocent III.

Sources of the value attached to ritual.

It is not difficult to understand how mankind have come to attach great importance to the ritual aspect of religion. Spiritual good, realized in connexion with particular observances, is often supposed to have been realized in some special manner by means of those observances, and so the memory of the external form remains a very pleasant memory. To some minds, if religious worship is to be impressive, it must be vested to a large extent in the external and pictorial. Abstract thought is difficult; to gaze on the representations of such thought is not difficult. To be religious by going through a round of ceremonies is easy. To be religious in the sense of growing from one stage of spiritual life to another, implies watchfulness and effort. To tithe the mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs, may be a welcome service, when it is allowed to atone for a neglect of the weightier

matters of the law. So good feeling, weak feeling, and bad feeling, may all contribute to make people zealous in respect to matters of religious ritual.

Nor is it difficult to understand how the ministers of religion, and the ministers of state, have come to look with much jealousy on any departure from religious conformity. In such conformity these functionaries see the open recognition of their own authority—and a recognition of it as extending, not merely to body and goods, but, which is much more, to the mind. It is the public confession of obedience as due both to priest and magistrate. It is an admission, that not merely the outward, but the inward—the will, should be subject to the sway of those authorities. This doctrine was well understood by Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. No form of their power was really so precious to them as the supremacy with which they were invested in regard to everything pertaining to religion. On this subject, men were to believe only as they were required to believe, and to do only as they were required to do. To question the infallibility assumed by Henry and by the daughter of Anne Boleyn over such things, was to wound them in the most sensitive part of their nature.

Rise of English puritanism.

Under Henry VIII. the penalties which came upon ecclesiastical delinquents came upon them as heretics or traitors, more than as nonconformists. The seeds of puritanism among us are no doubt as old as the time of Wycliffe, but they are not developed in our history, so as to become characteristic of a party, before the time of Edward VI. It is to be remembered, too, that what was at that time puritanism in England, was simply Protestantism on the continent. This difference must be traced to the fact, that while in the other countries of Europe the Reformation began with the people, and was greatly moulded by them; in England the movement was more dependent on the will of the state, and was determined, in its course and results, mainly by that will. Hence the change in

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the English church left her, even at the death of Edward VI., in a nearer relation to the church of the Middle Age, than any other church in Christendom avowing itself protestant.

Influence of foreign churches on puritanism in England.

The dispensation of the Six Articles had made many good men exiles. Rogers, the first martyr under Mary, and bishop Hooper, the type of English puritanism under Edward, were among the number of those exiles. Residence among foreign Protestants had made them familiar with continental Protestantism; and changes which had commended themselves to the learning and piety of their personal friends in the reformed churches in Switzerland and Germany, were regarded by these devout men as not unsuited to the reformed church of England. The ministers of those churches appeared in a distinctive ministerial dress in the service of the church, but they had cast off the surplice, and the other garments usually worn by the papal priesthood. In the judgment of Hooper, the conduct of his friends in this respect was to be commended. When chosen to be a bishop, he claimed that he might be left at liberty to follow their example. The reader has seen that trouble came upon him on this account. Even Cranmer and Ridley were resolute in insisting on his conformity. These prelates have been censured for sending Gardiner and Bonner to the Fleet prison—strange as it may seem, we see them subject their brother Hooper to the same rude form of discipline for a much less fault.

Influence of the Marian persecutions on the feeling of the puritans.

Had the life of Edward been prolonged, the puritan controversy would not have failed to find a place in our history; but the reign of Mary, and the temper of Elizabeth's administration, made the dispute to be much more formidable and bitter than it would otherwise have been. By zealous Protestants, the garniture of the Roman priesthood was soon denounced as the 'idolatrous gear.' But the memory of the scenes in Smithfield and in Oxford under Mary, and of the terror everywhere diffused in the latter years of her

reign, was always associated in the mind of the puritans with the presence of men who had flaunted these popish habits before them. The monk's hood and the priest's robe were emblems of an execrated tyranny, and they were execrated accordingly.

Elizabeth against the puritans.

Elizabeth was bound to Protestantism by circumstances, and no doubt by conviction; but the crucifix and the altar lights in her chapel, betrayed a sympathy with the symbol and pomp of the Roman worship, which Edward, and the reformers generally in his time, would have looked upon with surprise and apprehension. Many a puritan felt, that in the presence of such tendencies in such a quarter, it became him to be resolved in lifting up his testimony on the side of a purer worship. Hence, as the disposition to enforce conformity became stronger, the duty of resistance seemed to become more imperative.

Rubric under Edward and Elizabeth.

The changes made in the rubric as left by Edward VI. were not considerable, but they were in no instance in favour of the puritans. On the contrary, it was now strictly enjoined, that the communicants should all kneel in partaking of the Lord's supper; and not only the surplice, but the copes, and other garments, which had been dispensed with in the second service book by Cranmer, were restored.*

Elizabeth's injunctions on ecclesiastical affairs.

The queen also issued a series of injunctions, through her commissioners, to determine everything to be included in the future order of the public service. These injunctions contained many wholesome provisions, and they suggest much in regard to the state of religion at the time. They require that all ecclesiastical persons shall preach four times in the year against yielding obedience to any foreign jurisdiction; that every incumbent shall preach once a month on the works of faith, mercy, and charity; that images, relics, paintings, and all things used to superstitious purposes, shall be destroyed; that within three months every

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 119 et seq.

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parish shall provide a Bible in English, and a copy of the paraphrase on the Gospels by Erasmus, to be set up in the parish church so as to be accessible to the people; that the clergy shall not frequent ale-houses or taverns, or be addicted to gaming; that there shall be no popish processions; that the communion shall not be administered to persons living in open sin; that no clergyman shall marry without licence from his diocesan, and two justices of the peace; that no bishop shall marry without the consent of his metropolitan, and of such commissioners as the queen shall appoint; that overseers shall report concerning all persons that do not duly attend their parish church; that the litany and prayers shall be read weekly, on Wednesdays and Fridays; that there shall be no vain disputes about religion, nor the use of such words as papist, heretic, schismatic, or sacramentary; that no book or pamphlet shall be published without authority from the persons empowered to grant such licence; and that all persons administering in the church shall wear such garments and square caps as were worn in the latter end of the reign of king Edward. The whole of these articles, fifty-three in number, were to be read in the church four times in the year.*

Puritan movement in the convocation of 1562.

In the convocation of 1562, an attempt was made to place the service of the church at a greater remove from the mediæval form. One paper presented, enumerated all the matters to which objection had been made by the puritans, and prayed for their removal. This paper was signed by thirty-three members, of whom eight were deans, and twelve were archdeacons. Another paper, less comprehensive in its exceptions, became the subject of much discussion. In this document it was urged, that the cross in baptism should be omitted; that kneeling at the sacrament should not be enforced; that organs should be removed; and that from the former habits of ministers, the surplice only

* Strype, *Annals*, i. 235–242. Sparrow, *Collections*.

should be retained. The majority of the members present were in favour of this measure of reform. The votes were forty-three against thirty-five. But when the proxies came to be counted, the proposal was lost by a majority of one, the numbers being fifty-nine against fifty-eight. From such expressions of opinion, we may safely conclude, that had the will of the queen been known to be favourable to change in that direction, the houses of convocation at that time would not have left ground for complaint to any sober-minded puritan.*

The puritan ministers do not conform.

But in 1564, six years after Elizabeth's accession, the uniformity enjoined by parliament, by convocation, and by the queen's commissioners, was but indifferently observed. The best educated, and most earnest men, among the parochial clergy, were almost everywhere opposed to the strictness of the course pursued by the queen and her instruments, and they knew the feeling of their congregations to be generally with them. Some ministers fixed the communion table in the chancel, some removed it to other parts of the church; some dressed the table in one manner, some in another; some administered baptism in a font, some with a basin; some used the sign of the cross, and others not; some officiated 'in a surplice, others without; some with a square cap, some with a round cap, 'some with a button cap, some with a hat; some in 'scholars' clothes, some in others.'†

More rigorous measures are taken.

When this state of affairs was duly reported to the queen, her majesty was not a little displeased. The archbishop of Canterbury and the archbishop of York were instructed to confer with their suffragans on the measures to be taken to ensure conformity from the existing clergy, and to restrict admission to the benefices of the church to persons known to be 'well dis-'posed to the common order,' and ready to promise

* Strype, *Annals*, i. c. 29.
† Strype, *Annals*, ii. c. 41. Neal, i. 193–196.

obedience to it. But the bishops, and the members of the council, were divided in feeling on this subject; and so serious were the probable consequences of such rigour, that Elizabeth herself alternated in her purpose. Remonstrances came from many quarters. From this time, however, the policy of the queen may be said to have been determined, and the bishops who had been disposed to a more liberal course became sensible, that if they were to retain their office, and if evils of another and a graver description, probably, were to be avoided, it became them to see that the irregularities which had been hitherto tolerated should come to an end.

The case of the puritans.

To thoughtful men in our time, nothing seems more clear than that there was an excess of scrupulousness in the feeling of the puritan. But this weakness, if weakness it must be called, had its root in principles which were of much significance. The question to be settled was a question of authority; and it was hardly possible to discuss that question in relation to ecclesiastical affairs, without entering upon considerations affecting the ground of authority in general. The memorable speculations touching social liberty which were to become so conspicuous under the House of Stuart, came largely from seeds which had been germinating in the minds of the puritans through the long reign of Elizabeth. With this class of her majesty's subjects, resistance to the undue exercise of power sprang from motives of special force. The feeling which prompted them to speak and act, had respect, not to the interests of this world, so much as to the sanctions of the next. The conscience of the puritan was something more than the conscience necessary to the good citizen. It was the conscience which makes the saint and the martyr. The terrors of earthly power might be great, but the terror above the earthly was much greater. If restraint was to be laid upon the imperial will of the lady on the throne, it could be only by such men. The frown of Eliza-

beth might awe courtiers into submission; but to the genuine puritan, it was as sunshine compared with the frown of the Almighty.

The points at issue between the two parties.

The points of difference which lay at the foundation of the controversy between the puritans and the court clergy may be stated in few words. By the latter class of reformers it was said, that the prince has authority to determine personally, or by sanction from the state, what shall be the belief and usage of the church within his own dominions; and that during the minority of the sovereign this authority devolves upon his council. The council in the time of Edward acted upon this latter doctrine. Mary exercised a power of the same kind, doing many things on her accession without waiting for the consent of parliament. Elizabeth followed her example in this respect, and aimed to perpetuate that exceptional authority through her Court of High Commission. But the puritans, while sternly rejecting the supremacy of the pope, were far from ceding this large power to the crown. The injunction—let all things be done decently and in order, must, they said, have been addressed to the people, or to their ministers, it could not have been addressed to princes or magistrates. The notion which would make the faith and worship of a whole nation depend upon a single will, they repudiated as servile and absurd.

Further—the court clergy continued to recognise the Church of Rome as a true church; her ministry as valid; her sacraments as efficacious; and the pope himself as a Christian bishop. But the puritan would cede none of these things. He did not deny that there might be pious Romanists, but he maintained that piety in such instances existed rather in defiance of the system than by means of it.

The New Testament, said many of our early Reformers, furnishes small information concerning matters of discipline or worship, nearly all things of that nature being left to be regulated and settled in Christian states by the authorities to which such states are

subject. But the puritans accepted the scriptures as their standard both of doctrine and discipline, and affirmed that nothing should be accepted as Christian for which that authority could not be adduced, either directly or indirectly, and that any less important matters which the scriptures may have left doubtful, should be referred, not to the authorities of the state, but to the pastors of the church.

In accordance with these views, the ruling churchmen in those times deemed it enough to be able to cite the belief or practice of the first four or five centuries in their defence, while the puritans restricted their appeal to the sacred writings, and to the apostolic age. They would not be bound by any later or less certain authority.

Finally, while many taught that things neither commanded nor forbidden in scripture, and which for that reason were named indifferent, might be adopted and enforced by the royal authority—the puritan insisted that no human authority could be warranted in making things necessary which had not been so made by the teaching or example of the inspired writers; and that least of all might that be done in things connected with religion by an authority essentially secular.

When reminded that the shape of a cap or the fashion of a robe was a trivial thing, the answer was, that if the thing was a trifle, then why not leave it as such to the individual conscience? But were these things trivial? Had they not been the badge of men whose worship was not only grossly superstitious, but absolutely idolatrous, and of men whose rule had been so lately stained in the face of the whole country with the blood of the innocent? Further—let it be ceded that statesmen may exercise their authority thus far in church affairs, and who is to fix a limit to their interference in that direction?*

* Strype, *Annals*. *Life of Parker*, passim. Neal, i. 123.

The great fault in the men who so reasoned was, that had the independence which they claimed been ceded to them, they would have borne on many a tender conscience too much after the manner of the queen and her bishops. If the Erastian Act of Uniformity under Elizabeth had not come into existence, there would have been a puritan act of that nature, which in many respects would have been not a whit less rigid. It would have been based avowedly on the authority of the apostolic age, and not on any later age; and the teaching of the apostolic age would have been interpreted by the ministers of religion rather than by ministers of state; but the result would have been a fixed polity, discipline, and ritual, to which the individual conscience would not have been allowed to take exception. The aid of the magistrate would have been invoked, but it would have been, after the old popish fashion, to enforce the decisions of the clergy, not his own decisions. Concerning religious doctrine, there was no material difference between the puritans and their opponents.

The grand fault in the scheme of the puritans.

The most desirable course, as regarded the nation at large, would perhaps have been, that Elizabeth should have left the obnoxious ceremonies optional—optional under certain circumstances according to law—or that she should have consented to their entire removal. No danger would have ensued from either policy: and in either case, the bitterness gendered in the early stages of this controversy, which prepared men for extending it to graver differences, might have been avoided. One word from the queen would have sufficed to this end. Romanists were not to be conciliated by the retention of such things. But the bias of Elizabeth was on the side of a strict and showy kind of ritual, and there was much in her own temper to ensure that the temper of the puritans would be especially offensive to her.

What Elizabeth might have done.

CHAPTER II.

HISTORY OF PURITANISM.

Uniformity more strictly enforced.

ARCHBISHOP PARKER, on receiving the queen's letter complaining of irregularity in the services of the church, and insisting on conformity, wrote without delay to the bishops, urging them to show themselves obedient to the will of her majesty, with all possible promptitude. The London clergy had been conspicuous in their neglect of the orders which had been issued by Elizabeth and her commissioners. They were now summoned, reasoned with, and those who were not to be moved by such influences, were menaced with the loss of their livings. Many promised obedience; but thirty refused submission, and it was observed that most of these were able preachers, and well-educated men. Within the next three months, many of these men were excluded from their cures and silenced.

Humphrey and Sampson.

Among the clergy subjected to this ordeal were Dr. Lawrence Humphrey, head of Christ Church, Oxford; and Dr. Thomas Sampson, head of Magdalen. Both were men of eminent worth and learning, and held in high and general estimation. But neither could promise to use the prescribed apparel. They invoked the opinion of the Zurich divines, Bullinger and Gaulter, on the question. The answer of those learned men was, that the retention of the obnoxious garments was much to be deprecated, but that good men would do well to conform to the use of them, rather than see their official influence pass into unworthy hands. Such was the opinion of Zurich, but Geneva was of another judgment. Beza, and seventeen

of his brethren, in the latter city, maintained that it would be better that conscientious men should resign their office as ministers, and retire to private life, than accept it on such conditions. Humphrey and Sampson lived to the year 1589. Cecil prevailed on Humphrey to become a conformist. But Sampson could not free himself from his scruples. He was deprived of his official status, and lived some twenty years a poor man.*

Puritanism in Cambridge.

Towards the close of 1565, this controversy produced a great excitement in the University of Cambridge. The fellows and students in St. John's College, and in Trinity College, were almost to a man on the side of the puritans. Dr. Longford, the master of St. John's, was to be absent from the college for a season; and his absence, as appeared afterwards, was not unintentional. On a certain day, some three hundred collegians appeared in chapel without hood or surplice, and some alterations were introduced in the service. The men of Trinity, with three exceptions only, showed themselves to be of one mind with the men of St. John's. Other colleges were, of course, more or less affected. The master of St. John's, on his return, made no complaint about the innovations that had taken place, but allowed affairs to move on in the altered course. Cecil, the chancellor, was soon apprised of what had been done. He wrote letters expressing his deep regret, describing the conduct of the innovators as inconsiderate and mischievous, and urging them, as they hoped to avoid the heavy displeasure of the queen, to retrace their steps. It is manifest in this correspondence, that Cecil feared the anger of her majesty, if the Cambridge students did not. He dealt in a very peremptory manner with the master of

* Strype, *Annals*, ii. 125–131, 148–150. 'Let me add this further concerning Sampson; that upon his deprivation, which was executed by the queen's ecclesiastical commissioners, he was restrained of his liberty too at London, *by her order*, that he might be *an example of her displeasure to the rest*.'—Ibid. 152. Neal, i. 164, 165.

St. John's and the master of Trinity, obliging them to promise that they would themselves return to the former usage of their colleges, and that they would endeavour, by all means in their power, to bring the men under them to obedience. Enough had happened, however, to show the strength which this new current of thought and preference had acquired in the country, and to make it evident that discussion on this subject would not be brought to a speedy settlement. The next year, Cecil found it necessary to write as earnestly as before, to discountenance what he describes as 'the lightness and disorder of youth,' in that venerable seat of learning.*

The ground of the puritan controversy became wider. 1570.

Four years later, the puritans in Cambridge widened the ground of dispute with the established church. 'Hitherto the quarrel was only about wearing the cap 'and the surplice, and such like apparel, and the posture 'in receiving the sacrament; but now they attempt to 'move another, and a more dangerous matter, in 'assaulting the hierarchy of the church, and disproving 'and condemning the ancient wholesome government 'used in it by archbishops and bishops, deans and 'archdeacons, and other ecclesiastical officers.'† The great leader in this new movement, was Mr. Thomas Cartwright. Cartwright, a fellow of Trinity College. Cartwright was a man of learning and energy, and so great was his influence, even while avowing such opinions, that he was elected to be divinity reader in the chair founded by the lady Margaret. Crowds gathered about him. The pulpits of the town echoed his doctrines. Tracts and fly-sheets were scattered abroad, full of the freest criticism on the character of the hierarchy, and on the exercise of the royal authority in relation to it. The authorities in Cambridge who were favourable to the established order, and

Cartwright.

* Strype, *Annals*, ii. 153–161, 217. King's College took the court side in this commotion.

† Ibid. 372.

Grindal, then archbishop of York, wrote to Cecil, who was still chancellor, urging him to adopt decisive measures to suppress these disorders. The next step, it was said, of men who seek a parity among officers in the church, will be to seek a similar parity in the state. But Cartwright and his friends did not leave their case to be reported by their opponents. They were careful to submit it to the chancellor in their own words. Cecil, having the matter thus before him from the showing of both sides, delivered his judgment, but did so with much caution and moderation.* Cartwright was admonished to abstain from such reflections on the established order of things in his future reading and preaching. But this light penalty, as it was deemed, did not at all satisfy the enemies of that bold innovator. Dr. Whitgift, master of Trinity, had been strenuously opposed to him, and now, in his capacity of vice-chancellor, went so far as to prohibit his reading at all, and, in the end, excluded him from his fellowship. Cecil was prevailed upon to express his approval of these proceedings, and in this manner Cartwright was confirmed in his antagonism to the hierarchy, and especially to Whitgift.†

Whitgift.

The puritans in London—first separation. 1566.

While the men of Cambridge gave such signs of discontent, the deprived ministers in London were not silent. In the year after they were excluded from their churches, more than one book was published in vindication of their conduct. In this year, Jewel, bishop of Salisbury, writing to Bullinger, says in behalf of himself and of his old companions in exile, bishops Parkhurst, Sandys, and Pilkington, that they 'wished all footsteps of popery might be removed, 'both out of the churches, and out of the minds of

* Strype, ii. 377, 378.

† Ibid. iii. 1–5. Strype says, 'I do not find anything more done with Cartwright in the university, being discharged of his lecture, outed the college, stopped of his degree of doctor, and silenced from preaching in or near the university.' That was all!

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'men; but the queen would hear of no change.' No man knew the mind of the queen on this subject better than archbishop Parker; but while his personal judgment is known to have been very much that of Jewel and his brother bishops, he was zealous in seeing that an answer to the argument which the London ministers had set forth should not be wanting.*

The beginnings of separation.

In this manner the queen and the primate brought on the first separation of ordained clergymen, with their congregations, from the established Church. Many of the deprived ministers began the practice of medicine. Some turned to other secular employments. But there were those who preferred to retain their office, and to exercise it in secret, not a few belonging to their former charge being earnestly disposed to avail themselves of their spiritual services.

Conventicles forbidden.

The queen looked with some apprehension on this movement, and issued injunctions, in her own name and in the name of the council, prohibiting the laity from meeting in conventicles for religious worship. Persons becoming thus disobedient were to be deprived of 'the freedom of the city, and to abide what should 'follow.'† Meetings of this description, however, were frequent, and the sacraments were sometimes administered in them. But they were commonly meetings in private houses. So long as they were thus limited and quiet it was not easy to detect them. It was felt, moreover, that to meddle with them would be very unpopular. Custom in such things gives courage. In the summer of 1567, a number of nonconformists hired the Plumbers' Hall, on the plea of holding a wedding festival, but, in reality, for conducting one of their religious services. The city sheriffs and their officers came to the door and demanded admission. They found about a hundred persons present, and some fourteen or fifteen from

* Strype, *Parker*, i. 420 et seq. Neal, i. 107, 156, 159.
† Strype, *Life of Grindal*, 169.

among the leading men were arrested, and sent to the Compter prison. On the following day, these persons were placed before the lord mayor, Grindal, the bishop of London, and the queen's commissioners, and were interrogated concerning their meeting. The resentment of the separatists under this treatment was bitter, even rude, and seemed to prognosticate worse things to come.*

Puritans in parliament.

While the scruples of the puritans, both in ministers and laymen, were leading to these results in some quarters, the influence of this party through the country was strongly reflected in the proceedings of parliament. The first marked indication of this feeling is in the parliament of 1566. The two houses then presented a petition to the queen, praying her majesty to marry, and to adopt measures for the settlement of the crown in the event of her dying without issue. The queen of Scots had recently given birth to a son. The Romanists were hoping to see the crown settled on the Scottish queen and her offspring; and the more zealous Protestants, especially the puritans, were quite as solicitous that the sovereignty should not pass in that direction. Who should be named as next in succession, was a difficulty, and the difference of opinion on that point only served to show the importance of settling the question on the best authority possible.

The queen urged to marry.

The nearest claimants, exclusive of the queen of Scots, were the countess of Lenox, a daughter of Margaret of Scotland, by her second husband, the earl of Angus; and Catherine, countess of Hertford, descended from Mary, Margaret's younger sister, through her marriage with the duke of Suffolk. The petition of the parliament set forth, under a series of heads, the considerations which should induce the queen to take a husband. Her so doing, it was urged, was not merely expedient, but imperative—a sacred duty.

* Strype, *Life of Grindal*, 168–176.

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Elizabeth answered this memorial in such a manner as neither to consent to what was proposed, nor wholly to reject it. This kind of reply gave no satisfaction to the more zealous members of the lower house. It was urged by Wentworth, Bell, and others, who were leading men among the puritans, that the strength of sovereigns consisted in the loyalty of their subjects, and that no prince should calculate on that loyalty while neglecting the duties necessary to the tranquillity and safety of the state. So bold did they become, as to say, that the queen, by slighting their wishes in this important matter, 'would be rather a step-mother to 'her country, or something worse, than the nursing-'mother thereof:—as being seemingly desirous that 'England, which lived as it were in her, should rather 'expire with her, than survive or out-last her. That 'none but timorous princes, or such as were hated by 'their people, or faint-hearted women, did ever stand 'in fear of their successors.'*

Elizabeth much displeased with the liberty of the commons.

Great, we are told, was the liberty of speech on this occasion. Great, too, was the displeasure of the queen. To put a check upon this licence, her majesty commanded thirty members of the commons to appear before her, along with a committee of the lords. Elizabeth's address to the culprits was highly characteristic. She rebuked them and flattered them by turns; and as a large subsidy had been granted, in the expectation that the petition touching her marriage would be successful, she softened her expression of hesitancy on that question, by declining to take more than a part of the sum voted, adding, that, to her, 'money in the purses of her subjects was as good as 'money in her exchequer.' In her speech on the dissolution of this parliament her majesty returned to this disquieting topic, and in terms which showed that she was still ill at ease, in the remembrance of what had happened. She hinted something about persons

* Camden, ad ann. D'Ewes' *Journal.*

who in the business of the session had worn two faces, and had hoped to do her mischief, by breeding distrust and disaffection between herself and her commons. The talk of these persons was about 'Succession 'and Liberty,' and one good thing had come of it—her friends had been distinguished from her enemies. The house of commons, in this parliament, said the queen, seems to have consisted of four classes—the secret movers of unwise discussions, who are the most to blame; the great talkers on such matters, who are the next in fault; the credulous persons who allow themselves to be influenced by eloquent tales; and those who listen, wonder, do not approve, but are mute, for whom most excuse might be made.* So the queen's friends in those 'Succession and Liberty' disputes, seem to have consisted of persons who would gladly have suppressed the freedom of their colleagues, but who knew themselves to be so few, or so feeble, that they had not the courage to avow their opinions.

Parliament of 1571.

Five years passed before Elizabeth convened her next parliament. During those years the conspiracies of Spain and France against this country had been closely watched; the treasonable intrigues of the queen of Scots had been detected; the duke of Norfolk had been sent to the Tower; and the rebellion in the north under the earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland, had been suppressed. The queen opened this parliament in person, and in great splendour. According to the speech of the lord keeper, one part of its business was to see what needed to be done concerning the laws and discipline of the church —matters on which the judgment of the bishops should be particularly consulted. The speaker of the commons, in his address to the queen, prayed that certain privileges might be granted to the lower house, particularly that its members should 'all have free 'speech' in their deliberations. The answer of Eliza-

* *Parl. Hist.* i. 716–722.

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beth to this last petition was, 'that her majesty 'having experience of late of some disorder, and cer- 'tain offences, which though they were not punished, 'yet were they offences still, and so must be accounted; 'therefore said, they should do well to meddle with 'no matters of state, but such as should be propounded 'unto them, and to occupy themselves in other mat- 'ters concerning the commonwealth.' In other words, the house might vote supplies, and concern itself with small matters, such as laws relating to buying and selling, but it was not to meddle with any weighty affair of church or state except as invited so to do.*

Elizabeth would not have the Commons meddle with state matters.

The puritans are not to be so restrained.

The puritan party, who seem to have had this parliament completely at their disposal, were not awed by this interdict. We learn that the day after the queen had so spoken, 'Mr. Strickland, a grave and 'ancient man, of great zeal, stood up and made a long 'discourse, tending to the remembrance of God's good- 'ness, in giving unto us the light of his word, toge- 'ther with the gracious disposition of her majesty, by 'whom, as by his instrument, God has wrought so 'great things, and blaming our slackness and care- 'lessness, in not [duly] esteeming and following the 'time and blessing offered.' The nation, he said, had now been long endeavouring to reach the purity of God's truth, and no plea of 'policy, or any other pre- 'tence,' should be allowed to delay a fuller reformation. 'The Book of Common Prayer is (God be 'praised) drawn very near to the sincerity of the truth,

Strickland's speech.

* The lord treasurer, soon after the meeting of this parliament, stated the court doctrine very distinctly, touching the legislative authority of parliament on ecclesiastical affairs. 'If the matters mentioned as to be reformed be heretical, then they are presently to be condemned; but if they are but matters of ceremony, then it behoves us to refer the same to her majesty, who hath authority, as chief of the church, to deal herein. And for us to meddle with matters of her prerogative, it were not expedient.' —D'Ewes, *Journal*, 137–139. The queen, as head of the church, with the Court of High Commission, came thus into the place of the parliament on such questions. But the puritans were slow to admit that so much had been ceded.

'yet are there some things inserted which are more 'superstitious than is tolerable in such high matters— 'as, namely, in the administration of the sacrament of 'baptism, the sign of the cross is made, with other 'ceremonies, and such other errors—all of which 'might well be changed, without note of chopping or 'changing of religion, whereby the enemy might 'slander us, it being a reformation, not contrariant, 'but directly pursuant to our profession—that is, to 'have all things brought to the purity of the primi- 'tive church, and institution of Christ.'

This 'ancient man' is said to have spoken at large concerning the abuses of the church of England, and the faults of the churchmen. He complained that known papists were admitted to livings, and to places of authority, while deserving men, honest and godly protestants, were left to poverty and obscurity; that boys, and incompetent persons, were often inducted to cures, and pluralism was shamefully tolerated. His motion therefore was, 'that by authority of the house, 'some convenient number of them might be assigned, 'to have conference with the lords of the spiritualty 'for the consideration and reformation of such matters.' This motion was carried, and a committee was appointed, including, with other names, all the members of the privy council having seats in that house.

Strickland under restraint—the house will have him back.

But on the next day, Mr. Strickland was summoned to appear before the council, and after some questioning, was commanded to abstain from resuming his place in the commons until the pleasure of the government concerning him should be further known. His friends, however, were in no mood to submit to this stretch of power. 'Mr. Carleton, with a very good 'zeal, and an orderly show of obedience, made signifi- 'cation, that a member of the house was detained 'from them, by whose commandment, or for what 'cause, he knew not. But forasmuch as he was not 'now a private person, but especially chosen to supply 'the room, person, and place of a multitude, he thought

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'that neither in regard of the country which was not 'to be wronged, nor for the liberty of the house, which 'was not to be infringed, should they permit him to 'be detained from them. But, whatsoever the intend-'ment of his offence might be, that he should be sent 'for to the bar of that house, there to be heard, and 'there to answer.' The lord treasurer and the comptroller endeavoured to check the storm thus rising, by assuring the house that no harsh course had been taken towards the absent member; that his offence had not been in what he had said, but in introducing a bill which trenched on her majesty's prerogative; and that the crown had interfered in times past, both in regard to measures and speeches, in a much greater degree. Mr. Arnold replied, 'with some vehemency,' that if it became them to remember her majesty's prerogative, it became them also to remember the liberty due to the house of commons. Were he not to say thus much he should fall under the censure of his own conscience, which he feared much more than any offence elsewhere. Two members spoke in favour of the claim of the crown; but Mr. Yelverton, a lawyer, and a man of mark in the parliaments of this reign, rose and demanded that Mr. Strickland should be restored to his place. Such a precedent, he alleged, would be most perilous, if once ceded. What use might be made of it by arbitrary princes no one could foresee. Surely the crown could not be allowed to give law, in this manner to the parliament, while the authority of parliament was such that it could dispose of the crown. To deny that supremacy to the English parliament was high treason. 'He remembered that 'men are not there for themselves, but for their coun-'tries. He showed it was fit for princes to have their 'prerogatives; but yet the same to be straitened 'within reasonable limits; the prince, he showed, 'could not of herself make laws, neither might she 'by the same reason break laws. He further said, 'that the speech uttered in that place, and the offer

Yelverton.

'made of the bill, was not to be condemned as evil; 'for that if there were anything in the Book of Com- 'mon Prayer, either Jewish, Turkish, or Popish, the 'same was to be reformed.' While these bold sayings were reverberating through the house, the members of the council present were seen whispering together. Presently, the Speaker expressed his desire that the debate should proceed no further. The next day Strickland was again in his place, 'to the no small 'joy of his brethren.'*

Parliament of 1572.

In the parliament of the next year, more than one message came to the commons prohibiting their proceedings, as embracing matters not proper to be taken up by parliament without permission from the crown. One of the measures thus interdicted, related to the ceremonies of the church; the other, to the course which Elizabeth should be urged to take towards the Scottish queen. The puritan members murmured deeply among themselves under this restraint. No good, they said, could come from a session thus speech-bound; nor could parliaments be of any real value if to be thus checked and coerced by another power. But there

* D'Ewes, *Journal*, 156–176. There was a discussion in this parliament on a bill to enforce attendance at church, which deserves notice on two accounts,—as showing that in 1571 there were many churches in which the minister made little or no use of the Prayer-book; and that even that venerable senator, Mr. Strickland, needed to be much enlightened on his favourite topic—liberty of conscience. 'In many places,' it is said, 'no part of the prayers [in the Prayer-book] was observed, but a sermon, and some such other prayers only as the minister shall think good, in place thereof; whereupon great divisions, discords, and dislikes have grown between great numbers.' Mr. Aglionby, burgess for Warwick, would have persons obliged to attend church, but not to go to the communion, which would be to strain conscience. Mr. Strickland replied, that the Israelites were constrained to eat the passover, and that to compel persons to commune 'was no straining of their consciences, but a charge or loss of their goods, if they could not vouchsafe to be, as they should be, good men, and true Christians'!—D'Ewes, 161. This debate was on the 14th of April, and was resumed on the 21st, but appears to have been dropped.—*Parl. Hist.* 763–766. When Strickland made his appearance, the house was nominating a committee touching a bill concerning attendance at church, &c., and at once appointed the restored member as one of that committee.

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were circumstances which inclined the house to submit for the moment to this invasion of its liberty.

Parliament of 1575—Wentworth's speech.

On the first day, however, in the history of the next parliament, this suppressed feeling obtained strong utterance, in a memorable speech from the puritan lawyer, Peter Wentworth. He said that since the dissolution of the last parliament, his conscience had not ceased to upbraid him with his cowardice, in that he had not lifted up his voice against the treatment to which the commons were then subjected. In prospect of the meeting of another parliament he had resolved to acquit himself honestly on this whole matter, and he had so resolved in full foresight of the penalty he might incur by so doing. He gave expression to his loyalty, as the puritans generally did, in impassioned terms—but he ventured to say, that even the queen might err, and that she had erred, in not so trusting her faithful commons as to have left them to the use of their ancient and proper freedom. Nothing could be more certain than that subjects must be accounted trustworthy, if they are to be found affectionate and loyal. The house of commons consisted of men who were deputed to concern themselves with everything affecting the interests of church or state. To abridge its liberty, was to abridge the liberty of the whole state; and the things which were highest in their own nature, were the things with which they were the most bound to occupy themselves.

To expect that the interests of the church would be served, by leaving them entirely, or mainly, in the hands of the spiritualty, was to expect, according to Mr. Wentworth's judgment, against nature and experience. 'I have heard,' said this stern senator, 'from old parliament men, that the banishment of the 'pope and popery, and the restoring of true religion, 'had their beginning from this house, and not from 'the bishops; and I do surely think, before God I 'speak it, that the bishops were the cause of that dole-'ful message [forbidding discussion on the ceremonies

'bill]; and I will show you what moves me to think 'so. I was, amongst others, in the last parliament, 'sent to the archbishop of Canterbury, about the 'articles of religion which then passed this house. He 'asked us, why we did put out of the book the articles 'for the homilies, consecrating of bishops, and such 'like? Surely, sir, said I, because we were so occupied 'in other matters, that we had no time to examine 'them, how far they agree with the word of God. 'What, said he, surely you mistook the matter, you 'will defer wholly to us therein? No, by the faith I 'bear to God, said I, we will pass nothing before we 'understand what it is; for that were to make you 'popes—make you popes who list, said I, we will 'make you none.' So unusual were the terms in which Wentworth expressed himself, especially in relation to the interference of the queen with the liberty of the house, that he was placed in the custody of the serjeant-at-arms, and a committee of the house was appointed to consider his words. But he recanted nothing. His speech, he told the committee, had been written three months before. What he had said had been said advisedly. If a message, he continued, sent to the house shall 'be against the glory of God, 'against the prince's safety, or against the liberty of 'this house, whereby the state is maintained, I neither 'may nor will hold my peace. I cannot in so doing 'discharge my conscience, whosoever doth send it. 'And I say that I heartily repent me for that I have 'hitherto held my peace in these causes; and I do pro-'mise you all, if God forsake me not, that I will never, 'during my life, hold my tongue, if any message be 'sent wherein God is dishonoured, the prince perilled, 'or the liberty of parliament impeached; and every 'one of you here ought to repent of these faults, and to 'amend them.' Wentworth was lodged in the Tower. But three days afterwards, the queen sent Mr. Christopher Hatton to the commons to say, that notwithstanding she had so much ground for being displeased

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with the imprisoned member, she forbore to concern herself with his case, and left his enlargement wholly to the discretion of the house. This communication was received with applause, and the house felt that Wentworth had done the state some service.*

Subsequent parliaments.

Seven parliaments were convened during the reign of Elizabeth after this parliament of 1575. In all these there was a recurrence, more or less, of the scenes above described. The commons persisted in making speeches, and in introducing bills, on ecclesiastical affairs, and the queen was not less pertinacious in rebuking them, and in claiming that the ordering of all such matters should be left to herself and her bishops. But the commons were wise in their generation. They knew that every agitation of such questions had its uses, even when their measures, though carried, did not become law. The queen was always firm in the assertion of her alleged prerogative, and the puritans in the commons were equally firm in asserting the ancient liberty of parliament.†

New policy of the puritans.

Down to 1575, seventeen years after the queen's accession, the great majority of the puritan ministers were comparatively moderate and cautious men, and were to be found within the pale of the established church. But experience had taught even these to despair of any concession from the queen, from archbishop Parker, or from the commission court. It was seen that their friends in parliament could make themselves heard; and that their friends in the privy council might be expected to do them service; and from this time their hope had respect mainly to the assistance that might be obtained in those quarters. They knew, also, that even among the prelates, there was a considerable division of opinion, some being much more disposed to tolerate manifestations of a puritan feeling than others. No immediate change

* D'Ewes, *Journal*, 236–244.

† *Parl. Hist.* i. 609–955. Strype, *Life of Whitgift*, passim.

for the better in the established order of the church being probable, the question with this class of ministers came to be—In what way, consistently with that order, might they make their religious influence in the country most effectual?

Organization of clergy and laity in Northampton.

The clergy of the town of Northampton were the first to move under an impulse of this nature. With the sanction of their diocesan, of the mayor of the town, and of the local magistrates, the ministers of Northampton resolved, that in the ordinary services of the church, the Book of Common Prayer should be duly used—but that there should be a psalm before and after sermon, to be sung by the congregation without the use of the organ; that on Tuesday and Thursday there should be a lecture, from nine to ten in the morning, in the principal church of the town, which should be preceded with the confession of sin only from the Prayer-book, and be followed by a prayer and a confession of faith; that on every Sunday and holiday, there should be a sermon after this manner, at such an hour, that the people, after attending the usual church service, might attend this supplementary service; that once a quarter there should be a communion service, from five o'clock in the morning to eight for servants, and from nine to twelve for masters and mistresses; that this service should be according to the Prayer-book, except that the people should rise from confession in their pews, and approach the communion table in companies, the minister reading in the pulpit; that the minister should visit his parishioners a fortnight before the communion, to reconcile such as might be at variance, and to urge a devout observance of the institution; that order should be taken to ensure a regular catechising of the young on the Lord's day; and that no idle or indecorous conduct should be allowed in the town on that day during the hours of service.

The ministers and magistrates of Northampton must have had reason to conclude that the people would generally concur in this scheme, and be ready

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to avail themselves of such means of edification. What was true in this respect of Northampton, would be true, we have reason to think, of most towns in England; and if so, then the contest of Elizabeth with the puritans would seem to have been little less than a contest with the nation, or at least with a very large portion of its town populations.*

Associations for prophesying and exposition of Scripture.

But these ministers of Northampton were not content with seeking the edification of their people, they instituted an organization among themselves with a special view to their own improvement. The clergy, not only of the town, but of the whole county, were invited to meet once a quarter, when three persons previously named were to engage in what was called an 'exercise,' which consisted in the exposition and application of a text. The first speaker might occupy three quarters of an hour, the other two, who were to supplement or correct what the first had said, were not to exceed a quarter of an hour each. The people who were thus far to be auditors, were then dismissed, and the presiding clergyman called upon the brethren generally to deliver their judgment concerning what had passed, stating in writing such objections as they wished should be answered at the next meeting. The freedom assumed in these discussions became known in those days as the 'Liberty of Prophesying;' and the custom was founded on the text—'Ye may all 'prophesy [elucidate, interpret], one by one, that all 'may learn, and all be comforted.'†

Prejudice raised against them.

In the course of the next two or three years, meetings of this nature became common in many parts of England, especially in Norfolk and the northern counties. The more learned among the clergy, and the most popular preachers, were generally the leading men in these exercises. Their tendency was, no doubt, to qualify the younger preachers to deal more effectually with the arguments of the seminary priests

* Strype, *Ann.* ii. ad an. 1571. † 1 Cor. xiv. 30.

and the jesuits, and to expound the scriptures generally with greater readiness and ability.

The queen and Parker declare against them. March 25.

But Parker appears to have regarded them as so many normal schools of puritanism and disaffection. In 1574, the primate became very zealous in his efforts to suppress them, and though opposed by the council, with the aid of the queen he carried his object.*

Death of Parker, 1575.

Parker died while thus employed. He was a man of energy and courage, and of some political sagacity. In his view, the church ceremonies which proved to be so objectionable to the puritans in the early years of his primacy, were small matters. He often said that he cared little or nothing about them. But there must be order in such things; the queen preferred this order; and it became him to see that the queen was obeyed.† In acting upon this policy, however, he found himself exposed to much resistance, and to many hard speeches, which evidently affected his temper, so that his aversion to the puritans, and his disposition to uphold Elizabeth in the extreme, and even in illegal, exercises of her prerogative, became more manifest as he grew older. He stood so much alone in pursuing this course, that looking at his career as a whole, it is not surprising that small affection should have been shown towards his memory in any quarter, and that he should have been very unpopular with the puritans. His learning, and his disposition to encourage learning, were his best qualities. On this last ground he is entitled to much praise. But in his administration as primate, the Christian edification of the people seemed to be little regarded, compared with their being taught to be quiet and submissive. Such was Elizabeth's way of thinking, and the archbishop was content to become the instrument of her pleasure.

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* Strype, *Parker*, ii. 258–262.

† 'Doth your lordship think, as he went on, that I care for cap, tippet, surplice, or wafer-bread, or any such? But for the law so established, esteem them. For he saw, he said, contempt of law and authority would follow, and be the end of it, if discipline were not used.'—Strype, *Parker*, ii. 424.

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Parker was succeeded by Grindal, a man whose views concerning the function of the Christian minister were of another, and of a much better kind. Grindal encouraged the attempts which were made to revive the meetings for 'prophesying,' and hoped to disarm prejudice against them by placing them under restrictions which seemed to preclude the possible appearance of disorder. But he was disappointed. On his coming to court, Elizabeth, we are told, 'declared herself offended at the number of preachers, 'as well as at the exercises, urging that it was good 'for the church to have few preachers, that three 'or four in a county might suffice, and that the 'reading of homilies to the people was enough.'* The archbishop wrote to her majesty on these topics. He regarded the exercises, not only as harmless, but as highly beneficial.† The want of more able preachers was, in his judgment, the great want of the church. The reading of homilies was a sorry substitute for such preaching. In conclusion, the good man declared that, as archbishop, he must be allowed to act conscientiously, and that he could not consent to act upon the views of the queen on those points. The letter is a noble one, discussing all these topics largely and freely.‡ But Elizabeth was neither convinced nor softened by it. She suppressed 'the prophesyings.' The archbishop himself was put under restraint, was sequestered, and remained thus disgraced until 1582, the year of his death.

1576. Dec. 20.

* Strype, *Grindal*, 329.

† Lord Bacon describes the proceedings of these meetings, as 'a good exercise,' and regrets their being put down 'against the advice and opinion of one of the greatest and gravest prelates of this land.' 'It was in my opinion the best way to frame and train up preachers to handle the word of God as it ought to be handled, that hath been practised. For we see orators have their declamations, lawyers have their moots, logicians their sophisms, and every practice of science hath an exercise of erudition and initiation before men come to the life; only preaching, which is the worthiest, and wherein it is more danger to do amiss, wanteth an introduction, and is ventured and rushed upon at the first.'—*Pacification of the Church of England*: Works, xi. 61 et seq.

‡ Strype, *Grindal*, Ap. No. 9.

It was in 1572 that the first book intitled, *An Admonition to Parliament*, was published. This work set forth a scheme of polity, discipline, and worship, such as the more advanced puritans were desirous of seeing established. It was the production of various hands. The two ministers who presented it to parliament were sent to Newgate. But the book found its way to the public through the press. Great effort was made to discover the printer, and to suppress the publication—but in vain. In less than two years, four editions of the work were put into circulation.*

Puritan admonition to parliament.

In 1583, Whitgift became primate. The see of Canterbury was twenty years in his hands, which brings us to the death of Elizabeth. Three facts are observable as characteristic of his administration. The attempts to enforce conformity became more stringent and unscrupulous than ever; the result, both among separatists and among the conforming clergy, was an increase of discontent; and so the feeling of sympathy with such men, became stronger and more general, both among the people, and among the gentry and nobles, not excepting the distinguished men nearest about the person of the queen. In Whitgift, Elizabeth found an archbishop of Canterbury after her own heart. But the result of their conjoint rule must have been a growing mortification to both.

One of the new primate's first acts was to issue a series of 'Articles,' more severely intolerant towards the puritans than anything of the kind hitherto published. Of the spirit which pervaded these injunc-

The new primate issues new articles.

* Whitgift replied to this manifesto of his old antagonists, and sharp and uncharitable enough was the invective on both sides.—Strype, *Parker*, i. 109–115. *Whitgift*, i. 54–75. Ballard, the priest who was executed as implicated in the Babington conspiracy, gave great offence to some parties by stating, in his confession, that he desired 'no better books to prove his doctrine of popery than the archbishop's writings against Cartwright,' adding that 'if any Protestants were worthy to be accounted virtuous, they were the puritans; and that unlearned and reading ministers were a furtherance to jesuits and seminary priests in their seeking to reconcile her majesty's subjects to the pope.'—Ibid. 506.

tions some judgment may be formed from the fact, that 'reading, catechising, and such like exercises in families,' if any persons not of the family should be present, were declared to be such things as 'no Christian 'magistrate had ever permitted,' and a 'manifest sign 'of schism.'

The storm raised by these articles was the natural prelude to much that followed. Great numbers of ministers in Kent, Sussex, Suffolk, Essex, Lincoln, and other counties, were suspended. The people and gentry in those districts became loud in their complaints. The members of the council remonstrated. But the primate was skilled in the means of self-defence. He could reckon on the support of the queen, and was not to be readily turned from his course.*

But no part of Whitgift's rule was more generally condemned than his determination to examine his victims by means of the *ex-officio* oath. This form of proceeding had been retained from the old Romanist times. It required suspected persons to bind themselves by oath to answer the questions that might be put to them, and so to convict themselves and others

* Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 123 et seq. The remonstrance from the council was signed by eight persons, including the names of Burleigh, Walsingham, Leicester, Hatton, Shrewsbury, Howard, Warwick, and Croft. It is said that these persons were influenced by *ex-parte* evidence. But that is hardly probable, certainly not in any great measure. The bias of Sir Christopher Hatton was by no means with men who made a difficulty about conformity.

In 1582, the English Romanists at Rheims sent forth their famous Rhemist Testament—an English translation of the New Testament, with annotations, &c.—which found wide circulation in this country. Walsingham urged Cartwright to expose the errors of this work, and furnished him with money for the purpose. But Whitgift interdicted the puritan from so doing. The increase of Romanism, it seems, was less to be apprehended, than the seeds of puritanism which would probably find their way into a reply from that quarter. Such facts reveal the temper of the times. —Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 482–484. *Annals*, iii. 287–290. Cartwright did write a work on this subject, but it was not printed before 1618, when he had long ceased from his labour.

without limit. Whitgift reasoned elaborately in defence of this practice. Persons refusing to take this oath, he maintained, deserved to be punished for such refusal.* The candid reader will not need that more should be said to illustrate the temper of the ecclesiastical domination to which England was subject during the twenty years which preceded the accession of James I. The state of parties bequeathed to the Stuarts by this policy is well known. It was greatly to the honour of the puritans, that in general, they resolutely refused to take this oath.

The clergy originate classical meetings.

In 1588, the meetings for prophesying, which had always been for the most part public, and had embraced laity and clergy, were succeeded by classical and provincial assemblies, which were convened in secret, and restricted to ministers. Whitgift appears to have looked on the clergy who conformed under his harsh discipline as converted; but he now discovered, that these local assemblies consisted mainly of the conformist clergy—men who submitted for the present to the terms exacted from them, but did so in the fervent hope of seeing better days. In these conferences, all the ecclesiastical questions then agitated were freely discussed, and plans were digested to influence public opinion and feeling in every way possible in favour of puritan opinions. Some of the meetings convened

* Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 318–322. 'In criminal matters not capital, handled in the Star Chamber, and in cases of conscience, handled in Chancery, for the most part grounded upon trust and secresy, the oath of the party is required. But how? Where there is an accusation and accuser, which we call bills of complaint, from which the complainant cannot vary, and out of the compass of which the defendant may not be examined, exhibited to the court, and by process notified to the defendant. But to examine a man upon *oath*, out of *the insinuation of fame*, or out of accusations *secret*, or *undeclared*, though it have some countenance from the *civil law*, yet it is so *opposite to the course and sense of the common*, as it may well receive some limitation.' This is said of the oath *ex officio* as imposed on the puritans.—Bacon's *Pacification of the Church*. Fuller has given the arguments for and against the use of this oath.—*Church Hist.* v. 107 et seq.

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with this view were discovered. The ministers were arrested. Their papers were seized. Cartwright, and many others, were examined in the Star Chamber. But they left their persecutors to obtain evidence by their own means. They would not be bound to convict themselves or other persons. That they wished to see their own platform established was sufficiently manifest. That they meditated setting it up by force was often charged upon them, but never proved. Their hope was to see opinion come to their side, and to use it in a manner consistent with the law and custom of the realm. The front of their offending consisted in their effort to bring about that consummation; and in their purpose, we must add, to make their more presbyterian polity as authoritative as the present episcopacy.

The Marprelate tracts.

About the year 1590, the growing bitterness by which this controversy had been long characterized, reached its extreme form in the appearance of the Marprelate tracts.* The authorship of these productions is to this day an unsolved problem in our history—as much so as the authorship of the *Letters of Junius*. These publications consist of a series of tracts and treatises, or, as we should now call them, pamphlets; not all probably by the same hand, but all marked by the same severity and levity of style. Their grand assault is on Whitgift, and on the Court of High Commission. Martin Marprelate made the freest use of wit, humour, sarcasm, and invective, so as to startle the public, and to attract large attention,

* Whitgift, some five or six years before this time, had succeeded in giving greater power than ever to the Court of High Commission. According to an instrument issued in 1584, 'the commissioners were to inquire, not only by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, but by all other ways and means they could devise, and by the corporal [*ex officio*] oath of the accused or suspected persons. Hence it followed, as the commission itself stated, they might fine or imprison at pleasure.'—Maskell, *Martin Marprelate*, 145. See the stringent and subtle articles which were to guide these commissioners, in Strype, *Whitgift*, i. 364; and in Neal, i. 320–337.

both among the crowds of the city, and the gay gentlemen at court. When Elizabeth spoke of severely punishing all persons who should retain possession of such writings, the earl of Essex is reported to have said—'What, in that case, will your 'majesty do with me?'—and immediately drew one of the obnoxious tracts from his side-pocket.* All these pieces were printed at a secret press. The press was shifted from place to place with much rapidity. The agents of the government were upon its track as it was removed from Moulsey, near Kingston-upon-Thames, to Fawsley in Northamptonshire, and thence to Norton, to Coventry, and to Welstone in Warwickshire, before it was seized near Manchester.† Even that event did not prevent the appearance of more missives of this character.

The puritans not implicated in these publications.

Much pains were taken to implicate the puritans in this rude onslaught upon the rule of the bishops. But Martin himself declared that no man was responsible for his deeds. He stood alone, and was resolved so to stand. The fact seems to have been, that this man, and the one or two persons who seem to have pursued the same course, had determined not to be shackled by party associations, but to be free to war their own warfare after their own manner. Grave replies to attacks of this nature produced no effect: nor did the commissioners find it possible to lay their hands upon the culprits.

Bancroft preaches the divine right of episcopacy.

While the repudiation of episcopacy was thus becoming more violent than ever, Dr. Bancroft, afterwards bishop of London and archbishop of Canterbury, preached a sermon at St. Paul's Cross, in which he defended episcopacy on the ground of divine right—a doctrine altogether new in the history of English Protestantism. Bancroft was an able man, of strong polemical tendencies, and the times were such as to

* Maskell, *Martin Marprelate*, 123, 124.
† Paul, *Whitgift*, 51.

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furnish him with a large measure of genial occupation. We are disposed to think, that the idea of answering the Marprelate tracts after their own manner, originated with Bancroft, and that it was not carried out without his active assistance. Tracts now appeared in which the puritans were assailed in a very ribald and slanderous fashion, and personalities even more irritating were said to be in reserve. It so happened, that the missiles of Marprelate, which had come forth suddenly, ceased as suddenly—ceased, said his enemies, because he saw himself beaten at his own weapons. But death appears to have silenced Marprelate. We should hope, that to the majority of persons, both among puritans and their opponents, it must have been a sorry matter to have been obliged to listen to men whose language, on both sides, verged so nearly upon Billingsgate, and all this while their professed object was to determine what would be wisest and holiest in the government of the church and the worship of God.*

* 'The more discreet and devout sort of men, even of such as were no great friends to the hierarchy, upon solemn debate then resolved (I speak on certain knowledge from the mouths of such whom I must believe), that for many foul falsehoods therein suggested, such books were altogether unbecoming a pious spirit to print, publish, or peruse.'—Fuller, *Church Hist.* v. 130. Concerning the literary aspect of this controversy generally, Lord Bacon says, 'But in plain truth, I do find, to mine understanding, these pamphlets (in defence of the hierarchy) as meet to be suppressed as the other. First, because, as the former sort doth deface the government of the church in the persons of the bishops and prelates; the other doth lead into contempt the exercises of religion in the persons of sundry preachers, so that it disgraceth a higher matter, though in a meaner person.'—*Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England.*

Mr. Maskell (*Martin Marprelate*) has been industrious in his researches concerning the Marprelate contest, and makes due mention of the services of Nash and others on the anti-puritan side. But he does not tell his readers that these authors were men who obtained their bread by writing for the loose theatres then about London, and that 'Nash's life was passed in profligacy and distress, and a considerable portion of it in the gaols of the metropolis.'—Bell's *Life of Marlowe.* These gentlemen made grotesque exhibitions of Martin on the stage. Lilly says, those who wish to see this renowned person may do so at small

The immediate result of the Marprelate tracts was no doubt greatly injurious to the cause which they were intended to serve. Its enemies were thus furnished with pretexts on the side of greater severities. But the ultimate effect was such as neither party had foreseen. The more intolerant course pursued by the High Commission Court from this time, made it an object of increased disaffection in after years, and prepared the way for its fall.

Effect of the Marprelate controversy.

As we enter upon the latter half of this reign, we meet with men who become known under the name of Brownists and Barrowists—men who separate themselves from the established church, not merely, as in the case of the puritans, because the queen's supremacy is not exercised according to their judgment, but because they hold that the province of the magistrate should be limited to purely civil affairs, leaving the religious opinions and usages of the people wholly to their own preference. But if the puritans were accounted such grave offenders, merely because they would have placed some check on the encroachments of the civil power in regard to religion, it is easy to imagine the special delinquency that would be made to attach to men who were opposed to all action of that power in regard to that object.

Separatists and the civil power.

Robert Brown was a clergyman, related to Cecil. But he was a man of a restless and violent temper, and could do little credit to any cause. He was shielded in a measure by his great kinsman, and after a course of much extravagance and suffering became a conformist. But Thacker, Copping, Barrow, Greenwood, and Penry are the names of men of this class

Robert Brown.

cost. 'If he be showed at Paule's [exhibited by the scholars there], it will cost you fourpence; at the theatre [in Shoreditch], twopence; at St. Thomas Waterings, nothing.' St. Thomas Waterings was the place where Penry and others were hanged! The council interposed to put an end to these scandalous proceedings.—Collier, *Annals of the Stage*, i. 273–275.

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Execution of separatists.

who were blameless in their lives, and manifestly conscientious and devout in their religious profession. It was in vain that these men avowed their loyalty, and their readiness to submit in all civil matters to the authority of the queen. They did not recognise that authority in religion. They would not be bound by it. In common with the puritans, they had no quarrel with the doctrine of the church of England, but they claimed the liberty to reject all things included in it which were not, in their judgment, accordant with scripture. They were reminded that the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown was settled by statute, as clearly and certainly as its civil supremacy. To question the former, was not more truly sedition than to question the latter. Such, however, was the offence of these sectaries. With them, the magistrate was not the ultimate authority in religion. That rested with the individual conscience and the Creator. On this ground the men above named were all condemned, sentenced to die, and hanged. To ask for the liberty which our laws have long since guaranteed to our whole people, was to incur that heavy penalty—to die as the highwayman and the cut-throat dies. So, too often, some must perish in the breach, before the citadel is taken.

Barrow was a gentleman of Gray's Inn. Thacker, Copping, and Greenwood, were Brownist ministers. Penry was a native of Wales, had studied in Cambridge, graduated at Oxford, and is admitted by his enemies to have been a young man of unusual acquirements, and of deep religious feeling. It should be added, that Barrow and Penry were men of a warm temperament, and sometimes expressed themselves in strong and irreverent language towards the ruling clergy. The only plea in their favour in this respect is, that when men are suffering from hard blows, they will sometimes use hard words. Sectaries multiplied rapidly in the face of all this terror. Sir Walter Raleigh declared in parliament, that the religionists of

this order in Norfolk, and in parts about London, were not less than twenty thousand.*

Retrospect —Elizabeth and the puritans.

We see, then, that the controversy on religious matters, which the policy of Elizabeth called forth at the commencement of her reign, continued to the end of it, and may be said to have deepened to the last. If resistance to her measures on the part of the Romanist became weaker, resistance from the discontented among her Protestant subjects became stronger—rooted in a wider basis of difference, and in a more resolute temper. Elizabeth regarded her sovereignty as having come to her, not merely from the people of England, but by divine providence, and as being hers by divine right. She often spoke of her authority, especially in relation to the church, in such terms as to show, that in her estimation, opposition to her personal will was opposition to the divine will. The lower range of legislation, concerning tariffs and subsidies, she could leave to her parliaments; but the church once recognised as Protestant, was to pass into her special charge, and the rough hand of an English house of commons was not to meddle with a matter of so fine a texture and so sacred. Elizabeth's love of state and splendour, naturally disposed her to retain all that could be safely retained from the imposing ceremonial in the church of the past. The pomp of an hierarchy, and the external symbolism which affects the imagination through the senses, were in harmony with her taste. That exception should be taken to an order of things in her own view so seemly and reasonable she could never understand. The signs of such disaffection vexed her exceedingly. It marred the external symmetry to which she wished to see all things of this nature adjusted, and adjusted by the action of her own will. It was viewed as betraying a littleness and unsubmissiveness in her subjects, which detracted from her own greatness, and from her own

* Strype, *Ann.* iv. 246–251. *Whitgift*, ii. 42–50, 175–193.

right. It is the besetting sin of sovereigns, to account themselves great in the measure in which their subjects are quiet, orderly, ready to do as they are bid. They do not often see, that the manhood of states must come from the manhood of subjects.

Contest on the basis of divine right.

But if Elizabeth flattered herself that she spoke and acted by a divine right, and under a divine guidance, the opponents of her religious policy all took the same ground. According to the conscience of the Romanist, it was the command of God, that the pontiff, and not the queen, should be head of the church. According to the conscience of the puritan, and of the separatist, it was the command of God, that his faith and practice should be determined by the light of his own judgment, and not by injunctions coming to him from a worldly potentate. So far, in the case of Romanist and Protestant, there was a principle of divided allegiance. With both there were things to be given to Cæsar, and things to be given only to God. Elizabeth might affirm, in the most emphatic terms, that to resist her will, was not only sedition, but impiety. But her opponents were not less skilled than herself in pressing argument in that form. They never ceased to reiterate, that to oppose their doctrine was to oppose, not man, but God. This virtual assumption of infallibility, and this inveterate dogmatism as the consequence, belonged more or less to all parties. The queen was sure that she had a commission to command; and there were those among her people who were not less sure that they had a commission to resist. These people did not scruple to assert, that the right to interpret the divine will, and to act upon such interpretation, pertained to the subject as much as to the sovereign. There were moments in which the queen would gladly have coerced these parties so as to have made them utterly powerless. But to have crushed her Catholic subjects on the one hand, and her puritan subjects on the other, would have been to go far towards leaving herself without subjects of any sort.

It is hardly surprising, therefore, that the feeling of Elizabeth against the puritans should have been strong. It may have seemed presumptuous to resist her will even in favour of an ancient and infallible church. It must have been felt as presumptuous in a much greater measure, to resist it on the plea of personal conviction—of private judgment.

Puritanism in the senate.

Nor is it to be denied that this free temper in regard to religion, was inseparable from a tone of feeling of the same nature in regard to all the relations between sovereign and subject. The puritan was strong in his assertion of attachment to the person and government of the queen, but it is manifest that he endeavoured to connect a large measure of liberty with his loyalty. Romanists were excluded from parliament, and were left to give vent to their sense of hard treatment through other channels. But the deep puritan feeling of the country was always reflected in the house of commons, and the men there who made it evident, that they had not lost the memory of those constitutional liberties, which had descended to Englishmen from the time of the Plantagenets, were eminently men of that character. Elizabeth often scolded these persons on account of the freedom of their proceedings, and sometimes placed a daring speaker under restraint, or sent him to the Tower. But as the reader has seen, she gained nothing by so doing. In the end, she was always obliged to submit, more or less, and sometimes felt concerned to heal the breach she had made, by a more gracious bearing, and by kind words. With all their narrowness and fault, the great conservators of the principles of liberty under Elizabeth, were our English puritans.

Lord Bacon published two tractates,* one near the

* *An Advertisement touching the Controversies of the Church of England. Certain Considerations concerning the better Pacification and Edification of the Church of England.* Works, vols. vi. vii.

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end of the reign of Elizabeth, the other under James I., in which he has given his judgment on the case between the church and the puritan. The reader has seen that the puritans learnt to extend their objections from a few small ceremonies to more weighty matters. But Bacon deems it fair to state that 'the other part, 'which maintaineth the present government of the 'church, hath not kept one tenor neither. First, those 'ceremonies which were pretended to be corrupt, they 'maintained to be things indifferent, and opposed the 'examples of the good times of the church to that 'challenge which was made unto them because they 'were used in the later superstitious times. Then 'they were also content mildly to acknowledge many 'imperfections in the church, as tares coming up 'among the corn; which yet, according to the wisdom 'taught by our Saviour, were not with strife to be 'pulled up, lest it might spoil and supplant the good 'corn, but to grow on together till the harvest. After-'wards they grew to a more absolute defence and 'maintenance of all the orders of the church, and stiffly 'to hold that nothing was to be innovated, partly be-'cause it needed not, partly because it would make a 'breach upon the rest. Hence, exasperated through 'contentions, they are fallen to a direct condemnation 'of the contrary part as of a sect. Yea, and some 'indiscreet persons have been bold enough in open 'preaching, to use dishonourable and derogatory speech 'of the churches abroad; and that so far, that some of 'our men, as I have heard, ordained in foreign parts, 'have been pronounced to be not lawful ministers. 'Thus we see the beginnings were modest, but the 'extremes are violent.'

Lord Bacon's estimate of the puritan controversy.

How the bishops changed their ground.

Concerning the parts of the ritual to which exception had been made, Bacon observes that most of them were of such a nature that they might be wisely relinquished. In regard to 'the cap and surplice, since 'they be things in their nature indifferent, and yet 'by some held superstitious, and that the question is

What concessions the queen and the bishops might have made.

'between science and conscience, it seemeth to fall 'within the compass of the apostle's rule, which is, 'that the strong do descend, and yield to the weak; 'only the difference is that it may be materially said, 'that this rule holdeth between private man and private 'man, but not between the conscience of a private man, 'and the order of a church. But yet, since the question 'at this time is of a toleration, *not by connivance which 'may encourage disobedience, but by law which may give 'a liberty*, it is good again to be advised, whether it fall 'not within the equity of the former rule; and the 'rather because the silencing of ministers by this occa- 'sion is, in this scarcity of good preachers, a punish- 'ment that lighteth upon the people, as well as upon 'the party: and as for the *subscription*, it seemeth to 'me in the nature of a confession, and therefore more 'proper to bind in the unity of the faith, and to be 'urged rather for articles of doctrine, than for rites and 'ceremonies, and points of outward government. For 'however politic considerations, and reasons of state, 'may require uniformity, yet Christian and divine 'grounds look chiefly to unity.'

Had these large views been possible to the mind of Elizabeth, and to such churchmen as Whitgift, how different would have been the complexion of English history through the century which dates from 1560! The following sentences are as the words of a king, before which there is no rising up. 'To my lords the 'bishops I say, that it is hard for them to avoid blame 'in the opinion of an indifferent person, in standing 'so precisely on altering nothing. Laws not refreshed 'with new laws, wax sour. Without change of ill, 'a man cannot continue the good. To take away many 'abuses, supplanteth not good orders, but establisheth 'them. A contentious retaining of custom is a turbu- 'lent thing, as well as innovation. A good husband- 'man is ever pruning in his vineyard or in his field, 'not unseasonably, indeed, not unskilfully, but lightly; 'he findeth ever somewhat to do. We have heard of

Fault of the bishops —necessity of progressive reform.

'no offers of the bishops of bills in parliament, which, 'no doubt, proceeding from them to whom it properly 'belongeth, would have everywhere received accep- 'tance. Their own constitutions and orders have re- 'formed them little. Is nothing amiss? . . . I would 'only ask why the civil state should be purged and 'restored by good and wholesome laws, made every 'third and fourth year in parliament assembled, de- 'vising remedies as fast as time breedeth mischief, and 'contrariwise, the ecclesiastical state should still con- 'tinue upon the dregs of time, and receive no altera- 'tion now for these five-and-forty years and more. 'But if it be said to me that there is a difference 'between civil causes and ecclesiastical, they may as 'well tell me that churches and chapels need no 'reparations, though castles and houses do.'

But these words produced no impression on the men to whom they were addressed. They persisted in the 'turbulent' purpose of retaining everything—of retaining everything in a more imperative tone than ever, and in exacting, not only that there should be the strictest conformity, but that every man should declare by subscription that everything included in that conformity was according to the word of God. And what was the effect? The majority of the people over a large part of England, and especially in the cities and towns, were with the preachers, as the puritans were called, and not with the bishops. On the whole, it is easy to foresee, that if the course thus far taken by church and state is to be the course of the future, there will be a limit to endurance.*

* 'In the earlier years of Elizabeth,' says Mr. Hallam, 'the advocates of a simpler ritual numbered the most learned and distinguished portion of the hierarchy.'—*Const. Hist.* i. 193. How the case stood in regard to the country at large, at a later period, is thus stated by Parsons the jesuit: 'The puritan is more generally favoured through the realm with all those who are not of the Roman religion than the Protestant [men of the Parker and Whitgift type], upon a certain general persuasion that his profession is the more perfect, especially in great towns.'—Doleman, *Conference*, 242.

BOOK XI.

ENGLAND UNDER ELIZABETH.

CHAPTER I.

GOVERNMENT AND INDUSTRY.

THE authority ceded to Elizabeth by her subjects was large. But the concession was not made without reason. She had come almost as an angel of deliverance to the nation. The material condition of the state as left by Mary, could hardly have been worse; and the detestation with which her religious rule was regarded by the wisest and the best could hardly have been stronger. Elizabeth possessed great advantage over her predecessor in her presence, and still more in her genial manners, and in her political prudence and self-control. Her people gazed upon her as on one evidently born to be a queen; and she flattered them in being careful to make them understand that she was always proud of them. Everything, moreover, was dependent on her life. She continued childless and husbandless, and, in the event of her decease, the next person in succession was the Scottish queen, who was a resolved Catholic, and allied intimately with that party over Europe. The position of Elizabeth in this respect resembled that of her father. In both cases, the greater part of the nation felt that every interest involved in their own life, seemed to be bound up with the life of the sovereign. Romanists well understood this condition of affairs; and all men saw, that the removal of Elizabeth, which

Great power ceded to Elizabeth —and why?

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would have been as a death-knell to the one party, would have been as life from the dead to the other. Hence the bold adventures that were made by Catholics in the paths of conspiracy, and hence the bitter denunciations of that party by Protestant and puritan. Men who had embarked everything in the great revolution of the age, never ceased to feel, that to quarrel seriously with Elizabeth would be self-destruction. She might have her faults, and it might be needful at times to place some curb upon them, but between the English queen and the great heart of England, there must be no strong or lasting difference.

Elizabeth's first parliament.

The great measures in the first parliament under Elizabeth, were those which recognised the queen's title; which restored the ecclesiastical supremacy to the crown; and which required the use of the Book of Common Prayer in all churches. Two acts, however, were passed, which, after the manner of former statutes, attached the penalties of treason, not only to attempts to depose, or to harm the person of the sovereign, but to the wilful utterance, after any manner, of words denying the titles proper to her position, or impeaching the claims of herself, or of her offspring, to the throne. The spreading of false and slanderous news concerning her majesty, might also bring an offender within the compass of these statutes.*

Second parliament.

It was in the next parliament that the law was passed which converted the Act of Supremacy into a test-act, virtually excluding Catholics from the legislature.

Benefit of the clergy—theft an art and mystery.

From an act in Elizabeth's third parliament, we learn that the privilege called benefit of clergy, revived in the last reign, was still in use, and the account given of some of the persons who were wont to claim this privilege, presents a vista through which we can see a little of the under-play of social life in this age. The men thus claiming the privilege of

* 1 Eliz. 5, 6.

'clerks,' from their being ecclesiastics, or persons of some education, are described as cutpurses and felons. They are said to exist as an organized brotherhood, following their vocation as an art and mystery. They live idly, by the secret spoil of the good and honest people of the realm. They are commonly found in fairs and markets, and wherever people gather in crowds, whether it be to hear the word of God, to watch proceedings in a court of justice, or to see an execution. They pilfer, with amazing skill and audacity, not merely in the sight of the judge and the gallows, but in the home, and in the very presence of royalty. Such is the preamble to an act which determines, that in time to come, felons of this character shall be prosecuted as felons, whether found to be scholarly or ignorant.* It is easy to imagine the haunts in the distance where such gentlemen were wont to hold their revels.

The laws of this reign which most affect the liberty of the subject, are those designed to place Romanists under adequate restraint; and those which, through the Court of High Commision, gave so much licence to Parker and Whitgift in their proceedings against puritans and sectaries. Those laws belong to the history of government under Elizabeth,† but they have already passed under review. There are many other matters, however, which pertain to such a history, and of which no mention has been made.

Money raised by loan or benevolence.

Elizabeth was economical in her expenditure, and chary of entering into costly wars. She never did so without seeing beforehand that the intended hostilities would be popular, and that her people would be found ready to bear the burden so imposed. It is not surprising, therefore, that attempts to raise money otherwise than by a vote of parliament, should have been very rare in this reign. The principle that it belongs to parliament, and to parliament alone, to levy

* 8 Eliz. c. 4.

† See Book IX. c. 2; Book X.

taxes, was never denied by the ministers of Elizabeth. In the early period of her reign, the queen sometimes borrowed money at Antwerp at twelve or fourteen per cent. When she began to borrow of her own subjects it was at a much lower interest, with a fixed promise of payment, and the payment was made. The loans obtained by privy seals were loans from the wealthy only, were always in anticipation of the ordinary revenue, and were not often any real loss to the lenders. Elizabeth said she had no wish to receive any contribution on such occasions which was not willingly made, nor have we any reason to suppose that she would have sanctioned any harassing proceedings against such as refused. It seems to be clear, however, that her officers were not quite so scrupulous, and that there were instances in which the fear of greater inconvenience may be supposed to have produced compliance. But it is to be remembered, that nearly forty years from the accession of Elizabeth passed away, and in one instance only, during all that interval, had she solicited a loan from her subjects. Two or three instances of this nature occurred afterwards, but for all the cases there was a plausible reason. Of course, even within these limits, such precedents were dangerous. Princes are commonly bad creditors. Nothing, however, could be more manifest, than the exceptional nature of these proceedings. The government always spoke of them as being of that character.*

Proclamations.

In the sixteenth century, when the speed of travelling was not what it is now, parliaments did not meet every year. On the contrary, their votes of money

* Strype's *Annals*, ii. 102; iii. 147, 538. In 1599 the Londoners resisted an attempt to raise money in this manner, and sums collected were restored to the contributors.—*State Trials*, iii. 1199. The form of the Privy Seal issued in 1569, when the northern rebellion made an immediate supply of money of the first importance, may be seen in Haynes, 518. It does not promise interest on the money, but it promises punctual repayment.

were commonly grants of sums to be paid in instalments extended over several years. In those intervals of years between parliament and parliament, many circumstances might arise, demanding action that could not be deferred until the two houses should be brought together by means of a general election. It was at such times that a sudden loan might become plausible; and that proclamations, trenching somewhat on the province of law, might seem to be warranted by circumstances. Proclamations are, of course, always binding in the measure in which they are based on law. Nor does it seem safe to say that the sovereign in council might not issue injunctions, in the times under consideration, to meet a sudden exigency, which should, in themselves, have the force of law. In our time, with laws so ample and defined, this concession to the power of the crown can scarcely need to be made. But in the times preceding the age of Elizabeth, some authority of this kind seems to have been generally regarded as pertaining to it. The subjects of Elizabeth do not appear to have accounted her as offending very seriously in this direction. It should be added, too, that when she did thus offend, the offence was less in reality than in appearance. It was by authority in this form, however, that Elizabeth could venture to require that all Irishmen should return to Ireland; that all anabaptists should leave the kingdom; that no new buildings should be raised within three miles of London; that there should be no exportation of corn; and that certain usages in regard to apparel and bearing arms should be discontinued. Elizabeth well knew, that if her proclamations became such as to be judged undue and injurious, complaint would arise, and the next parliament would hardly fail to make it manifest that such exercises of her prerogative were not expedient. There was danger, however, in this custom, inasmuch as concessions that could be safely made to Elizabeth, might become very mischievous precedents in the hands of a successor. The

only proclamations admissible in good governments are proclamations that give effect to law.*

Unwarranted imprisonments.

On no point has the guardianship of English law been made more vigilant, since the days of Magna Charta, than in its provisions to secure the subject against arbitrary imprisonment. But it is manifest, that under Elizabeth, this great immunity of Englishmen was often violated, both by the Court of High Commission and by the council, sometimes by the members of the latter body on their personal authority. From a memorial, signed by eleven judges, drawn up about the year 1590, it is clear that the great men in the council sometimes committed persons to prison without assigning any lawful cause, and without intending that they should be brought to trial, imprisonment being used as a punishment on private grounds. Some men were so committed, because persisting in suits at law against such magnates. Some, even serjeants-at-law, were thus punished for executing the queen's writs to secure trial or deliverance to such prisoners. The prisoners being thus released, no charge being brought against them, were sometimes no sooner at large than they were again apprehended, and sent to some obscure place of confinement, where the benefit of a jail delivery would be more difficult to obtain. These abuses of power are described by the judges as 'against the laws of the 'realm,' and as subjecting her majesty's subjects 'to 'grievous charges and oppressions.' It is to be regretted that we have not the names of the members

* One of Elizabeth's proclamations prohibited the cultivation of woad, because the smell was offensive to her. But the next parliament complained of this, and the proclamation was suppressed. D'Ewes, 652, 653. Townsend's *Journals*, 250. The reader has seen that a parliament under Henry VIII. raised the proclamations of that monarch to the place of laws. The act supposed, that without such warrant, proclamations could have no such authority. That sycophant enactment was rescinded under Edward, and the old constitutional distinction between proclamations and statutes was reiterated—a distinction which was real, though not easy to be defined in some circumstances.

of the council who could be capable of such practices. It is not more clear, however, that such things were done, than that the guardians of the law, the men who best knew what the English government should be, denounced them at the time as being contrary to its true maxims and spirit. The judges seem to concede, that in cases of treason, there may be rare instances in which the trial of a prisoner should be postponed. But they claim, that in such a case, the prisoner should at least be produced in court, and not be remanded without sufficient cause for his commitment being certified. Such was the interpretation given by Selden and Coke in 1627, to this memorable remonstrance of the Elizabethan judges, and the crown lawyers opposed to them made no exception to it. On the whole, the fault in this respect was a fault of administration. It was not a fault of law. What was done, was done, not merely without law, but against law.*

Restraint on the press.

The reader has seen that strong measures were adopted in the time of Henry VIII. to prevent the circulation of obnoxious books. Those measures were somewhat softened under Edward, but returned with full rigour under Mary. According to the injunctions issued by Elizabeth, the year after her accession, no person was at liberty to print a book of any kind without licence from his ordinary or from the council. The reader has seen how the puritans evaded these regulations some years later. Several editions of the *Admonition to Parliament* were surreptitiously printed within a short space of time; and the authors of the Marprelate tracts, to ensure the printing and diffusion of their publications, were still more ingenious and determined in their contrivances. Many of the severest penalties inflicted on state delinquents during this reign, were inflicted as the punishment of offences against these press laws. It was

* Anderson's *Reports*, 297 et seq. Hallam, 518, 519. Brodie, i. 232–236.

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thus with Barrow and Greenwood, with Stubbes and Udal, and with Thacker, Copping, and Penry. What such men had *said* could not readily be proved, but what they had printed furnished a double ground of accusation—printing at all without licence being a crime, and the secret printing of matter construed as seditious became a double criminality. When it is said that Whitgift would not allow Cartwright to answer the authors of the Rhemist Testament, it is meant that licence to print on that subject would not be granted to him. The laws against the press became the most stringent soon after Whitgift's promotion to the see of Canterbury; and from that time, unlicensed printing became more common, and the language published by such means became more intemperate than ever.

Martial law.

Martial law supposes the existence of danger which ordinary law would not suffice to meet. The state must be saved; and if ordinary means are not sufficient to that end, means more ultimate must be called into action. In 1588, thirty years after her accession, Elizabeth and her advisers supposed the danger of the English nation to be such as to justify a resort to such extreme means of safety. The document of that year which invested the lieutenants of the counties of England with the powers of martial law was dated on the 1st of July. The Armada was then floating within sight of our coast, and what a few days might bring forth those days only could show. Distrust concerning some of the English Catholics led to this precaution, and the justice of such a measure at such a juncture can hardly be questioned.

But we have less knowledge of the reasons which may have justified a similar proceeding seven years later. The commission then issued, however, had respect to London and its suburbs only, and its weight was to fall on persons known to be of vagrant and lawless habits. Sir Thomas Wilford, created provost-marshal, for the purpose of clearing the metropolis of

these elements of disorder, was authorized to 'repair 'to all common highways near to the city, which any 'vagrant persons do haunt, and with the assistance of 'justices and constables, to apprehend all such vagrant 'and suspected persons, and to deliver them to the 'said justices, by them to be examined of the causes 'of their wandering, and finding them notoriously 'culpable in their unlawful manner of life, as incor- 'rigible, and so certified by the said justices, to cause 'to be executed upon the gallows or gibbet, some of 'them that are so found most notorious, and incor- 'rigible offenders.'* We have seen that the thief and vagrant class about London—men prosecuting their depredations as 'an art and mystery,' was very great some nine or ten years after the queen came to the throne; and we here find that only a few years before her decease, this class, in place of being diminished, had become to an alarming extent greater. We have no evidence of any movement among them hostile in the political sense to the government. This strong, and very serious measure, had respect to them as a wrong to society, and the government determined to see if hanging some of the most notorious in this summary manner might not deter others from following in their courses. To know that society was being plundered on all hands, and that justices and constables were meeting men every day in the street who were known to be the plunderers, but could not touch them from want of formal proof against them, was a state of matters which queen and council seem to have decided should be endured no longer. We may be sure that none but known villains were hanged; but the proceeding presents a very rough indication of Elizabethan rule, and the precedent was such as might lead to grave results another day. The constitution supposed the existence of a strong police, and in that case there would have been no necessity for such questionable measures.

* Rymer, xvi. 279.

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The grand protest against monopolies.

Towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, the granting of monopolies was the great financial abuse of her government. Patents ensuring to inventors a reasonable profit from their inventions, have never been a ground of complaint. In foreign adventure, moreover, where a large outlay would be required, with a very uncertain result, it was not strange that the adventurers should have been encouraged in their enterprise by some special means of protection. But Elizabeth often assumed the right to grant to companies, or to individuals, an exclusive privilege of dealing in certain articles, without any such reason to be assigned for so doing. In this manner, the queen might become possessed of large sums in the shape of gratuities or fines, and might place considerable emolument in the hands of her favourites without consulting any authority apart from her own. In so far as all those branches of trade were concerned, the queen virtually took the power of taxation into her own hands without consent of parliament. Her pretence that money in her subjects' pockets was as money in her own, was one of her many insincerities. She would not tax her people heavily in a direct manner, but she taxed them with little scruple in this indirect way, flattering herself that this half-covert method of raising money by prerogative, and not by parliament, would hardly be seen in its true light.

Evil of monopolies.

But it was not more natural that Elizabeth should prize such exercises of her prerogative very highly, than that her subjects should look upon them with jealousy and discontent. The right of monopoly once conferred, became a power to raise the price of the article monopolized, and so to levy a new tax, or, at least, to increase an old one. The effect was, that a double or treble price was soon exacted, and we read in some cases of the cost of the commodity being increased twelvefold.* Competition, on the other

* 'Now they have gotten the only sale of things into their own hands,

hand, might of course have ensured to the public a better article at a much lower price than the lowest exacted by such persons. The history of monopoly under Elizabeth, was a history of the public interest sacrificed to private gain.

Parliament of 1597.

When the parliament of 1597 met, this evil had grown to be so enormous, that the disposition to protest against it, and to demand redress, had become such as to fill the ministers of the queen with alarm. They contrived to postpone discussion on this matter to the last day of the session. But even then the popular members succeeded in imposing on the speaker an instruction 'touching monopolies, and patents of pri-'vileges, the which was a set and penned speech made 'by a committee' of the house. In her speech at the dissolution, her majesty said, that concerning those 'monopolies, she hoped that her dutiful and loving 'subjects would not take away her prerogative, which 'is the chief flower in her garden, and the principal 'and head pearl in her crown and diadem; but that 'they will rather leave that to her disposition. And 'as her majesty hath proceeded to trial of them al-'ready, so she promises to continue, that all shall be 'examined, to abide the trial and the true touchstone 'of law.'* Had this promise been fulfilled, all might have been at rest before the meeting of another parliament. Little was done, however, to abate these mischiefs, much to increase them.

Elizabeth on her prerogative.

Parliament of 1601.

The next parliament was convened in 1601. About three weeks after its opening, the lower house, without any apparent cause, was found to be in great confusion. Amidst noise which the speaker's voice was not sufficient to control, Mr. Lawrence Hyde rose and said—'Mr. Speaker, to end this controversy, I move

upon pretence of better furtherance of the commonwealth, whereas in time past we had sugar for fourpence the pound, it is now well worth half-a-crown; raisins and currants for a penny that now are sold at sixpence, and sometimes eightpence and tenpence the pound.'—Harrison, 374.

* D'Ewes, 547.

'the house to have a very short bill read, intitled 'An 'Act for the Explanation of the Common Law in certain 'Cases of Letters Patents.'' The house at once became vociferous in its approval of this motion. This proposal, it will be seen, was to test all existing monopolies by the common law, and of course to declare all to be void for which the sanction of law could not be pleaded. In the last parliament, the house had contented itself with a petition, which prayed her majesty to correct these evils. In proposing, as at present, to proceed by bill, the commons had advanced a step further. The prayer of the last house of commons left the abolition of these obnoxious customs to the discretion of the crown—the bill now introduced left no such option. The ministers and courtiers urged that the former and milder course should still be taken. The answer of their opponents was—We have tried that course, tried it in vain, why should we return to it? 'Mr. Speaker,' said Mr. Francis Moore, 'I know the queen's prerogative is a thing curious to 'be dealt withal—yet all grievances are not compa- 'rable. I cannot utter with my tongue or conceive 'with my heart the great grievances that the town 'and country for which I serve suffereth from these 'monopolies. It bringeth the general profit into a 'private hand, and the end of all is beggary and bond- 'age to the subject. We have a law for the true and 'faithful currying of leather. And there is a patent 'which sets all at liberty, notwithstanding that sta- 'tute. And *to what purpose is it to do anything by act 'of parliament, when the queen will undo the same by her 'prerogative.* Out of a spirit of humiliation, Mr. 'Speaker, I do speak it—there is no act of hers that 'hath been, or is, more derogatory to her own majesty, 'more odious to the subject, more dangerous to the 'commonwealth, than the granting of these mono- 'polies.'* It was said that a considerable number of

* D'Ewes, 645.

monopolies had been recently abolished. It is a pity, was the reply, that a promise of some four years' standing should seem to have been so long forgotten; and still more to be regretted, that the old monopolies, which have been abrogated, should have been so greatly out-numbered by the new ones created. As the speaker proceeded to read a series of patents thus recently issued, placing many articles of common consumption under such restrictions, Mr. Hackwell, of Lincoln's Inn, stood up, and inquired—Is not bread among those articles?—and the cry 'bread, bread,' came from many of the members. 'Yes,' continued Hackwell, 'if order be not taken, bread *will* be there before 'the next parliament.'* Some members would have had all these monster grants read in the house, and each condemned as read.

Elizabeth yields to the protestors.

Elizabeth, in the days of her comparative youth, and in the fulness of her power, had been wise enough, in more than one instance, to see when it became her to place some restraint on her passion for rule, as the price of preserving quiet and loyalty among her people. Such a time had now especially come. Cecil had to report to his mistress, not only the excitement in the house, but that as he passed the street in his coach, he heard voices shouting, 'God grant that pre-'rogative touch not liberty—God help the men who 'would destroy monopolies.' On the last Wednesday in November, less than a month after the opening of this parliament, and less than a week after the commencement of the debate on monopolies, the Speaker, after some ordinary business had been transacted, rose from his chair, and remained for some while silent—the house looking upon him, in much stillness and wonder. Presently, that learned person proceeded to say, that her majesty had entrusted him with a message to her faithful commons. He was to assure the house from the queen that oppression in any form

* D'Ewes, 648.

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among her people was always affliction to herself; that she had reason to believe that many of the patents which she had granted had been used to the great injury of her subjects; and that she had in consequence determined that all these patents should be at once suspended, and 'none be put in execution, but 'such as should first have a trial according to the law, 'for the good of the people.' Great was the joy of the commons on the reception of this message. Some of the members would have connected with their vote of thanks to her majesty, a sort of apology for the free speaking in which they had indulged. But the wiser heads interposed to save the house from that folly.*

Revenue of Elizabeth.

It is not easy to speak with any definiteness or certainty concerning the revenue of Elizabeth. The sums voted for the public service by parliament afford us scarcely any guidance on this point. They certainly were not such as by any means to cover the expenditure. Rather than place herself in any such dependence on the votes of the commons as did not consist with her sense of the dignity proper to her high station, Elizabeth became the patron, in the manner described, of all sorts of monopolies. The usual vote concerning the duties at the ports passed on her accession—they were granted for her life, but were not to be varied without consent of parliament. She made all that could be prudently made by her wardships. She even laid her hand upon church property, and in great exigencies she did not scruple to alienate lands belonging to the crown. Elizabeth was not avaricious. She saved nothing. But she economized everything, and she did so because her love of power immeasurably transcended her love of anything beside. The sagacity and firmness of her policy in these respects were extraordinary.

Influence of the crown.

The great measure of financial reform in the age of Elizabeth was the reform touching monopolies. The

* D'Ewes, 651–654.

speeches delivered in that memorable debate seem to warrant the conclusion, that while the majority of the members were strongly opposed to these patents, there were others who possessed a direct or indirect interest in them. In all the debates under Elizabeth of which any full report has reached us, there are men whose speeches betray that their hopes are directed towards the court and the government, and that they are prepared to pay the price of their expectations in flattery. But the reader has seen something of the resistance made to the policy of such men.

The ministers of the crown throughout this reign, did what they could, as all ministers have done, to influence the elections to parliament. The wonder is not that a large proportion of the commons should be found subservient to the court, but rather that the element of independence should often have shown itself to be so strong. The sixty places which sent members to parliament for the first time, or after long disuse, in this reign, were places, to a large extent, which the government could manage. But the large boroughs, and the counties, were less at their disposal, and often sent independent men.

Privileges of parliament.

The reader has seen that Elizabeth would have controlled the debates of the commons, and have restricted the liberty of speech promised to every new parliament, within very narrow limits.* But though she presumed more than once to place members who had offended in this respect under restraint, she was not allowed to be successful in that policy. Before the close of this reign, the commons had fully established their claim to be themselves the judge of what should, or should not, be accounted orderly in the proceedings of their own house—placing the persons offending against their own laws under restraint, or sending them to the Tower, in their own name. Exemption from arrest by civil suit during ses-

* Book X. c. 2.

sion; and from being summoned to attend any other court, except through the information and consent of the house, were points settled beyond dispute. It is in this reign, too, that the commons acquire the acknowledged right to settle all differences affecting contested elections, and to originate all money bills.

State trials.

The reader has seen in the trials of the duke of Norfolk, and of the queen of Scots, that the course of proceeding against state prisoners under Elizabeth was such as had been common under her predecessors. The law concerning treason continued to be of great latitude. Words which could not be construed as treason, might be construed as sedition and felony.

The case of Stubbes and Penry.

What Elizabeth could do to avenge herself on persons who presumed to place themselves in opposition to her will, is seen in the case of Stubbes and Penry. Scarcely any event in the long life of Elizabeth is so little to the credit of her good sense and consistency, as her conduct towards the duke of Anjou, who became a suitor for her hand. Elizabeth was then forty-seven years of age. Her lover was some twenty years younger, small in figure, and if report speaks truly, by no means agreeable in countenance. He was, moreover, the favourite son of Catherine de Medici, the Jezebel of France, in the estimation of all zealous Protestants. Stubbes was a puritan, and had given his daughter in marriage to Cartwright, the great puritan leader. But he was a barrister, a scholar, and the friend of Sir Philip Sidney. In an evil hour for himself, he published an anonymous pamphlet, laying open, with much intelligence, the evils, personal, political, and religious, which were likely to follow upon such a match.* Elizabeth well

* The pamphlet was intitled '*Gaping Gulph, in which England will be swallowed up by the French Marriage.*' Mr. Hallam says, 'This pamphlet is very far from being, what some have ignorantly or unjustly called it, a virulent libel; but is written in a sensible manner, and with unfeigned loyalty and affection to the queen.'—Vol. i. 315.

knew that the feeling expressed in this publication was general, and the reflections on her own judgment, and the right of remonstrance implied in it, displeased her exceedingly. She resolved to give some signal expression to her resentment. Stubbes and his printer were apprehended; were sentenced to lose their right hand; and the sentence was carried into execution.

Penry had printed matter, which, according to the bad law of that time, might no doubt be construed as seditious. But more than twelve months had passed since that printing had taken place, and the law, in consequence, could not touch it. He was condemned on the ground of jottings in manuscript found in his possession, but which had never been 'uttered' at all. He was not exposed to any legal penalty, either by what he had printed or what he had written. But Penry was condemned and hanged. Such were the deeds that could at times be done by Elizabeth—illegal and barbarous deeds.*

Summary.

But the history of the English government under Elizabeth is not comprehended in the history of our state trials. The subject has more than one aspect. It is quite open to an artful advocate to show, that servile language fell from the lips of members of parliament; that men who uttered a different language were sent to the Tower; that the sovereign asked loans from the subject; that proclamations were issued on many and important matters; that there were arbitrary arrests; that there was martial law; and that there were injurious monopolies. It is open to such an advocate so to present those facts, as to convey the impression that in England, it was *the course of things*, that the speeches in parliament should

* Penry, addressing Lord Burleigh, says, 'The case is most lamentable, that the private observations of any student being in a foreign land, and wishing well to his prince and country, should bring his life with blood to a violent end; especially seeing they are most private, and so imperfect that they have no coherence at all in them, and in most places carry no true English.'—Strype's *Whitgift*. What was written, he affirmed, had been written fifteen months before, and he had not looked at it since.

be the speeches of sycophants; that speakers not of that order should be punished; that the exchequer of the country should be supplied by forced loans; that the laws of the statute-book should be superseded by proclamations; that arrests should take place in a manner wholly arbitrary; that martial law should be a proceeding of common occurrence; and that monopolies, however mischievous they may have been, should be judged as in accordance with the spirit and bias of the constitution.* But such representations are disingenuous, untruthful, misleading. There were servile speeches made in parliament; but these have come down to us coupled with speeches anything but servile. There were attempts made to restrain freedom of speech in the commons; but there was much free speaking there which called forth no restraint, and restraint when ventured upon, was found to be in every instance impolitic, and was abandoned. There were loans, too, on the faith of privy seals; but these were of very rare occurrence, never resorted to without urgent cause, never reached to the nation at large, and were scarcely in any case a loss even to the wealthy. There were proclamations also; but they came in the long intervals between the meetings of parliament, and were always open to correction on the next assembling of the legislature, if found to have been in any serious degree contrary to law. There were arbitrary arrests; but there were guardians of the law to declare that all such arrests were illegal and oppressive. There was martial law; but it did not come into action in more than three instances during nearly half a century—first in the north, when the northern earls were in arms; next, over England, when the fear of the English Romanists, and the sight of the Armada, justified the proceeding; and in the last instance it was restricted to the suburbs of London, at a time when the wealth of the capital seemed to be at the disposal

* Hume, *Hist. Eng.* App. 3.

of gangs of thieves and burglars, and when such rough handling was the only available form of police. Yes; and there were monopolies; but there was also the grand debate on monopolies, and its result, demonstrating both their impolicy and illegality. Honesty gives the whole truth.

Policy of the English government towards Ireland.

We should not pass from the topic of government under Elizabeth without glancing at the course of the English cabinet towards Ireland during this reign. The foreign policy of England under the Tudors was materially affected by the relations of this country to Scotland and to Ireland. Until Scotland became Protestant, she was a tool directed by France against England; and during the later years of Elizabeth, Ireland was used in much the same manner by Spain. France saw little prospect of success in a war against this country when a diversion in her favour north of the Tweed could no longer be relied upon. Spain, at the same time, could hope to detract from the power of the English queen in continental affairs, by stimulating the Desmonds, the O'Neiles, and the Tyrones, who were nominally her subjects, into insurrection against her.

The history of Ireland to the close of the Tudor period in our annals, is singularly painful and uninteresting. The picture is ever changing, but consists almost entirely of a change in the forms of perfidy, violence, and suffering. To-day the natives may have the country almost wholly in their hands—to-morrow they may be utterly prostrated by war, famine, and pestilence. Elizabeth was too parsimonious to conquer Ireland, and was too much disposed to govern it as though it had been conquered. Hence the conduct of her subjects consists of alternate submissions and outbreaks, and her own administration consists of alternations between menace and concession. The country was always making large demands on the English exchequer; but to allow it to pass into the hands of Spain or of France did not com-

port with English interests. Nor does there seem to have been any great solicitude felt by some men about the queen, nor, as we may suspect, by the queen herself, to see the social condition of the island materially improved. There is reason to think, that its rudeness was accounted favourable to its submission. If it could only be secured against insurrection, be governed without expense, and be kept from falling into the hands of Spain, the great objects of the English policy, it seems, would be secured. There were, indeed, Englishmen who looked to Ireland with much wiser and more friendly feeling, and who made large sacrifices in the hope of advancing its interests; but from the want of adequate support on the part of the English government, their efforts were in the main frustrated. In Ireland, Protestantism was imposed by law, without the slightest preparation in the way of conviction or instruction; and if there was a parliament, it was a parliament that might be used to almost any purpose by English influence. But if social industry and power made small progress in Ireland, it was otherwise in England.*

Agriculture —the soil.

A writer who is an authority on the subject has said, that husbandry in England, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, was much such as we find in Scotland a hundred years since.† Every farm of a moderate size had its flax-ground. From the growth on that piece of land all the linen of the family was produced by the women of the household. In the rotation of crops there were few signs of improvement. Barley and oats followed wheat and rye, with an interval of fallow. Clover was introduced from the Netherlands; and pasture-land continued to be of a much higher price than arable. But, on the whole, much greater labour than formerly was bestowed on

* Leland's *Hist. of Ireland*, bk. iv. c. 1–5.

† Eden, *State of the Poor*, i. 121.

the soil, so that its produce had come to be twice as great as it once was. The farmer had become more sensible to the value of manuring. The sweepings of London were collected as serviceable for that purpose. In Sussex, large quantities of limestone were burnt in aid of agriculture, and the men of Cornwall conveyed sand to great distances for the same object. Land brought under the best cultivation yielded twenty bushels of wheat to an acre, thirty-two of barley, and forty of oats and pulse.*

Live stock.

The effect of this measure of improvement became visible in the abundance and the quality of the animal stock possessed by the English farmer. Harrison, a contemporary writer, exults in his descriptions of the herds and flocks which the agriculturists of his time could exhibit. There are no kinds of tame cattle, he writes, to be seen in other parts, of which England has not a good store, and in general of surpassing excellence. 'For where are oxen commonly more large 'of bone, horses more decent and pleasant in pace, 'kine more commodious for the pail, sheep more profitable for wool, swine more wholesome of flesh, and 'goats more gainful to their keepers, than here with 'us in England? Our graziers are now grown to be 'so cunning, that if they do but see an ox or bullock, 'and come to the feeling of him, they will give a 'guess at his weight, and how many stone of flesh 'and tallow he beareth, how the butcher may live by 'the sale, and what he may have for the skin and 'tallow—which is a point of skill not commonly practised heretofore. Some such graziers are reported 'to ride with velvet coats, and with chains of gold 'about them.'† Fine beasts, however, as our English

* Camden, writing of the early part of the reign of Elizabeth, says, that the liberty to export corn, led to the breaking up of ground 'which had remained untilled beyond all memory of man.'—Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. 400.

† Harrison's *Description of England*. Introduction to Holinshed, i. 389.

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cattle are, they are not, says our author, what they would be, if 'better looked to.' The horses were not quite so large as might be found in some countries, but in other respects they are nowhere surpassed. 'Such as 'serve for the saddle are now grown to be very dear, 'especially if they be well-coloured, justly limbed, and 'add thereto an easy ambling pace. For our country-'men, seeking their ease in every corner where it is to be had, delight very much in these qualities, but 'chiefly in their excellent paces, which, besides that 'it is in manner peculiar to horses of our soil, and 'not hurtful to the rider sitting on their backs, is 'moreover very pleasant and delectable to his ears, in 'that the noise of their well-proportioned pace doth 'yield a comfortable sound as he travelleth by the 'way.' The knavery in horse-dealing, however, was at the summit of the rogue's trade even in that day. Harrison, who grows eloquent when describing the English ox, is still more charmed by a flock of English sheep. 'Our sheep are very excellent, since for 'sweetness of flesh they pass all other. And so much 'are our wools to be preferred before those of Milesia, 'and other places, that if Jason had known the value 'of them that are bred and to be had in Britain, he 'would never have gone to Colchis to look for any 'there.' And then follows a diatribe against those unfaithful Englishmen, who for their own private gain, would make the best breed of this animal to be common to ourselves and to our commercial rivals in other states. The swineherd, known among us from the earliest Anglo-Saxon times, might still be seen following his quadrupeds to the fields and woods; and the brawn of the boar took a welcome flavour to many a palate.*

Enclosures —parks and warrens.

But a large portion of the country was set apart as deer-park and rabbit-warren, and loud complaints were often heard on that ground. The park enclosures

* Harrison, 370–373.

in the whole kingdom are said to amount to some three hundred, including more than a twentieth part of the entire soil.* The tendency towards merging small farms into great ones, towards converting arable land into pasture, and towards the enclosing of land which had been common, still continued, and led to the clearing of many a peasant family and their homestead from the English landscape—the gamekeeper and his gun, or, at best, the shepherd and his dog, coming into the place of the village-green and its merry faces. England, it was said, was ceasing, from these causes, to be famous as the home of strong men. The Spaniard was watching this decay, and hoping to profit by it. The Romanist at home was making note of the discontent thus produced, and flattered himself that the hour might come in which this feeling might be turned with effect against the government and the rich men. The reader will see an old story in all this, one of the forms of collision between rich and poor which have been fretting their way along in our history. The duke of Somerset had regarded these tendencies as evils that might be abated, and that ought to be abated. The man who now comes into the place of the duke as so thinking, is Francis Bacon. He carries two bills through the commons condemning those excessive enclosures, and requiring that what was arable land on the accession of Elizabeth shall be arable land again, and that what is now arable shall not be converted into pasture. Great is the storm raised against these bills in the upper house. Sir Edward Coke is induced to bring all his learning to the help of their lordships. But the bills, with some modification, are carried. It is easy to take exception to the policy of such enactments. Their power, too, may not have been great. But they pointed to real evils; they attempted a remedy; they were a protest against a remnant of the old feudalism, and a

* Harrison, 343, 344.

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voice on the side of the English yeoman, of the poor, and of the declining manhood of the state.*

The garden and orchard.

The garden and the orchard in England, in the latter half of the sixteenth century, were much in advance of anything of that nature before existing in this island. Melons, cucumbers, radishes, carrots, parsnips, turnips, and different kinds of salad were then common, and to be seen on the tables of the richest and the poorest. Gardeners had become greatly skilled in improving the qualities of their productions by constant experiment in the dressing of soils and in grafting. Trees, flowers, everything was seen to change at their bidding. They were said to play with nature. The age which first brought tobacco from the Indies, contributed new things every year from the soils of distant and newly-discovered countries. By the side of improved products for food or for the eye, was a large supply of medical herbs, which in their decoctions enabled nine-tenths of the sick in that day to dispense with the doctor. Every good housewife was at home in the use of such simples. The mother of the great lord Bacon rarely wrote to him, or to his brother Anthony, when they were young men in town, without coupling medical advice with her advice on other matters. And lady Bacon was a person who could talk Latin, could correspond in Greek, and was, as her great son truly said of her, 'a saint of God.'†

Manufactures.

The staple of English manufactures under Elizabeth continued to be very much what they had been in the later years of her father, the article which took precedence of every other in quantity and value was woollen

* *Parl. Hist.* i. 899, 900. 39 Eliz. 1, 2. Dixon's *Francis Bacon.*

† Harrison, 350–353. Dixon's *Francis Bacon.* Much complaint is made during this reign concerning the high price of 'all articles of consumption,' the increase being in most things double. The blame is laid on the monopolists and forestallers, and with a measure of justice, but the great increase of the precious metals, and the growing prosperity of the country, had much to do with the change.

cloth, woven from English wool, and dyed in various colours by the English dyer. The cloth produced in the northern counties was of a coarse description, mostly of domestic manufacture and for domestic use. Halifax, indeed, was a prosperous clothing town, so much so as to tender the services of two thousand men towards crushing the rebellion of the northern earls in 1569. In the eastern and southern counties, there were many towns which had grown in wealth and population by means of this manufacture. Great part of their cloths was disposed of in English markets, but certain qualities of them were sent abroad to an extent little suspected in our time. In many towns great numbers of hands were employed in producing coarse kerseys, which were mostly for exportation. Norwich was famous for its worsted fabrics. In the early years of Elizabeth, Norwich satins and fustians were in great demand. The same restrictive system of legislation in favour of home industry continued to be acted upon; the same precautions were taken to ensure that the cloths should be of a certain measurement and quality; and the same jealousy between the great masters in the towns, and the humbler producers in the adjacent villages, betrays itself.*

Metals—tin and iron.

The metals chiefly wrought in England during this period continue to be tin, iron, and lead. Copper was not produced in large quantities, and the working of it could hardly be made remunerative. Raleigh held for awhile a patent on the sale of tin, and when his monopoly was assailed, boasted that he had doubled the wages of the miners. The chief thing remarkable concerning this metal, was the skill and taste with which it was now used in pewter wares. Elegant dinner services were thus produced, and there was

* Anderson's *Hist. Com.* i. 394 et seq. Harrison, writing towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth, speaks of some English cloth as still 'carried to be dressed abroad.'—p. 397.

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scarcely a vessel in silver which was not closely imitated in polished pewter. Iron was still smelted with charcoal, and the consumption of wood for this purpose in some districts was so great, that laws were passed on that account to prevent the increase of iron works in certain counties. Iron was wrought in Shropshire and Lancashire, but the great iron works were in Kent, Surrey, and Sussex.*

Discovery and adventure—Frobisher.

It was, however, in the enterprises of the English navigator that the reign of Elizabeth became especially brilliant and memorable. The voyages of Frobisher in search of the north-west passage, date from 1567. As the three small vessels under the command of that able captain dropped down the Thames, Elizabeth watched them out of sight from her palace at Greenwich, bidding them God-speed by the waving of her hand. The strait leading to Hudson's Bay, and since known by his name, was then discovered by Frobisher. He made several voyages into those seas, and lived to do good service against the Spanish Armada, more than twenty years after Elizabeth's farewell to him from the window of Greenwich palace.†

Drake.

About ten years after Frobisher's first voyage to the north, Francis Drake steered his way southward to circumnavigate the globe. He passed the Straits which had been discovered by Magellan, half a century since, and ran up the western coast of America as far as 48° north. Drake had fallen upon the Spanish settlements and Spanish ships without reserve, though England was not then at war with Spain, and accumulated large treasure. He crossed the Pacific by the Moluccas and Java, and reached home by the Cape of Good Hope, after an absence of nearly three years. This was in 1580, and the reader has seen that at that

* 1 Eliz. c. 15. 23 Eliz. c. 5. Harrison, 399, 401. *Parl. Hist.* i. 927. Anderson's *Hist. Com.* i. 422.

† Anderson's *Hist. Com.* i. 406. Elizabeth's Foreland, Cape Labrador, Gabriel's Island, and Prior's Sound, all received their names from Frobisher.

time the conduct of Spain towards England had been, for many years past, that of a treacherous and deadly enemy. Drake no doubt had the approval of Elizabeth in some form when he left, and it is certain that on his return she received him with great honour. The complaints of the Spanish ambassador were bitter, and some show was made towards securing compensation to Spanish merchants who could prove their losses. But the replies of Elizabeth to the demands that would have excluded English ships from the American seas were lofty and decisive. She knew not what right the bishops of Rome could have to parcel out God's earth among their favourites; nor could she for a moment grant that to cruise in the great seas which washed the American continent was to be the privilege of Spaniards. The sea was the great open way of nations, and she hoped the English flag would be seen wherever the right and interest of England might be served by its presence. What the queen said was said everywhere by her people; and loud was their admiration of the great captain whose heart seemed to be made up of all that was in their own heart.*

Sir John Davis.

In the later years of Elizabeth, John Davis made a further effort towards discovering the north-west passage. We need not say without success. But Davis Strait was added to the maps of those regions from that time. Davis, at a later period, discovered the Falkland Islands; and in 1586-1588, Cavendish and his brave crew did, what Drake had done some years before—compassed the globe.

Cavendish.

Little positive advance was made by these adven-

* Drake's grand expedition against the Spanish power in America was in 1585. It did not succeed in its purpose to cross to the Pacific by Panama, and though it did almost as it pleased elsewhere, the result fell below expectation.—Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. 428. In 1589 a still more formidable armament of this privateering kind, to which the Netherlanders contributed, carried on hostilities against Spain, and returned with large treasure, but not without incurring a vast expenditure. Stow. Camden.

tures towards laying the foundation of the colonial empire of Great Britain. But the way to great things was laid open. Raleigh, assisted by his kinsman Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and by his friend Sir Richard Grenville, made a steady effort to colonize the province since known as Virginia. But the men left to perpetuate possession were not strong enough to keep their own against the natives. Many perished, some returned home, and the end was a failure.*

Colonization is to come.

Adventure the spirit of the age.

The smallness of the means by which such great undertakings were attempted, bespoke the amazing buoyancy of the national character. Frobisher's first armament consisted of two vessels of twenty-five tons each, and of a third that did not exceed ten tons. Drake, in resolving to pass the Straits of Magellan, resolved to do what no Englishman had done before him. For this object he collected a somewhat larger force. But his five vessels had been placed at his disposal by private persons, and if the largest was of a hundred tons burden, the smallest was a pinnace of not more than fifteen tons. In the effort to colonize Virginia, three or four vessels of very moderate burden were deemed sufficient to warrant such a scheme. Fifteen men, placed in that distant wilderness, engaged to protect themselves against the tomahawks of the savages for the next two years—a work which a hundred and twenty afterwards found to be beyond their power. Many noble lives were thus sacrificed to that old English infirmity—if infirmity it may be called—overconfidence. But there was much of the fresh warm blood of youth in England in those days.

Foreign commerce.

While the pulsation in the heart of our countrymen beat thus strongly, making itself felt to the ends of the earth, intercourse with the more known countries of the world would become daily more frequent. To the immortal honour of Elizabeth, says Anderson, her reign, though often much disturbed by foreign and

* Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. 426, 430, 441, 444.

domestic enemies, has supplied more material to the history of commerce 'than perhaps all the preceding 'reigns conjointly since the time of her great prede- 'cessor, Edward III.'*

Spain and Portugal would fain have given law to the colonizations and the foreign trade of other countries. But in France, in Germany, in the Netherlands, in the northern states, and especially in England, there was a firm purpose to resist this attempted usurpation. We trace the signs of this determination, in the endeavours made to find a new passage to the more opulent regions of the earth, now by the north-west, and now by the north-east.† One armament after another was despatched, full of hope, in those opposite directions. But the struggle issued in the founding of the memorable East India Company for England, and in the same bold policy on the part of Holland.

During the greater portion of the reign of Elizabeth, Antwerp was the great commercial city of the west. The annual exportation of English cloth to the traders of that city, is said to have reached the value of a million sterling, and the other products of English industry there disposed of were of a still higher aggregate worth. Four-fifths, indeed, of the European imports seen in that mart are described as from England. These are surprising statements, but the authorities on which they rest are such as should be unbiassed and well informed.‡ In 1565 some fixed

* *Hist. Com.* i. 393.

† Frequent mention is made in the annals of commerce during this reign, of the attempts made by the English Russian Company to open a trade communication with the East by that northern route. But these efforts, while highly creditable to English enterprise, from the extended land transit, were not on the whole successful. Trade with the Russians, however, continued, with fluctuating advantages, for many years.—Anderson, i. 383–393, 401, 404, 407, 413–426.

‡ One of these authorities is Louis Guicciardini, who resided in Antwerp, and wrote a history of the place. The other is Botero, a writer of high reputation in his time. Camden, who confirms the substance of the

regulations in England gave great umbrage to the duchess of Parma, and her minister, cardinal Grenville. But Elizabeth was in a condition to lay down her own terms, and to abide by them. In 1582, the extinction of the great German monopoly which had been granted anew to the Stillyard company, occasioned deep offence in the towns of the Hanseatic confederacy, and the German diet was led to prohibit the importation of English cloth into those parts. But the English Merchant Adventurers counteracted this policy by exporting their goods, first to Staden, and afterwards to Hamburgh. England could not fail to see the rapid development of her industrial power under Elizabeth, and her enemies were by no means insensible to it.*

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statements made by these authors, says that he has derived his information from 'good books of accounts.'—See Anderson, *Hist. Com.* i. 393, 395, 397, 402, 419, 424, 427, 449–451.

* Wheeler, secretary and attorney to the Company of Merchant Adventurers, gives the following description of that body, and of its doings:—'The company consists of a great number of wealthy merchants, of divers great cities and maritime towns, viz., London, York, Norwich, Exeter, Ipswich, Newcastle, Hull, &c. These of old time linked themselves together, for the exercise of merchandize, trading in cloth, kerseys, and all other, as well English as foreign commodities, vendible abroad, whereby they brought much wealth home to their respective places of residence.

'Their limits are the towns and ports lying between the river of Somme in France, and along all the coasts of the Netherlands and Germany, within the German sea. Not into all at once, at each man's pleasure, but into one or two towns at most within the said bounds, which they commonly call the mart town or towns, because there only they stapled their commodities and put them to sale, and thence only they brought such foreign wares as England wanted, and which were brought from far by merchants of divers nations, flocking thither to buy and sell as at a fair. The Merchant Adventurers do annually export at least 60,000 white cloths, worth at least 600,000*l.*, and of coloured cloths of all sorts, kerseys, bays, cottons, northern dozens, and other coarse clothis 40,000, worth 400,000*l.*; in all one million sterling, besides what goes to the Netherlands from England in other commodities.' Then follow the names of such commodities, filling a large space.—Cited in Anderson, i. 453. These facts must be noted in connexion with the higher value of money, and the limited population of England at that time. Tea, porcelain, watches, and silk stockings are among the novelties which make their appearance among us in this reign.

Relations between trade and agriculture.

In the annals of industry, it will be found that a prosperous agriculture is always dependent on a prosperous commerce. There must be a growth of towns and cities, if the husbandman is to produce fruit beyond what may be demanded by a sparse provincial population; and if the produce of his land is to be improved in quality, as well as greater in quantity. Cities need large supplies, and are prepared to pay a high price, and the natural results follow. The field and the garden rise in value, and both are dressed with greater skill. So by a law of Providence, the burgess and the yeoman, in place of being rivals, are the natural helpers of each other. Both classes were prosperous in the days of Elizabeth. The burgess often rose from the level of the mere freeman to be a man of substance, and to be robed in office. While the yeoman as commonly rose from being tenant in a small farm, to hold a greater, and sometimes ended in purchasing the soil from a spendthrift landlord. The balance of intelligence was on the side of the burgess. But the strength of arm still continued with the yeoman, and his more settled and easy circumstances were contributing very perceptibly to the expansion both of his knowledge and his culture.

The burgess and the yeoman.

CHAPTER II.

INTELLECTUAL AND SOCIAL LIFE.

The age of Elizabeth—brilliant but not perfect.

THE age of Elizabeth forms a memorable epoch in the intellectual and social development of England. The signs of progress are everywhere, and so bright and cheery is the general aspect of affairs, compared with the gloom and terror which has preceded, that many of our writers, charmed with the transition, have seemed to become in a great degree insensible to the imperfections and errors from which this brilliant period was by no means exempt.

Learning.

The changes under Edward, and the brevity of his reign, were not compatible with any considerable progress in learning. Mary and her advisers, if power had been given them, would have restored Duns Scotus and the schoolmen to their old ascendancy in the universities. But the measure of encouragement that had been given to good learning under Henry and his successor had not been without fruit. Not a few who had been thus influenced survived to the time of Elizabeth, as a leaven for the future, many of them becoming distinguished as public men and as public teachers. Most of the exiled Protestants under Mary prosecuted their studies in the foreign universities. On their return they were for a considerable time the most learned men in England, and their example operated widely in favour of that range of culture to which they were attached. Classical studies, including the study of Greek, were gradually revived in Oxford and Cambridge. Elizabeth was addressed in a Greek oration, and replied in the same language. But too

much must not be inferred from this fact. During many years, the signs of a taste for general literature were few, and improvement in that respect was very slow. Indeed, it is not until we reach the latter half, and more especially the last ten years, in the reign of this illustrious princess, that our attention is arrested by those works of genius and of reflective intelligence, which have contributed to make the time of her sovereignty so attractive to the student of our literary history. The great Elizabethan writers, as they are called, were all the growth of the age of Elizabeth, but the riper fruit yielded by most of them did not appear until the sceptre had passed from the last of the Tudors to the first of the Stuarts.

Change in the ground of the Protestant controversy.

To the middle of the sixteenth century the great controversy between Protestants and Romanists had been mainly theological. The points especially at issue were justification, the efficacy of the sacraments, and the manner of the Divine presence in the eucharist. But the reader has seen, that about the time mentioned, great care was taken that the men raised to the papal chair should be men of high ecclesiastical reputation. And it is observable, that with this higher personal claim on the part of the pontiffs, came a disposition to attribute to them a higher personal authority. The infallibility of his Holiness, and his right to depose kings, and to absolve subjects from their allegiance, were doctrines which had been allowed to drop into comparative abeyance for a century past. But all these tenets now came into a new prominence, and materially changed the ground of debate between the two churches. The popes, in becoming more conspicuous as secular princes than as spiritual persons, had brought much dishonour and weakness upon their office. The aim now was to recover that lost ground. The jesuits were intensely active in support of this policy, and their learned zeal imposed the necessity of similar effort on their opponents.

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English divines.

Theology, history, speculation, and ethics were all more or less involved in this controversy, and the bookish mind of England flowed almost exclusively through those channels during the first half of the reign of Elizabeth. Our English divines did not take such part in this new form of the old strife as to make their influence felt beyond our own island; but they were many of them learned and able men, and the number of such men continued to increase. Among the names included in this class, special mention should be made of Jewell and Hooker, of Perkins and Broughton, and of Cartwright and Reynolds. The works of such men show what the food was from which the mind of England in the time of Elizabeth derived a large portion of its life. It was, however, the more religious and grave persons among our ancestors who drew their mental nutriment from such sources. Beyond these persons, there was a more refined class, who required something different; and a comparatively rude multitude, who coveted something different still. Poetry and the drama addressed themselves to these classes, and, after awhile, with memorable effect.

Poetry.

The poetry of the age of Elizabeth commences with the *Mirror for Magistrates*, which owed its origin to the genius of Thomas Sackville, afterwards lord Buckhurst, and earl of Dorset. The work was designed to be a kind of English Plutarch in verse. It was to set forth the lives of great men in English history from the conquest to the close of the fifteenth century. Sackville began to write before the decease of Mary. He had then studied at Oxford and Cambridge, and was probably a law student at one of the inns of court.* But he soon availed himself of assistance, and it is only the part of this work which came from his

The *Mirror for Magistrates.*

* Sackville was the son of Sir Richard Sackville of Witham, in Surrey. His grandmother was sister to the earl of Wiltshire, the father of Anne Boleyn. See Memoir, in Bell's *English Poets.*

own pen that is entitled to any notice as illustrating the history of our poetry. Sackville wrote a preliminary poem under the title of an 'Induction,' and the part which relates to the duke of Buckingham, who perished by the order of Richard III. The remainder was by other hands. In this 'Induction,' the poet allows his imagination to enter the region of allegory, and what he has written is characterized by excellence of a higher order than is found in our history since the time of Chaucer, and such as was to exert a considerable influence on the genius of Spenser. It contains passages which Spenser has imitated and not surpassed. The *Mirror for Magistrates* was popular. It passed through several editions, and received various supplements. There was a want in the mind of the educated to which the poetry of Sackville ministered acceptably, sombre as it was, almost from beginning to end. The dark mysteries suggested by the fires of Smithfield seem to have haunted the mind of the young poet. Sackville is justly described as the link which connects the age of the *Canterbury Tales* with that of the *Fairy Queen*.*

Sackville's 'Induction.'

Twenty years were to pass before Spenser was to publish his first poem—*The Shepherd's Kalendar*. In that interval there was much versifying, but no poetry. Gascoyne only, rises somewhat above the dead level. But the *Kalendar*, which appeared in 1579, marked an epoch. It consisted of a series of pastorals adapted to the different months of the year; and of pastorals in which shepherds were made to talk, for the most part, like shepherds, and not like courtiers. In 1590, the first three books of the *Fairy Queen* were published. The poet's *Epithalamium*—an ode in which the joy of his young married life is poured forth with the richest exuberance and power, was printed in 1594; and three more books of his great poem appeared two years later.

Spenser.

* Bell's *English Poets*, 267–284. Campbell's *Specimens of the British Poets*.

Our concern with the writings of Spenser is simply historical. In what he has written, we see the poetry which an Englishman could write in the time of the virgin queen, and which the subjects of that queen could appreciate, admire—admire with a passionate enthusiasm. Love and knighthood are the great subject of Spenser's muse, wrapped in allegory, so as partly to conceal, and partly to reveal, the characters and movements of the time. But the elements in these representations, on which he dwells with an affection such as no poet equally gifted had ever brought to those qualities, are purity and goodness. Let the reader begin with the first book of the *Fairy Queen*, and it will be strange if he does not find himself brought under a spell from which he would not willingly be released. The poem seized alike on all classes, and who can estimate the educating power of descriptions so full of nobleness and sanctity?

Sir Philip Sidney.

Sir Philip Sidney's *Astrophel and Stella*—poems concerning his passion for lady Rich, another man's wife—place him far below Spenser in purity of feeling; and with beautiful passages, his verse is often wanting in nature and simplicity. Though Sackville and Spenser are the only poets Sidney seems disposed to praise, the last twenty years in the reign of Elizabeth produced many lesser compositions which were of considerable merit. The dramatic writers published many pieces of this order.*

Old plays.

The teaching of the theatre in our history has three stages. First came the old monastic Miracle plays, consisting of representations from scripture; next came the Moral plays, which conveyed instruction through allegorical personages; and, finally, the regular drama. The Moral plays made their appearance early in the sixteenth century, and did not wholly cease to be acted before its close. But the age of Eliza-

* See the *Poems* of Greene and Marlowe; and the *Songs of the Dramatists*, in Bell's *English Poets*.

beth is not more remarkable in any view, than in the growth of our dramatic literature during that period. Its regular drama, like its poetry, began with Sackville, was followed by an interval of barrenness or mediocrity, and closed amidst extraordinary splendour.*

Dramatic writers.

Sackville's tragedy of *Gorboduc* was acted before Elizabeth in 1562. It is founded on the fabulous times of British history. But much pertaining to the story is merely related, and the speeches are long and heavy. It is such a piece as Sackville only could have written; but subsequent writers adapted themselves to the public taste by introducing more stage action, and by mixing the gay with the grave. During the next twenty years, theatrical pieces of all descriptions were produced. The names of fifty have reached us, but only their names.† They were pieces to be acted, not to be read. So late as 1583, Sir Philip Sidney speaks in very disparaging terms of all the extant literature of that kind.

Early dramatists—Shakspeare.

Shakspeare's first play cannot be dated earlier than the year 1590, and during the seven or ten years preceding, his walk had been occupied by a number of men who had brought a new power into such authorship. Still, what such men as Marlowe, and Peele, and Greene were, in comparison with Shakspeare, may be safely inferred from the different fate which has awaited them in the history of the English stage. Many of them had taken up the subjects before, which the great bard took up afterwards, and we know with what effect. Of the thirty-seven plays written by Shakspeare, twenty-seven appeared before the decease of Elizabeth.

Players.

In those days comedians existed, not only in companies, and, as at present, under the name of her majesty's servants, but as servants also to distinguished noblemen. The earls of Leicester, Warwick, and Derby, the lord chamberlain, and the lord admiral, had their respective companies of players. The right

* Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, vol. i. † Ibid.

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of a company to describe themselves as the servants of some great lord, was accepted as a guarantee of character, as such companies were often engaged by corporations, or by the wealthy, to contribute to the popular amusement on the usual holidays, or on occasions of special festivity. Nearly twenty years in the reign of Elizabeth passed before any regular theatre came into existence. But in 1576 we find three playhouses in the suburbs of London—the Blackfriars, the 'Theatre' in Shoreditch, and the Curtain Theatre, also in that neighbourhood. Soon afterwards we read of theatres under the name of the Paris Garden, the Red Bull, the Fortune, the St. John Street, and, above all, the Globe.

Influence of the drama.

Great was the love of such amusements among the people, and the patronage bestowed on players by great men shows this taste to have been common to the high and the low. No doubt, the mind of the people was much influenced, and in many respects for the better, by such representations. The plays were many of them historical, going back to the past in our own annals, or to classical times. Many, who knew little or nothing of history from other sources, gained some knowledge of it from this source. The scene, when modern, was often laid in foreign lands, and set forth, though often very inadequately, novelties in life and manners. In comedy, the character, the frolic, and the buffoonery of society as it then existed, were faithfully given; and in tragedy, the force of temptation, the progress of crime, and the Nemesis which follows on the track of guilt, were presented in strong light and shadow.* In a time when books were few, when reading was limited, and when travel was rare, there was much in such spectacles to suggest thought, to awaken feeling, and, in fact, to educate. We read of some London apprentices becoming so stage-struck as to hire a theatre for their own amateur per-

* The *Ancient British Drama*, vol. i.

formances, the auditory consisting of their personal friends, present by special invitation.*

But there is another side to this picture. There was at times a want of delicacy—a gross and immoral tone, in the acted drama, which could not be favourable to purity in the auditory. In the earlier years of Elizabeth, the stage, and the machinery which served the purpose of the actors, were commonly set up in the court or yard of an inn; and, beside the inducement thus given to intemperance, vice between the sexes was encouraged by placing secret apartments at their service.† It should be remembered, too, that these exhibitions took place especially on holidays, which, as some maintained, were designed to be religious days; and often on a Sunday, which should always be otherwise occupied. In short, the demoralizing adjuncts of the stage, were as inseparable from it in that age as in later time, and public opinion concerning its influence was divided then very much as it has since been. The corporation of London, who knew its effects, pronounced more than once against it, and banished it to places without the walls of the city. The men who entertained such views are commonly described as puritans, and the puritans were no doubt prominent among the opponents of playgoing; but many who were not themselves very puritanical, shared in the puritan feeling on this point. Let it suffice to remember, that the good and the bad in the tendencies of the theatre, had its influence in giving character to England under Elizabeth.‡

* Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, i. † Ibid. 214–218.

‡ Nash, Greene, and Marlowe, and others, who were the chief writers for the stage just before the time of Shakspeare, were men of the most dissolute habits, and all shortened their days by their vices. It was in their nature to be gross, and if there was anything of good tendency in their writings, it was there, not so much from choice, as in the way of business. Public opinion and feeling were to be in some degree conciliated by such means. But to do anything really to elevate social morality or public taste was no matter of solicitude with them. It is pleasant to see that Shakspeare seems to have had a place from the first quite apart from such men. See Bell's Lives of Greene and Marlowe, *English Poets*.

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English prose.

What the genius of Spenser and Shakspeare was to English poetry, the genius of Hooker and Bacon was to English prose. We have seen that our prose literature before the time of Elizabeth, if we except the writings of Sir Thomas More, made no pretension to elegance or eloquence. Men wrote simply as they spoke. The best form of this style is in the works of Roger Ascham, who may be said to belong to the earlier years of Elizabeth. The first observable fact in the history of our prose under the last of the Tudors, is in the rise of that euphuistic style which became so much an object of admiration in the court. Lilly, the dramatic writer, in common with many of his colleagues, had been a university man; and in two works, intitled *Euphues, the Anatomy of Wit*, and *Euphues and his England*, he set the example of a style which abounded in the use of words from the Latin, in mythological and recondite allusion, and in short epigrammatic sentences and conceits. The ability shown in such writing was often considerable; but it is easy to imagine what the effect must have been, when richness of conception came to be a secondary matter, in comparison with such ingenuities of expression. It would have been strange if the learned studies in which so many ladies of the sixteenth century excelled had not brought with them a considerable tincture of pedantry. In Elizabeth herself, something of this kind was natural; and the way was thus prepared for the success which attended Lilly's experiment. The court was full of the praises of this new style. It was accounted so rich and brilliant. Every one attempted something of the sort. Sidney and Shakspeare satirized it, but both were in some measure influenced by it. Something of it may be traced in *Hamlet*, more in the *Arcadia*. It was left to Hooker and Bacon to stand so much apart from it, and to rise so much above it, as not to seem to be aware of its existence. The bad custom of loading a page with quotations from

The euphuistic style.

Latin and Greek writers was a form of this degeneracy.*

The above remarks apply mainly to such prose as aspired to the rank of polite literature. In the controversial writings, and in the loose pamphlets and tracts of the time, a different style prevailed. Men spoke through such channels according to their nature, and not unfrequently it was a very low nature which found expression in such forms. 'The common style,' says Mr. Hallam, 'of most pieces of circumstance, like 'those of Martin Marprelate and his answerers (for 'there is little to choose in this respect between parties), 'or of such efforts at wit and satire as came from 'Greene, Nash, and other worthies of our early stage, 'is low, and, with few exceptions, very stupid ribaldry. 'Many of these have a certain utility in the illustra'tion of Shakspeare and of ancient manners, which 'is neither to be overlooked in our contempt for such 'trash, nor to be mistaken for intrinsic merits.'† Writings which become popular, become signs of the popular taste, and the writings to which Mr. Hallam refers do not exhibit that taste in a very favourable light. There seems to me, however, more smartness, and command of language, in some of those compositions than Mr. Hallam has been inclined to recognise.

The governing mind of England strong from the beginning.

In regard to literature, the reign of Elizabeth was long enough to embrace both seedtime and harvest. Its latter half was in this respect as spring and summer in comparison with what had preceded. But it was not thus with the more solid qualities which form the statesman, and the man of ability in the paths which lead to wealth. The capacity which was to characterize the ministers of Elizabeth, and the industrial and enterprizing spirit of her people, were a

* The first edition of Bacon's *Essays* was published in 1597. But they were expanded afterwards, and others were included in the series.

† Introd. *Lit. Hist.* ii. 413.

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Statesmen and courtiers.

steady growth from the beginning. Cecil, Bacon, Walsingham, Smith, Sadler, Knollys, were all men possessing the sagacity and firmness necessary to guide the vessel of the state through the dangerous seas which were then to be navigated. The earl of Leicester was the patron alike of players and of puritans, giving splendour to the court of the queen to-day, and disgracing it by uncertain fidelity, and bad deeds, or at least by incurring suspicion of such deeds, to-morrow. Sir Philip Sidney, during his too short career, brought the charm of a high-born chivalry into the presence of his royal mistress. Sir Christopher Hatton wore the robe of chancellor, but could adapt himself with the best to the gayest fashions of a court. He was one of those rare men who know how to combine a discharge of the weightiest duties with attention to the lightest accomplishments. But Sir Walter Raleigh may be said to have represented both the good and bad qualities of court and country more than any other man. We see in him statesman and charlatan, buccaneer and poet, the finished courtier at the feet of the English queen, and the hardy adventurer in the strange seas and strange lands of the new world. The earl of Essex, kinsman to the queen, rivalled this great Englishman in his showy qualities. But he lacked stability, mental and moral, and was no match against the Cecil party, whom he regarded as his enemies, and who from necessity or choice certainly became such. The struggle between these factions dates from the year 1595, and it reveals something of the moral deterioration which became observable in the court of Elizabeth some years before her death. This strife was based on no public principle. It came almost wholly from personal considerations. It was the sting coming from this source which maddened Essex into his last treason, and he fell by the hands of the men whom he would fain have prostrated. Both parties had been disposed to favour the puritans; both had become cool in that policy; and

the influence of both, though it cannot be said to have demoralized the court to the extent which the enemies of Elizabeth have sometimes affirmed, certainly contributed to bring about that change for the worse which was so manifest as the queen drew near her last days.

The gentry, and popular pastimes.

The relation of the English gentleman to the courtier and the nobleman in the latter half of the sixteenth century was very much as it has always been. In general, his refinements were less, but his occupations and amusements were mostly of a very wholesome description. He prided himself in riding a good horse, and in knowing how to ride him. He could tilt well in a ring, and could use all sorts of weapons with dexterity. He could show his strength in leaping or running, in wrestling or swimming. He aimed to be skilful at tennis, and in field sports. Open-air exercises of all kinds found favour with him. In his home amusements, he was expected to dance with a grace, and to show some taste for music. These are things, says Roger Ascham, 'very necessary 'for a courtly gentleman to use.'* The master of the old Tudor manor house, with its old Tudor furniture, and its old Tudor costumes, was generally such a man. He vied with the nobles in the county in the patronage which he bestowed on all healthy rustic pastimes. Hurling and football, single-stick and archery, the country wake, the fantastic morrice dance, the farce exhibited on Plough Monday, and the revel over bringing in the yule log at Christmas, were all to his mind so many outlets of animal spirits, conducing to good neighbourhood, and to the health of the body politic.

The puritans denounce popular games and pastimes, especially on the Lord's-day.

The puritans, for the most part, looked on such saturnalia after another manner. In their estimation, the general effect of the village wake, was drunkenness in the men, and lewdness in the women, and a disposition towards idleness in both. The scenes of rout

* *The Schoolmaster.*

and revel which lords and gentlemen were so forward to encourage, they could not regard as consistent with the thoughtfulness proper to religious feeling. Many of the great men who favoured such relaxations among the people, reminded the stricter men among the clergy, that there was a lord of 'Misrule' presiding even over such apparently unruly festivities; and assured them, that while patronizing such lightness of heart on a week-day, they should not be found less disposed to send their people to church to hear good sermons on Sunday. But, unhappily, these merry meetings were by no means restricted to the week-day. Had they so been, they might have kept their ground much longer in our history. In many places the Lord's-day was constantly profaned by them. Hence, to the conscience of the puritan, they were not only questionable in their moral tendency, but positively irreligious. No doubt, the puritan view of human nature was, in many respects, narrow and unreasonable. We cannot commend such severity of temper. But we can understand it. There was no braver blood in England than the blood of the puritans, and we can see how their lofty passions came to be fixed on objects quite apart from the circle of the Maypole, or the dance of the village-green. But both these parties, with their light and shadow, were alike a part of England under Elizabeth, and together formed no small part of it.

City life.

City life differed considerably from village life. What the open air of the country was in summer to the yeoman and the peasant, the warm and well-lighted apartment of the city was in winter to the burgess and the artisan. In fair weather, the citizens had their out-door holidays; but in foul weather, they had the best means of bidding defiance to the elements. The interior of St. Paul's was a promenade affording shelter in all seasons. The halls of the great companies could be thrown open at any time without calculating the age of the moon, or looking to the

signs of the weather. The stage, we have seen, was almost exclusively a town amusement. But we must now glance at the social condition of the people in some of its graver aspects.

Artisans and labourers.

We have seen what the condition of the yeoman and the burgess was at this time. Journeymen following trades, and the labouring class in agriculture, were the grades below those classes. The wages of the journeymen were such as to secure them a fair amount of comfort in food, clothing, and homestead, except in seasons of dearth, which towards the close of the reign of Elizabeth were not unfrequent. The condition of the agricultural labourer was still in many instances a condition bordering on serfdom. Some writers in the time of Elizabeth make their boast that bondage had ceased to be known in England. But though the condition of formal slavery was very rare, it can hardly be said to have passed wholly away. In 1572, Elizabeth manumitted a slave born on one of her manors in Somersetshire. * In 1574, she issued a commission to lord Burleigh and Sir Walter Mildmay, 'for inquiring into the lands, tenements, and other 'goods of all her bondsmen and bondswomen in the 'counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somerset, and Glou-'cester, viz., such as were by blood [birth] in a slavish 'condition, by being born on any of her manors; and 'to compound with all or any such bondsmen or 'bondswomen in those four counties, for their manu-'mission or freedom, and for their free enjoyment of 'their said lands, tenements, or goods, as freemen.'* The men who could be described as 'bondsmen,' and as in a 'slavish' condition, while holding 'lands, 'tenements, and goods,' must have been persons possessing their cottages, with larger or smaller patches of ground attached to them. But this is the last note in our history indicating the presence of a peasantry who could be spoken of in such terms.

Bondage not wholly extinct.

* Rymer's *Fœdera*, xv. 715, 731.

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Clothing and food of the peasantry.

In regard to clothing, the ordinary husbandman is said to wear garments of coarse cloth, made at home. The women wear gowns of the same material, with skirts of some lighter stuff. They cover their heads with a felt hat, and wear caps and aprons of linen. This linen also is of home manufacture. In regard to food, meat was not often before them, and their brown coarse bread was made from rye and barley, much more than from wheat. In fact, the peasant was still at the lowest point in the scale of the industrious classes, and his lot was often one of much privation. But it was in times of dearth, and often in times a little before harvest, that suffering was especially great both among husbandmen and artisans. So little forecast was there in the corn-growers, that in ordinary years, the price of corn rose not unfrequently to five times its average value during many weeks before reaping time. The price of labour during harvest, and the price of grain about that time, must be precluded from any attempt to compare the average of wages with the average cost of food.*

Vagrancy and crime.

The reader has seen that our great cities in the time of Elizabeth were not without large classes who were disposed to live by any means rather than by honest labour. In 1596, an intelligent magistrate in Somersetshire addressed a letter to lord Burleigh, setting forth the vagabondage and felony prevalent in that county.† In that year forty offenders were executed in Somersetshire alone, and one hundred and eighty-three were sent back to society, nearly one hundred and twenty being acquitted from the want of evidence, the remainder being either whipped or burnt in the hand. The magistrate has no doubt that those who were acquitted were as certainly guilty as those who were condemned. The calendar, it seems, consisted

* Harrison's *Description*, bk. ii. 6, 7. Eden's *State of the Poor*, vol. i. c. 2.

† Strype, *Annals*, iv. Ap. Nos. 212, 213.

of known vagabonds and thieves. If Somersetshire be taken as an average county, forty executions in a year give us 1600 executions for that space of time for England alone, and 72,000 executions for the whole reign of Elizabeth. This is exclusive of Wales, a country which will not be supposed to have been more orderly than England. It is appalling to think of such a multitude as sent to the gallows. But these, it seems, were not more than a fifth of the number who merited this fate, if felony deserved to be so punished. If this representation be anything like true, it shows that the lights of the brilliant reign of Elizabeth have their shadows—very dark shadows. These depredators, we are told, consisted in part of gypsies, but much more of soldiers returned from the wars, and generally of such inveterate idlers, that they would sometimes confess felony, and take the chance of being hanged, rather than be sent to the house of correction for a small theft, and compelled to labour.* They are known to exist as confederacies—sometimes roaming abroad fifty or sixty together. Not unfrequently, they intimidated the officers of justice, and even the magistrate on the bench.

Causes of vagrancy and crime.

When society exhibits signs of this order under Edward or under Henry, it is common at once to attribute it to the selfishness of the nobles and gentry of those days; to the suppression of the religious houses; and to the scramble going on among the cormorants in high places to possess themselves of the abbey lands. But here we see, after all the wise legislation of forty years under Elizabeth, and after the country has surely had time enough to work itself out of any mischief that may have come from the abbey-land affair, nearly the same picture of vagrancy and violence presents itself.† One cause of this dis-

* Harrison, who makes this statement, supposes the gypsies in England to be not less than ten thousand.

† Harrison has two chapters on this subject in the second book of his

order may be found in the attempts which were still made to fix the price of labour—not indeed with all the oversight in respect to the fluctuation in the price of commodities with which some former legislators were chargeable, but certainly with only a partial sense of the difficulty arising from that quarter. When men were made to feel in this way that they could not hope to live by labour, they often deemed themselves at liberty to live by other means—especially as the law, which was so strict in dooming them to low wages in the country, was scarcely less strict in shutting them out from any better prospect in the towns. The apprentice system precluded the agriculturists from touching any sort of skilled labour beside. It was the feeling that much real want existed, and that want is naturally the parent of crime, which prompted to the series of attempts made during this reign to raise a voluntary supply for the poor—attempts which ended in the passing of the first law for a compulsory poor rate. This law marks an epoch in our social history.* One material cause, however, of so much social disorganization lay in the want of a more efficient police, and that cause came from another—viz., from the dread of expenditure which characterized the government of Elizabeth. That she might not hazard her independence and popularity by looking too much to the help of parliament, and by the imposition of heavy taxes, she left her subjects, in a great measure, to defend themselves as they best could, against swarms of vagrants, who grew into petty thieves, burglars, and cut-throats.

Description, which presents but small improvement on the state of things reported to us from the times of Henry VIII. cc. 10, 11.

* 43rd of Elizabeth. 'By comparing this statute with the 39th of Elizabeth, c. 3, it will appear, that its most material provisions were not, as many persons erroneously suppose, originally framed in 1601; on the contrary, the principal clauses of the former act, respecting the appointment of overseers, levying the rate, setting the able to work, providing relief for the impotent, and binding out children apprentices, were copied almost verbatim.'—Eden's *State of the Poor*, i. 131.

The great fact in the transition from ancient society to modern.

But the grand source of the necessity for such severe laws against vagrancy and crime, and of the memorable poor-law under Elizabeth, is to be found in one great element of change involved in the transition of society from ancient to modern. There was no poor-law—no association for extending charity to the necessitous, in the ancient world, inasmuch as the mass of the poor were bondsmen, and the property classes cared for their own bondsmen as they cared for their own horses or their own dogs. So likewise, when feudalism came in, the 'lordless' man—that is, the man for whom no man of property was responsible, was an outlaw. Vassal and serf embraced all the humbler classes, and every vassal had his lord, and every serf had his owner. In modern society all these ties were to be severed. The wealthy ceased to have their vassals and serfs, and in consequence ceased to be under the same obligation to care for the classes who would once have held such relations to them. The men below them have all become free, and in being left to be self-governed, they have been left to be self-protected and self-supported. They may now claim the rights of free men, but they have taken upon them the obligations of free men. In the history of England, from the feudal times down through the whole Tudor period, we see how much easier it is to give freedom to the humbler classes, than to give those classes the enlightenment necessary to qualify them for making a safe and wise use of their freedom. This transition of the lower strata from a state of dependence to independence, is, as we have intimated elsewhere, the great fact of modern society—the grand landmark of progress in the modern world: and even now, the training necessary to make this advance thoroughly wholesome to those who are the subjects of it, and to society at large, is only in process. Suppression of monasteries, enclosure of lands, and the conversion of arable into pasture, are all only so many partial effects from this great cause. Apart from this

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one cause, they either would not have existed at all, or they would not have been felt. Norfolk insurgency under Ket, the tanner; and French insurgency under the guidance of philosophers, have come from one source. We see in them a new state of society dealing with new problems. The state of society was inevitable, and the problems must be solved.

Comfort and luxury are coming.

But with this mass of evil resting on the lowest classes in English society, the signs of growing wealth and taste in the upper and middle classes, and of increasing comfort in the homes of the industrious, were largely manifest. In the middle of this century, there were whole towns with not more than two or three chimneys to be found in them; before its close, chimneys were common even in ordinary houses. In regard to lodging, the peasantry were obliged to content themselves with a pallet of straw, or a rough mat, with little covering, a round log of wood serving as bolster and pillow. 'As for servants, if they had any sheet above 'them, it was well, for seldom was there any under 'them, to keep them from the pricking straws, that ran 'oft through the canvas of the pallet.' But our ancestors in the time of Elizabeth saw great improvement in these respects. 'The furniture of our houses,' writes a subject of the great queen, 'is grown in manner even 'to passing delicacy. And herein I do not speak of the 'nobility and gentry only, but likewise of the lowest 'sort in most places of our south country, that have 'anything at all to take to. Certainly, in noblemen's 'houses, it is not rare to see abundance of arras, rich 'hangings of tapestry, silver vessels, and so much other 'plate as may furnish sundry cupboards. Likewise 'in the houses of knights, gentlemen, merchantmen, 'and some other wealthy citizens, it is not rare to see 'their great provision of tapestry, Turkey work, pewter, 'brass, fine linen, and costly cupboards of plate. But 'as herein all these sorts do far exceed their elders 'and predecessors, and in neatness and curiosity the 'merchant all other; so in time past, the costly furni-

'ture stayed there, whereas now it is descended lower, 'even to the inferior artificers and many farmers, who 'have for the most part learned to garnish their cup-'board with plate, their joined beds with tapestry and 'silk hangings, and their tables with carpets and fine 'napery—whereby the wealth of the country doth 'infinitely appear.'*

Retrospect.

Such, then, was England under Elizabeth, and so did this old country rock her way through the storms which pervade the era of the Tudor dynasty. The great revolution in religion is so far accomplished and settled as to be safe from retrocession. Allied with this great change, we find a general awakening of mind, sending a new power through all the channels of enterprise, industrial and intellectual. The age of struggle under Henry, Edward, and Mary, is followed by the age of heroic achievement under their successor. The hot Celtic blood of Henry and Elizabeth prompts them to many arbitrary acts, but, on the whole, the scale has turned strongly on the side of freedom, and not on the side of prerogative. The sway of both has been much less arbitrary, and much more popular, in reality, than in appearance. The precedents of the past in favour of civil and religious liberty, form great landmarks that may not be removed. If the princes to come shall be disposed to respect those landmarks, they may reign safely, grandly, In the event of another policy, there must be other issues. The sixteenth century has seen England become a new world to live in; and the prophecy in all things is, that the seventeenth century must bring with it greater changes still.

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* Harrison, 317. Harrison speaks in high terms of the inns to be found in every considerable town—their cleanliness, elegance, excellent bedding, and provisions, and great civility of landlords. But the tapsters and hostlers are commonly knaves, in league with freebooters who stop travellers on the highway, giving information to such when a guest leaves who is likely to yield good spoil. The worst inns are said to be in London, but even they are described as better than the best on the continent.—pp. 414, 415.

Elizabeth's greatness needs no comment. But she was not perfect. Her courage was of a high order, but it was always influenced, and sometimes neutralized by her caution. Her economy was so rigid and systematic, as often to degenerate into parsimony. Her love of the English people was strong, but her love of power was stronger, and prompted her to inflict some grievous oppressions on no small portion of her subjects. She was desirous that Englishmen should be a manly race, capable of all manly deeds; but in her conduct towards them, and even towards their representatives in parliament, she often seemed to account them as children, and not as men. She was zealous for religion, but could indulge in a violence of temper and language which seemed to betray a total want of it. Her sympathy with learning and culture was thorough and masculine; but a sermon two or three times in a twelvemonth, and a reading of dull homilies the rest of the year, was all the provision she was concerned to make for the religious education of her people. She could be direct and brave, and she could be circuitous and insincere. But with all these real or seeming contradictions, her capacity was large and forecasting, and the debt of England, of Protestantism, and of humanity, to her character and reign, is incalculable. Without her help, limited and hesitating as it often was, Scotland could not have asserted her independence of France; and the Dutch could not have asserted their independence of Spain—which is in effect to say that Europe could not have been free. The great reaction of Romanism began with her accession, and her policy may be said to have curbed its revived energy, and to have fixed it within limits which it has not since been able to pass.

Note on an Article in the *Edinburgh Review*.

The reception given by the public to my former volume has been such as to encourage me to proceed with my task. But the book has passed into some not very friendly hands. One critic sent a string of accusations against it to a weekly newspaper,* and, strange to say, subsequently passed off his second-hand wares on the editor of the *Edinburgh Review* as original—very much, it seems, to that gentleman's displeasure, when the imposition was discovered.† So long as this writer restricts himself to errors in single letters and single words, he detects some oversights which must be divided between my printer and myself, in what proportion to each I do not know. But when he passes from letters and words to facts, nearly every statement he has made is a misrepresentation or a blunder.

For example, I am charged with supposing, that the controversy in European history about investitures, *began* with the discussion on that subject between Anselm and Henry I. In p. 387 I have spoken of this dispute between the primate and the king as coming up 'a few days' after Anselm's return from exile, and speaking still of that incipient stage of the quarrel, I go on to say—'But the controversy which grew up in this 'way between Anselm and Henry, HAD become a European controversy. 'It HAD provoked the most angry discussions, especially in Germany, 'where circumstances seemed to point to the Emperor as the most fitting 'person to sustain the rights of the civil power.' The reader will see that my statement is just the reverse of that which it has been the pleasure of the reviewer to attribute to me. In another place, pains are taken to insinuate that the preservation of Greek literature in the Lower Empire to the close of the Middle Age, is a matter beyond the range of my knowledge. Here is a passage which I must suppose the reviewer to have read:—'In the fifteenth century, the advance of the Turks towards Con-'stantinople, and the ultimate fall of that capital, made both the genius 'and the vast literary treasures of the East, the possession of the West. 'The cities of Italy became the special home of the Greek fugitives, and 'the depositories of those remains of ancient learning which they were 'careful to carry with them.' (p. 621.) The courtesy and veracity of such criticisms go well together. One of my sins is, that I have described Waltheof, the last of the Anglo-Saxon nobles, as beheaded seven years after the conquest, while I should have written ten years. But my critic knew that in the paragraph describing the death of Waltheof, I had also described him as engaged in a formidable conspiracy in 1074, the eighth year after the conquest, and as a state prisoner during the year following, and could not therefore have failed to see, that seven must have been a misprint for ten. Another of my sins is, that I have described the religious foundation by Harold, at Waltham, as an abbey. Lappenberg, and his translator, Mr. Thorpe, are Anglo-Saxon scholars of the first rank. Here are words used by them:—'the royal corpse was borne by the *monks*

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* The *Guardian*, Oct. 19, 1859. † No. ccxxvii.

'of Waltham to their *abbey*, newly founded by Harold.'* Fuller, indeed, who has written a history of the abbey, describes its first inmates as consisting of 'secular black canons;' but this fraternity was so far monastic in its character, that in our literature, the foundation is always described as a monastery or abbey. Here are Fuller's words concerning it at the beginning:—'Edward the Confessor bestowed Waltham, with 'the lands thereabout, on Harold, his brother-in-law, who presently built 'and endowed therein a *monastery*.'† What should be said of a critic who can nibble after this manner? One blunder of my censor is amusing. I have said something about the remnant of Anglo-Saxons who, after the battle of Hastings, entered the service of the emperor Alexis, and my account is held up as teeming with signs of ignorance. But it so happens that the account is not mine—it is taken from Augustine Thierry, a writer whose knowledge of continental history was not equalled by that of any living man, and who read himself blind in the study of documents relating to that subject.‡ So I might go on, and might close by using terms proper to designate criticism of this nature—but I forbear.

My readers will understand me when I say, that I feel it to be humiliating to be obliged to touch such material, though to touch it is to expose its worthlessness. Had it been left in the journal where it first made its appearance, it would never have been noticed by me. But the case is somewhat changed when the *Edinburgh Review* can be used to such purposes. My candid and truthloving friend will hardly be allowed to grace me with any further attention in that quarter: but I shall probably be indebted to his kind offices elsewhere. It must suffice for me to say, that I feel indebted to several of my critics for valuable suggestions, but that in reviewing my first volume, the corrections I have felt it necessary to make, do not affect the six hundred pages of which it consists to the extent of more than some half-a-dozen lines.

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* Lappenberg's *Anglo-Saxons*, ii. 303.
† *Church Hist.* iii. 521.
‡ *History of the Conquest of England*, bk. v.

END OF VOL. II.

CORRIGENDA TO VOL. I.

Page 15, 'Cataline'—Catiline. 35, 'when Pertinax'—when Perseus. 36, line 10, omit—'who had been her armour bearer.' 44, 'Cneius'—Cnæus. 118, 'Etius'—Ætius. 136, 'Ceolwulf'—Ceolric: and 'in 488'—in 588. 162, 'daughter Editha'—sister Editha. 179, 'year 900'—year 800. 208, 'son Penda'—son Peada. 300, omit 'But the marriage' to the words 'gratify her passions.' 332, omit 'now viscount Spalding.' 393, 'from 1145'—from 1154. 421, 'twenty-two years'—thirty-two years. 499, 'Acton Burnet'—Acton Burnel. 507, 'Bohun'—Bigod. 609, 'bastard of Normandy'—bastard of Burgundy. 614, 'John Caxton'—William Caxton.

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